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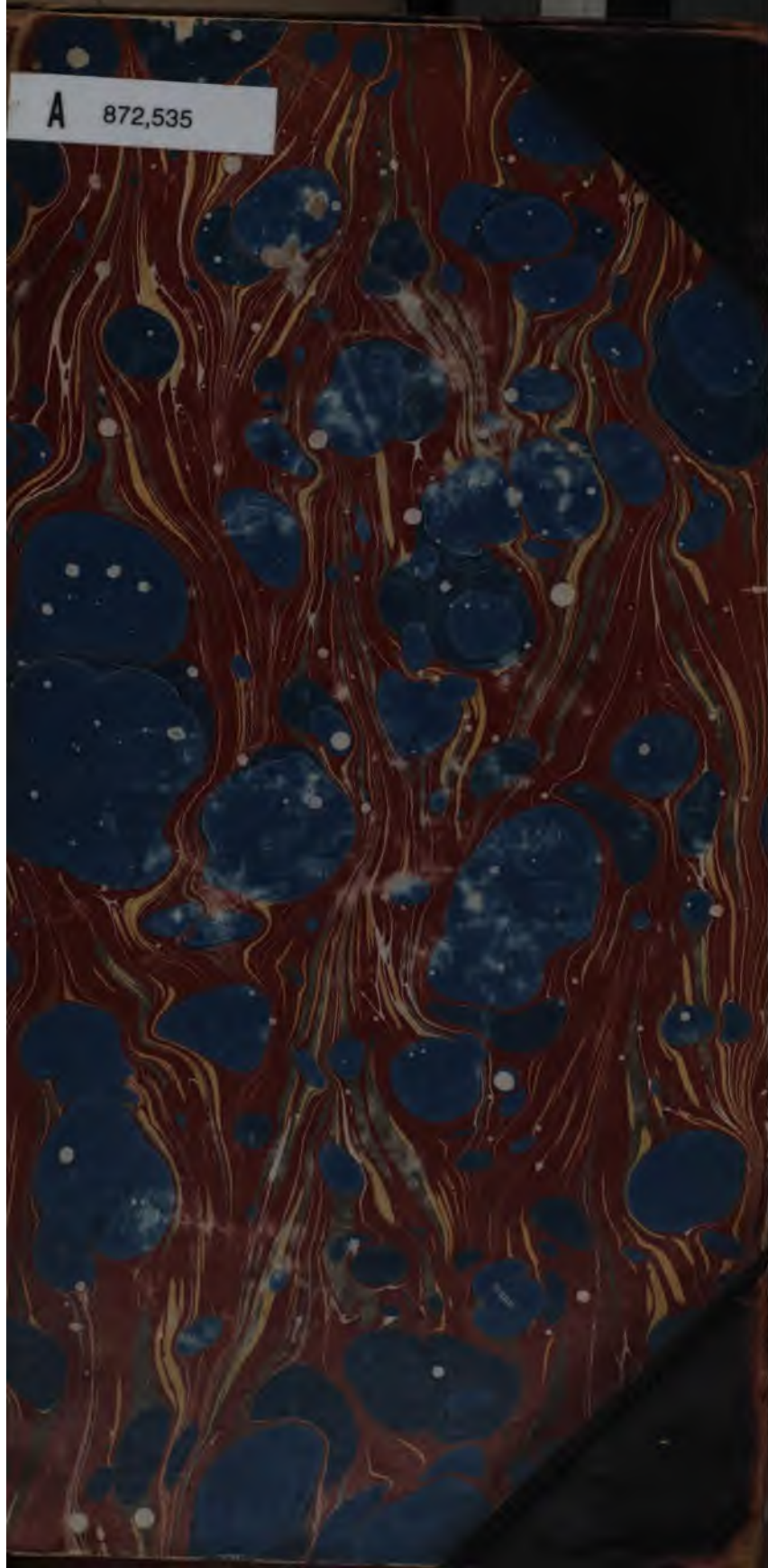
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THE
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY, 1864.

ART. I.—THE LATE JUDGMENT OF THE
PRIVY COUNCIL.

A Speech delivered before the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, in the cause of Wilson v. Fendall, an Appeal from the Arches Court of Canterbury. By HENRY B. WILSON, B.D., Vicar of Great Staughton, Hunts, Appellant. London: Longman. 1863.

ABOUT the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Holy See was undergoing one of those sharp persecutions which only vary the monotony of its sufferings, and when the powers of this world seemed to care as little as they care now for the agonies of the great victim, the Emperor of Germany, then the foremost of the evil gang, laid his hands heavily upon the Vicar of Christ: cardinals were insulted, bishops were imprisoned, and the property of the Church was laid waste. In the depths of his misery, Gregory IX. applied to the bishops, abbots, priors, and parish priests of England to relieve him out of their abundance. The great abbots fled from the presence of the Papal collector to His Majesty Henry III., and with "doleful voice and downcast face" entreated him as "the patron of their churches" to protect them. The abbots of Bury and of Battle were the orators of the suppliant band, and begged Henry III. to stand between them and the Pontiff, "who," they declared, "never ceased to torment them,"—*Papæ nos incessanter torquenti*—and so they had fled for refuge to the royal "counsel and to the bosom of the king's protection."

Henry III. at this time had his own private reasons for withholding his royal protection from the ecclesiastics who invoked it, and accordingly he told the Papal collector that he might do what he pleased with the "miserable" abbots—*facite de ipsis quod vobis placet*—and put one of his strongest castles at his disposal for the safe keeping of those who would

not pay him anything. When the abbots had thus failed, the bishops, seeing that the king would not help them either, made their excuses in another way. They discovered that a general contribution for the relief of their Father required the concurrence and consent of the parish priests; and further, that they had grave doubts about the propriety of contributing at all, because the money would be spent in war against the Emperor. These scruples of the bishops—S. Edmund was in exile—approved themselves to the parish priests, who could not conscientiously give any money to carry on war against Christians; neither could they do so without the consent of the king and his barons, who were hereditary patrons of their churches. Besides, they were really too poor, because, unlike their predecessors, they were not allowed to be pluralists.* The Papal collector and Henry understood their business, and the unwelcome contribution was raised; for the ringleaders of the opposition, men of merit and of learning, were promised richer benefices and dignified promotions whenever the fitting vacancies occurred.

A few years later the nobles and commons of England sent a deputation to the Pope, Innocent IV., in the Council of Lyons, to complain of his exactions and of the "intolerable grievances" which the kingdom suffered at his hands, to the great damage of the king, "the guardian of the Church and the ruler of the realm,"—*rex qui est tutor ecclesiæ et regni gubernacula moderatur*. This appeal to Henry III., and this threat against the Pontiff, could not at that time be brought to any practical issue; for though the king interfered most seriously with the discipline of the Church, and laboured under an irresistible passion for the revenues of bishops and abbots, he could not help the clergy as they desired, or perhaps even so much as he wished. He was not prepared to live without sacraments, still less to die; and as he was in the habit of hearing mass sung three times every day, he was not likely to abolish the divine office even for the revenues of every bishopric and abbey within his reach. The "nobles and commons" had to wait nearly three hundred years before they found a king to take the clergy under his protection and their revenues into the Exchequer.

That king came at last; pleading his conscience and indulging his passions. When Cardinal Wolsey failed in his schemes, and stood baffled before the immovable rock which would not give way before his ambition, Henry VIII. threw him aside, as a workman casts away a broken tool. The

* Mat. Paris, ad an. 1240, p. 478, ed. 1684.

Cardinal had no friends and many enemies; he had made none of the former and too many of the latter. He was accused of many crimes: whether he had a good answer or not remains uncertain; but it is quite certain that he preferred acknowledging them to running the risk of being judged by men whom perhaps he had himself raised to the places they occupied. He threw himself upon the mercy of a man who had none, and in so doing brought down the old constitution of England with a crash which shook the whole of Europe. The king, calm amid the ruins he made, filched Whitehall from the see of York, and gave Anne Boleyn the revenues of the great bishopric of Durham.

Cardinal Wolsey, before his fall, was Legate of the Pope, and had exercised his faculties according to his discretion, but still with the full concurrence of the king. Henry had even authorized him to do so, in order that he might not incur the penalties imposed by a law of Richard II., and had, moreover, taken advantage of, as well as acknowledged, his powers in multiplied instruments, grants, and charters. Nevertheless, when the ruin of the Cardinal was to be effected, it was the pleasure of Henry to deny that he had ever recognized the Cardinal's right to exercise the powers of a Legate; and in order to escape contradiction, he ransacked the baggage of Wolsey for the letter that bore him harmless. When great men are mean their meanness is always in proportion to their greatness.

The ruin of the Cardinal bore fruits of its own. The king undertook to prosecute the Archbishop of Canterbury—York was vacant by the Cardinal's death,—all the bishops of the two provinces, the abbots, priors, and parish priests, for infringing the Act of *Præmunire*, which for a hundred and fifty years they had practically respected more than the Gospel. The violation of the act consisted, it seems, in their recognition of, and submission to, the Cardinal of York as legate *a latere*. It was very hard; for they could not help it, and the king had done as much, but then Henry could pardon himself, or deny his own acts, while they were at his mercy. The two provinces of Canterbury and York submitted to a compromise: Canterbury paid a fine of £100,000, and York £18,840. 0s. 10d.; but all this money, wrung from an impoverished clergy—for they had been harassed by subsidies—was not a sufficient bribe for the king. He required more, and that more he got, when the clergy recognized him as the supreme head of the Church of England. They did not mean to renounce the Pope yet; and they would have been very much astonished if they had been told that they were beginning a schism and travelling on

the road of heresy. They thought the act of submission, doubtless, an innovation, and they wished Henry had been satisfied with less, but they certainly did not intend to become Lutherans or even Anglicans; still less followers of Wickliffe, for the bishops were prosecuting them continually in their courts.

In the beginning of the schism the clergy had tried to save themselves by saying that they acknowledged the royal supremacy only in so far as it was lawful by the law of Christ—which it was not at all; but Henry VIII., who followed the “higher law” of his own will, disapproved of the qualification, and the clergy had to acknowledge him without any saving clause, and to promise on their priestly word never more to make any new canons in Convocation without his consent.

The king having got thus far into the sanctuary, Parliament steps in with him; and for a good reason, as the men of that day understood it. The peers and commoners would have gained nothing by withdrawing themselves from the obedience of the Pope, if they could not control or share in the new papacy established by schism. Acts of Parliament were therefore made to legalize the fraud which Henry and the clergy had committed, and accordingly no canon, old or new, should be executed if it were contrary or “repugnant to the laws, statutes, and customs of the realm.”* The laity under the new dispensation would have been reduced to a sorry plight if they had left matters as the king wished, because the king and the Convocation would have been stronger than the parliament, and the royal supremacy would have been a despotism like that of imperial Rome or of Turkey; and the “grievances” would have been infinitely heavier than any the Pope ever inflicted.

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and a zealous upholder of the supremacy, learned his lesson on this subject to his own utter amazement, some time after the Pope had been disowned. The bishop, in his simplicity, thought that he could exercise his office of ecclesiastical judge with impunity under the protection of the king, and that the *Præmunire* statute could not be applied to a loyal bishop, who had rejected the Pope and acknowledged the king for his supreme ordinary. Well, he was sorely in the dark: there were cleverer men than he in this business, and one of them was the Lord Chancellor Audley. The Bishop of Exeter and his chancellor were indicted upon that well-known statute of Richard II., and, of course, were convicted; though they had done nothing but minister the ecclesiastical law, and that in

* 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, § 7.

the king's name. Gardiner thought this strange, and complained to the Lord Chancellor. That judge gave him no comfort, but a good deal of alarm; for though Gardiner was a wretched Catholic, he believed a good many articles of the Creed even to the end, in a certain way. Lord Audley, probably, after enjoying the bishop's perplexity for a minute or two, proceeded in this wise to enlighten him as to the true meaning of the horrible sacrilege which he was instrumental in bringing about:—"Thou art a good fellow, bishop," says the Lord High Chancellor to the Bishop of Winchester; "look at the Act of Supremacy, and there the king's doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction; and in another act it is provided that no spiritual law shall have place contrary to a common law or act of parliament. And if this were not, you bishops would enter in with the king and, by means of his supremacy, order the laity as ye listed. But we will provide that the *Præmunire* shall ever hang over your heads; and so we laymen shall be sure to enjoy our inheritance by the common laws and acts of parliament."*

The act of *Præmunire* was directed against the Pope, and the bishops who consented to it in Parliament did not then dream that the provisions of that statute could be interpreted by lawyers in a sense injurious to their domestic authority. They mistook the matter utterly; for in the course of time, which bringeth knowledge, the courts of common law discovered that the spiritual courts were foreign courts, and not the courts of the king. The statute of *Præmunire* was therefore fatal to all "other courts" than those of the Crown. Gardiner, upholding the royal supremacy, writing against and renouncing the Pope, fondly imagined that he could hold his court as usual under the king's protection, but he was cruelly undeceived; and the removal of his delusion is a magnificent monument of the skill of English lawyers.

The bishops, abbots, and parish priests having renounced the Pope, and constituted themselves, without a shadow of excuse, in schism, began to cast about them how to reap, at least, some worldly advantage, from their spiritual ruin. Accordingly, in 1533 they petitioned Henry VIII. to help them to withhold from the Pope the accustomed tribute of first-fruits, which the bishops and archbishops paid at the time they received their bulls.† But as it was not improbable the Pope might have something to say to this proposal, the Convocation was ready with a remedy against his inter-

* Gardiner's Letter to the Lord Protector, in Foxe, vol. vi. p. 43. Townsend and Cattley edition.

† Wilkins, *Concil.*, iii. 760.

ference: it prayed the king, in that case, to refuse all obedience to the Holy See. Henry did not turn a deaf ear to a petition which he had probably himself suggested, and forthwith the two houses of Parliament released the clergy from the payment of first-fruits, and gave full dispensation to as many of them as might become bishops, in the matter of their bulls. Henceforth they were to be at liberty to accept bishoprics without consulting the Pope, or so much as informing him of that event in their lives; and, of course, the Pontifical officers were to receive no fees, not even compensation for the loss of vested rights. The king undertook to supply all their wants, to furnish them with the necessary faculties for the administration of their sees, and to give the pallium to the archbishops. This was nothing more and nothing less than the civil constitution of the clergy, which was adopted by other reformers in France at the close of the last century. The clergy got rid of "the exactions and ex-pilations," as they called them, "of the Court of Rome," and their bulls cost them nothing, because they did without them. Henry III. would not listen to their cry, but Henry VIII. was another kind of man: he had compassion, a "tender compassion," upon them; and as they were not afraid of the penalties of the next life, he undertook to stand between them and all harm in this. The clergy should keep their money.

However, before they had completely realized the blessedness of paying nothing for bulls, and doing without them for about fourteen months, the Supreme Head of the English Church found himself in pecuniary difficulties consequent upon his new functions—at least it is said so;—but whether it was so or not, matters very little, because his new subjects had to pay. The Act of Parliament is quite pathetic in its recital:—

Forasmuch as it is, and of every duty ought to be, the natural inclination of all good people, like most faithful, loving, and obedient subjects, sincerely and willingly to desire to provide, not only for the public weal of their native country, but also for the supportation, maintenance, and defence of the royal estate of their most dread, benign, and gracious sovereign lord, upon whom, and in whom, is all their joy and wealth,—

the Lords, spiritual and temporal, together with the Commons in Parliament assembled, calling to mind "the manifold and innumerable benefits daily administered by his highness to them all," proceed to enact, for the benefit of that "highness," in the following terms:—

That the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, for more augmentation and maintenance of the royal estate of his imperial

crown and dignity of supreme head of the Church of England, shall yearly have, take, enjoy, and receive, united and knit to his imperial crown for ever, one yearly rent or pension, amounting to the value of the tenth part of all the revenues, rents, farms, tithes, offerings, and emoluments, and all other profits, as well called spiritual as temporal, now appertaining or belonging, or that hereafter shall belong, to any archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, monastery, priory, archdeaconry, deanery, college, house collegiate, prebend, cathedral church, collegiate church, conventual church, parsonage, vicarage, chantry, free chapel, or other benefice or promotion spiritual, of what name, nature, or quality soever they be, within any diocese of this realm.*

It does not appear, then, that anything was gained, in a pecuniary sense, by the rejection of the Pope, seeing that the Crown stepped in and taxed the clergy with greater minuteness than the Pope ever did; for this yearly tithing of every priest who had any kind of "spiritual promotion," was in addition to the first-fruits, which were given to the king by another clause of the same act. The burdens anciently complained of were laid on again, and the miserable clergy were told that they must pay them for the support of "the dignity of the Supreme Head of the Church of England." The lay peers and commoners took care of their own interests, for they offered to contribute nothing for the maintenance of the king's spiritual dignity: they left that honourable charge to the clergy alone.

The new head was rather hard upon his faithful subjects; for he required of them to pay, not only the whole profits of the first year, but also the tenth part in addition. This was a somewhat heavy price to pay, even for the denial of the Pope's authority; and accordingly, in the next session of Parliament, the king, out of "his entire and hearty love," remitted the tithes of the first year, because he took the whole profits, and left nothing out of which the new incumbent, renouncing the Pope, could, by any possibility, pay a tenth.

It is to the credit of the bishops under this new constitution of the clergy, that they were able to make very considerable profits for a time—but only till they were found out—by means of the law concerning first-fruits and tenths. They kept the benefices vacant as long as they could, and took the revenues themselves. Their ingenuity, however, was discovered by men as clever as they were, and an Act of Parliament† soon put a stop to their illicit gains, and probably not without damage to the Crown. The abbots now began to be

* 26 Henry VIII., c. 3, § 9.

† 28 Henry VIII., c. 11.

summarily relieved of all burdens of first-fruits and tenths ; for as many of them as had not more than £200 a year were deprived of their office ; and in 1540, every abbot, and every abbess, prior, and prioress were extinguished for ever in the new Church of England, and their possessions given up to the supreme head of that Church. The Pope had never pressed them so hard.

All this, indeed, relates to the exterior jurisdiction of the new religion, and is compatible with a simple state of schism ; but in practice it was not, and indeed could not be. Henry VIII. was not a mere persecutor, who compelled bishops against their will to sacrifice to the idol of his vanity ; he did more : he entered boldly into the sanctuary, and sat down "in the Temple of God," a fearful type of "the man of sin." The "jurisdictions, privileges, immunities, profits, and commodities," of the supreme head—hitherto the Sovereign Pontiff—were "annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm:" the king was to have power and authority to repress "heresies," and became, in one word, in the new religion what the Sovereign Pontiff is in the Catholic Church.

During the reign of Henry VIII., this was a terrible sacrilege : for the bishops had begun their rule in the obedience of the Pope ; the priests were lawful priests ; and the sacraments they ministered were the sacraments of Holy Church. Henry VIII. presumed to intermeddle in their ministrations by the regulations he made, and disturbed the belief of men by the new doctrines he compelled them to hold. He stood in the place of the Pope, as the ordinary judge of the bishops, and pretended to exclude his authority from the realm. He even constituted a Vicar-general to represent him, and this officer sat in Parliament and in Convocation above the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the representative of the king's supreme authority.

Something ought to be said of this functionary, who was none other than Thomas Cromwell, formerly in the household of Cardinal Wolsey, and the unscrupulous minister of that prelate. Wolsey was not lucky in his immediate friends ; and the principles they avowed make us afraid for the Cardinal himself. Certainly none of those he trusted held what are now called ultramontane views. Even Sir Thomas More was the friend of Erasmus, and held that "a Council was above the Pope." Bishop Gardiner, Wolsey's trusted servant, went along with Henry to the end, and the men whom the Cardinal chose to be the first inmates of his new college in Oxford were heretics, with hardly an exception. But conspicuous among the Cardinal's men is Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex,

and Vicar-general of Henry VIII. This man was in Italy when the army of Charles V., commanded by the Duke of Bourbon, sacked Rome and made the Pope a prisoner in May, 1527. That sack of the Holy City is memorable for the infamous conduct of the soldiery, for the sacrileges they committed, and for the horrible buffooneries with which they mocked our Divine Lord in the person of His Vicar, Clement VII.

There is said to have been among the followers of the Duke of Bourbon—whether he was among the mock cardinals who rode in procession on asses, I do not know—an Englishman of low birth, vicious habits, and infidel principles, who afterwards became of terrific importance to the Church of England. His friends tell us that, in after life, he described himself as having formerly been a ruffian; and it is likely that when this happened, whether he was that or not, he had no preference and no respect for either Popery or Protestantism, and acted under no principle but that which taught him to do the best for himself. If he was at the sacking of Rome, it seems more likely that he was there in the service of Wolsey than as a trooper of the Duke of Bourbon. Certainly he was soon afterwards a servant of the Cardinal, and continued to serve him until his disgrace in October, 1529.*

Dr. Maitland, from whom we have borrowed this account of the Vicar-general, adds that there was “a current and well-credited report—one therefore not likely to have been entirely without foundation—that when his master was disgraced he would be hanged.” Foxe also, who praises Cromwell above all Englishmen, living or dead, admits that there was a time when—

Cromwell had got no sound taste nor judgment in religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and His Word, as he himself was wont oftentimes to declare unto Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury: showing what a ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the wars of the Duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome.†

We are afraid that most people will think Cromwell too modest in his account of himself, and that he was “a ruffian” all his life as well as “in his young days.” While he was in the service of the Cardinal, his reputation was so bad, that even Henry VIII. hated to hear of him; and that monarch refused to see him after the fall of the Cardinal. But Cromwell had a friend near the king, whose name was John Russell; and

* Dr. Maitland's *Essays on the Reformation*, p. 228.

† *Acts and Monuments*, v. p. 365.

this man, hungry and thirsty for the lands of abbots and bishops, persuaded the king to see the "ruffian," whose life was already due to the last justice of the law. When Henry and Cromwell met face to face, the two men understood one another at once: the instincts of evil are infallible, and they became and continued friends till the stronger grew wearied of the weaker. It is not very clearly expressed by anybody by what particular acts Cromwell had deserved the gallows; but later inquirers have conjectured that he conducted himself dishonestly in the matter of those monasteries which the Cardinal suppressed in order to found his two colleges. Foxe admits that he was complained of "for his rude manner and homely dealing, in defacing the monks' houses, and in handling of their altars, &c."* It can hardly be a breach of charity to interpret this into downright fraud and robbery while he was executing the Cardinal's behests. He may have suppressed monasteries which he ought not to have touched, and he may have taken the plate and vestments of the churches he despoiled, for his private use and profit.

Well, this is the man who, quitting the Cardinal when he fell, rose to be the Vicar-general of Henry VIII. and the true reformer of the Church of England. Besides his "ruffian" manners—otherwise, "homely dealing"—he had another qualification: "he was the great patron of ribaldry and the protector of the ribalds, of the low jester, the filthy ballad-monger, the alehouse singer, and hypocritical mockers in feasts; in short, of all the blasphemous mocking and scoffing which disgraced the Protestant party at the time of the Reformation."† As Vicar-general of Henry VIII., Cromwell had to conform to the established religion, to hear Mass, and even to punish the Protestants whom he secretly encouraged, and who counted on his support. On one occasion he had to pronounce sentence of death upon a priest who was not a greater heretic than the Vicar-general himself. This was John Lambert, who, in addition to the heresies of Wickliffe, which he had learned at home, had adopted those of Luther, picked up abroad. He was discovered in the lifetime of Archbishop Warham, who proceeded against him, but died before the cause was ripe for sentence. Lambert therefore was in prison when Cranmer became archbishop, but he was let loose, and, presuming too much upon the general licence then accorded to all false teachers, vented his heresies without much respect for others. He was a man who "left his priest-

* *Acts and Monuments*, v. p. 366. † *Essays on the Reformation*, p. 236.

hood . . . intending shortly after also to be free of the grocers and to be married." * In this he was disappointed, for he was delated to Cranmer by two heretics, only not so far gone as he was, and Cranmer was compelled to try him in his court. Lambert then appealed to the king, as the supreme head of the Church, and Cranmer's superior judge. Henry entertained the appeal, and tried the whole case with great pomp in Westminster Hall, where he sat as the judge, clothed in white, with the bishops on his right hand and the temporal lords on his left. Lambert refused to recant his heresies at the king's command, and was sentenced to be burned. Cromwell, the Vicar-general, to whom heresy and orthodoxy were indifferent matters, pronounced the terrible sentence, and exulted in it afterwards as in a matter which showed the "excellent gravity and inestimable majesty" with which the king exercised the "office of supreme head of the Church of England." †

The supremacy established by Henry, developed by his Vicar-general, the unbelieving Cromwell, and vested for ever in the Crown, came one day—but, as we shall see, shorn of its meaning—into the hands of Elizabeth. It had been wielded by a child (Edward VI.), and so there was no reason why a woman should not be supreme over all who taught in the Church, where she herself is bound to be silent. But before she held this dangerous office, it had been held effectually by Queen Mary the Catholic, as it was held at a later time by James II., though it then differed in many things from what it was when Mary had it. This power belonged subsequently to William III., whose baptism is more doubtful than his religion, and to George I., who was an ignorant Lutheran. In our days it has come down to her Majesty the Queen, who is, personally, no more interested in it than she is in the processes that issue out of Chancery or a police court. Queen Mary, after a time, renounced the supremacy, and the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff was in some degree recognized by the bishops, clergy, and people. Elizabeth attempted to grasp it again, but failed: the matter evaporated, and her hands were empty when she closed them. She was also compelled to disclaim "the power of ministry of divine service," which nobody attributed to her, and the two houses of Parliament stepped in and deprived her and her new bishops of the power of defining what is or is not heresy, by insisting that the consent of Parliament is necessary in any resolution which shall make any proposition heretical. ‡ This completed the

* Foxe, v. 226.

† Collier, ii. 152, fol. edition.

‡ 1 Eliz. c. 1, sec. 36.

new religion which Lord Audley revealed to Gardiner, and which, it must be confessed, took that loyal bishop by surprise. Queen Elizabeth, when she recounted her titles, omitted that of Supreme Head, and not without reason: it did not mean what it meant in the hands of her father and her brother, and Parliament had really assumed it to itself.

Henry VIII. found the Pope in possession, and succeeded in ousting him as he thought: the bishops, abbots, and parish priests all acknowledged the new lord, and said Mass as if they were good Catholics. It was not so with Elizabeth: the bishops who had changed so often were ashamed to change again; or were honestly penitent, and meant to persevere; and so she had to construct a new Church, for the old one refused to submit, and of the new Church she was undoubtedly the supreme head, because law and practice were in her favour. The Protestant bishops acknowledged her, accepted their jurisdiction from her, and never for a moment dreamed that they had any power which she could not control. Her authority—like the authority of her successors—is founded on the statute: but it is sanctioned and accepted in the canons of the established religion, in the first of which it is ordained “that the archbishop of Canterbury, all bishops of this province, all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and all other ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and as much as in them lieth, shall cause to be observed and kept of others,” all the laws and statutes touching the royal supremacy. This canon is now suffering a harmless violence at the hands of those who are protesting against the recent decision of the Committee of the Privy Council.

Henry VIII. and his advisers severed the local Church of England from the mother Church of Rome by prohibiting appeals to the Pope, and completed the schism by causing bishops to be consecrated without bulls. These bishops, consecrated by Cranmer, who, having obtained his own bulls, renounced the use of them, were simple heretics and schismatics, for whom there is neither defence nor excuse imaginable. They possessed themselves fraudulently of supernatural powers, so long as the Pontifical was used, and committed an act of the most heinous and detestable sacrilege in the profanation of the sacrament of which they were the wicked and unworthy recipients. The theory on which this abomination of desolation was set up is revealed to us in the statute 24 Henry VIII. c. 12, § 1. It is there gravely asserted that “England is an empire” under “one supreme head and king,” who has a “body politic” of many men distinguished by the names of “spirituality and temporality.” This head is also “furnished”

with "plenary, whole, and entire power" and "jurisdiction" to give "final determination to all manner of folk" within the kingdom "in all causes," without appeal therefrom to any "foreign princes or potentates of the world." By these "foreign princes or potentates" is meant the Pope, and the Pope only; for nobody else exercised, or claimed to exercise, any jurisdiction in England, unless the lawyers of Henry VIII. meant also to refute the opinion of the old jurisconsults of Germany, that the emperor's jurisdiction in civil matters was co-extensive with the Catholic Church.

Further, the statute contemplates divers "causes," and comprehends them all—civil, ecclesiastical, and spiritual; but the "final determination" of every one of them belongs to the king, who, in the language of that day, is the fountain out of which all jurisdiction flows, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular.* Courts exist for the discussion and decision of causes, under the king, and the limits of their authority have been settled so that none of them shall encroach upon the jurisdiction of the others. Some causes are carried into the Exchequer Chamber, some into the Court of Common Pleas, some into the King's Bench, and some into the Court of Chancery. There are also causes which are within the exclusive competence of the Court of Admiralty, and others of Courts Martial; and finally there are causes to be tried before judges ecclesiastical; but in all these courts, and before all these judges, the disputed matter is always "within the kingdom" and within the jurisdiction of the king; so that the discontented litigant may always appeal to him either in Parliament or in the Privy Council. The king or queen is the supreme judge in the last resort; and the decision given is the end of controversy. The kingdom is a moral and spiritual unity governed and influenced by one head; and by the law no doubts can arise within it for which the king is not the adequate and the competent judge.

The Catholic Church is simply caricatured, for the constitution of England is the counterfeit of that of the Church—but with a notable difference. In England the so-called spiritual power is "annexed" to the crown: in other words, religion is a function of the state, a department of the administration; it is a form and not a power, a representation and not a reality; because it has no independence, being simply that which the government chooses to make it. In Rome the

* "Omnis jurisdictio, et ecclesiastica et sæcularis, ab eo [rege] tanquam ex uno et eodem fonte derivatur." *Reform. Legum, de Off. Judic.*, p. 200, Ed. Cardwell.

temporal power is annexed to the spiritual; civil authority is elevated into a function of religion; secular dominion has been sanctified, as marriage has been raised to the inexpressible dignity of a sacrament. In Rome the supernatural is supreme; in England, the natural: in the former the Pope is king; in the latter the king is Pope.

In the Church, if a bishop's title be questioned, he produces his bulls, by which his consecration is authorized, or his faculties from the Sovereign Pontiff, who is the supreme head of the Church. The test of a bishop is his recognition by the Pope. So is it, with a difference, in the established religion. No Protestant bishop can be made without the Queen's consent. The test was applied in the year 1566, when Bonner had denied that Horne was lawful bishop of Winchester. In the ordinary course of law, that question would have been decided in the Court of Queen's Bench; but it was thought more prudent to end it in Parliament by a new statute.* The question was then decided upon the true principle: that is, the principle is true in the Church, though otherwise applied; and true in England, according to the new constitution. That principle is this: Elizabeth the Queen had succeeded to the throne of Henry VIII., according to the law, and, "being most justly and lawfully invested in the imperial crown of this realm," and further, "having in her majesty's order and disposition" all the "jurisdictions, powers, and authorities over the state ecclesiastical and temporal," had "caused divers and sundry grave and well-learned men to be duly elected, made, and consecrated archbishops and bishops;" it was therefore decreed that such bishops should be held for true and lawful bishops. Now, the reason of this decision is simply the Queen's recognition: she, as supreme head of the Church of England, had appointed the bishops and commanded their ordination. Hence, schism in this country is non-communion with the sovereign.

In the reign of Elizabeth the few Catholics left in England began to see the real nature of that supremacy which Henry had set up, and which certain bishops were not disinclined to continue under Philip and Mary. The bull of S. Pius V. opened many eyes, and conformity with the established religion, then grown strong, was broken in upon. But among the most persevering enemies of the royal supremacy were certain Protestants, forerunners of the Puritans, men who could not be made to understand that civil power gave authority in matters of faith. The Anglican

* 8 Eliz. c. 1.

religion was now on its defence in a double way: the Catholics awaking out of their trance, and the Puritans young and resolute, prepared for sedition and rebellion in the cause they had undertaken to defend.

The Puritans, under many names, became strong, and the new bishops, of the race of Dr. Parker, were unable to answer their objections to the singular religion then set up. Most of the foreign Reformers were on their side; but as those foreigners were tyrants generally, they, too, had their rebels, and one of these was the physician Erastus, whose name has become popular as a term of reproach. This man, unable to endure that species of spiritual power which had been invented and exercised by the Reformers of Geneva, wrote a book to prove that there was no such thing as spiritual power at all, and that all power belonged to the State. "Tell it to the Church," according to Erastus, means "lay an information before the magistrate."* The author died before he had printed his book, but his widow carefully preserved the manuscript. The English bishops, tormented by the Calvinistic school, heard of this precious document, purchased it of the widow, and Archbishop Whitgift licensed Wolf, the queen's printer, to print it. But the affair was delicate: the bishops had to pretend before the Catholics that they were bishops, and had valid orders at least—so they could not decently give their sanction to this detestable book of Erastus. The title-page therefore has, instead of London, Pesclavii, and for the name of Wolf, the real printer, it has, apud Baocium Sultaceterum, 1589, which is said to be an anagram of Jacobus Castelvetrus,† the second husband of the widow of Erastus.

When the bishops failed to reduce the Puritans to conformity by parading the civil magistrate as the judge of controversies, they instituted a new school, of which Bancroft, Bishop of London, was, we believe, the first doctor. There now ensued much talk about the divine right of bishops, but there was never any explanation given of what was really meant by the phrase. The Government did not like the doctrine much, and prudent men refused to commit themselves to it; nevertheless it had its use, and was serviceable, in divers ways, in the many controversies which abounded in the land. But, ordinarily, whenever an Anglican disputed with a Catholic, he borrowed his reasons from infidels; and when he had to confront the Dissenter, he took up tradition

* Erast. Theol. 52. "Dic Ecclesie, non aliud significare quam dic populi tui magistratui."

† Placcii Theatr. de Pseudon. p. 577, n. 2602.

and the authority of the Church, as if he had been a devout Catholic, and went regularly to Mass.

It was towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, when penal laws, rigorously executed, had consolidated the constitution in Church and State, that a formal theory of the new religion was perfected for the use of men. This was the "Ecclesiastical Polity" of Richard Hooker: a defence of the system, against the Puritan on the one hand, and against the Catholic on the other. Against the Puritan, when he stands alone, the argument is drawn from authority; and against the Catholic, when he stands alone, it is drawn from the vagueness of unbelief. The middle course is so difficult to keep where the two sides require a "Yes" or a "No," admitting of no compromise.

The royal supremacy is defended by Hooker against Catholics and Dissenters, by reference to the history of the Jews:—

According to the pattern of which example the like power in causes ecclesiastical is, by the laws of this realm, annexed unto the crown.*

Again:—

In a word, our estate is according to the pattern of God's own ancient elect people, which people was not, part of them the Commonwealth, and part of them the Church of God; but the self-same people, whole and entire, were both under one chief governor, on whose supreme authority they did all depend.†

Now, to the Puritan this argument must have proved troublesome, but to the Catholic it means neither more nor less than that "the judicious Hooker" had renounced the Christian religion, or had taken leave of his senses. The Gallican de Marca did not like to measure Christian things by the rule of the ancient law,‡ it being clear to all within the Church that in the Hebrew synagogue and temple there could be none of that "spiritual" power which was first given to S. Peter. Hooker having made all he could of the synagogue, particularly against the Puritan, generally only against the Catholic, labours to answer the Catholic who rejected the supremacy of the king, in another fashion; and it must be confessed that nothing can be weaker than his reasoning.

As for supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs, the Word of God doth nowhere appoint that all kings should have it, neither that any should not have it; for which cause it seemeth to stand altogether by human right, that unto Christian kings there is such dominion given.§

* *Eccles. Polity*, b. viii., c. i., § 2.

† *Ibid*, § 7.

‡ *De Concord. Sacrd. et Imper.*, lib. ii. c. 5, § 6. "Non bene merentur de Romano Pontifice, neque de regibus Christianis, qui auctoritatem harum dignitatum in Ecclesia Christiana ex institutis Judaicis mutuuntur."

§ *Eccles. Polity*, b. viii., c. ii., § 5.

Though Hooker is unable to find any reasonable grounds for the supremacy he maintains, he is perfectly satisfied as to its extent, and does not hesitate, in his laborious style, to defend the constitution in Church and State. He theorized on the facts before him, and as at that time Church and State were, in the contemplation of the law, coextensive, so he regards both these terms—Church and State—as a description of one and the same subject in two aspects: Church as to religion, State as to political affairs. Hooker did not evolve all the consequences of his theory, but he laid down the principles which were subsequently elaborated by Hobbes of Malmesbury, who was not deterred by many considerations which must have pressed on the mind of his predecessor. Hobbes, too, approves of the argument drawn from the ancient law, and, after reciting the consecration of the Temple by Solomon, adds, “whereby it appears, he had not only the right of ecclesiastical government, but also of exercising ecclesiastical functions.” This author is of opinion that “every Christian sovereign has authority, not only to preach, which perhaps no man will deny,”—herein he differs from Queen Elizabeth—“but also to baptize and to administer the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, and to consecrate both temples and pastors to God’s service, which most men deny.” But here is the doctrine put forth in a clear and compendious form:—

Seeing, then, in every Christian commonwealth, the civil sovereign is the supreme pastor, to whose charge the whole flock of his subjects is committed, and consequently that it is by his authority that all other pastors are made, and have power to teach, and perform all other pastoral offices; it followeth, also, that it is from the civil sovereign that all other pastors derive their rights of teaching, preaching, and other functions pertaining to that office, and that they are but his ministers, in the same manner as the magistrates of towns, judges in courts of justice, and commanders of armies are all but ministers of him that is the magistrate of the whole commonwealth, judge of all causes, and commander of the whole militia, which is always the civil sovereign. And the reason hereof is, not because they that teach, but because they that are to learn are his subjects.*

In another place he says, “It is the civil sovereign that is to appoint judges and interpreters of the Canonical Scriptures, for it is he that maketh them laws.” With him, too, “a church and a commonwealth of Christian people are the same thing:”† agreeing with Hooker, but, above all, with Henry VIII. and his parliament, who mastered and taught this theory before either of them.

* *Leviathan*, pt. iii., c. xlii., p. 539. London, 1839. † *Ibid*, p. 547.
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It is quite clear that the "judicious Hooker" and the "infidel Hobbes" drew their doctrines from a common source—the constitution of England fashioned by the Reformers. The acts of Parliament and the practice of the lawyers agree in reducing, so far as they can, the whole sum of Christian religion—that is, all of it that they think obligatory—within the domains of the civil jurisprudence. When a litigant failed in the Courts of the Archbishop of Canterbury to obtain such sentence as he desired, he did not bow to the authority of that personage, or to the learning of his judges; for he appealed "to our sovereign lord, the king, and to the Court of Chancery, and to the same our lord the king in his Court of Chancery,"* against the decision of what he regarded as the spiritual judge. The archbishop of the province was not the supreme authority at any time in England; for, as before Henry VIII. was king, people appealed to the Sovereign Pontiff in due course of law, so now they appealed from the Protestant archbishop, not, of course, to the Pope, but to the head of the State, who is also the head of the national Church, and the legal fount of its jurisdiction.

The custom was for many years to issue a commission out of Chancery to certain common-law judges and advocates practising in the Court of Arches, to hear and determine the appeal. These were called delegates: that is, they were judges delegated by the Crown to exercise the supreme jurisdiction vested in it by statute. Even if the Lord Chancellor had appointed bishops—which of late years he never did—as delegates, it would have in nothing altered the character of the court, which was the court of the king for the final solution of spiritual doubts in England. This arrangement was changed by Parliament some thirty years ago, when, in the reign of William IV.,† the new court called that of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was made a permanent court of appeal for ecclesiastical questions: such as could be raised within the national establishment. Since the 1st of February, 1833, that court is the supreme tribunal of the English religion. The sovereign hears appeals from the bishops in the Privy Council, and not through the instrumentality of delegates appointed for each cause. The jurisprudence is therefore more settled, and people may probably have more confidence in a permanent court than they had in men whom the Chancellor chose at his will. Be this as it may, this is now the status of the royal supremacy: it is complete as regards the Establishment, and the exercise of it is within the control of Parlia-

* Oughton, i., p. 421.

† 2 and 3 Will. IV., c. 92.

ment. The judges who determine in the last resort need not be all of them members of the Establishment, even in name; and a decision has been given by that tribunal, the practical effect of which is that they, any more than others of the Queen's subjects, need not even be baptized. The law of the Church, as it is called, is the law of the land, and nothing more: what that law forbids the national clergy must abstain from; and what that law commands they must perform; where the law is silent, there they have liberty. Accordingly, the open questions in theology are simply those which have not been closed by Act of Parliament, which is the supreme court for determining what is, or is not, heresy, because the consent of that body is necessary by law to such a determination.

In other words, religion is in England a department of law: it ranks with equity or admiralty cases. There have been lawyers who made it their special study, as others study common law, or commercial law, or the law of contracts, or that of buyers and sellers, or of tithes, or of peerage cases. It is within the competence of the Queen's judges, and if there be any religious question which none of the judges will undertake to settle, that question will be an open question, and a man may take what view he likes of it without censure. The definition of it is not necessary to, and forms no part of, the English religion as by law established.

The supremacy as it exists at this day is not what it was when Henry VIII. assumed it, because Parliament has diminished the matter to which it is extended. In the beginning the State undertook to "repress . . . all such errors, heresies, . . . whatsoever they be, which by any manner [of] spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may be lawfully . . . repressed . . . most to the pleasure of Almighty God."* Henry VIII. acknowledged no limits to his power, and Parliament, when it assigned certain limits to that power, went then no further than the existing law. But under Queen Elizabeth it went further, and enacted that its own consent must be had before any new heresies could be branded as such and punished. And since that day the jurisdiction of the Crown in spiritual matters has been confined within the statute law, and is insufficient for the condemnation of any heresy which may arise, without an act of Parliament to enable it to do so. Certain old heresies remain unlawful still, and probably will remain so for some time; but it is perfectly certain that the judges cannot visit with censure any

* 26 Henry VIII., c. 1.

heretic who may improve upon the opinions of those who lived before the Reformation.

The supreme court of appeal has laid down this principle in the clearest manner; and there is no better evidence of the extent of a court's jurisdiction other than the declaration of that court when its jurisdiction is invoked or challenged. Thus in the *Gorham* case it was laid down by the judges on appeal, that—

This court has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought to be, in any particular, the doctrine of the Church of England. Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England, upon the true and legal construction of her articles and formularies.

The court has subsequently ratified this principle by the adoption of the words in which it is conveyed, when it gave sentence, in February last, in favour of the appellants Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson. The doctrines of the Established Church are settled by Act of Parliament; and whatever is outside the statutes is not the doctrine of that Church: a doctrine may be true, and even necessary to salvation, but it is not penal to deny it; and it may be contradicted with impunity, provided that no statute protect it. Many people will be shocked when they learn this, because they have often heard it said that Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land, but it is nevertheless the truth; for the highest court in the realm, from which there is no appeal, has deliberately assumed it as the ground of all decisions it may give in matters of religion. "On matters on which the Church has prescribed no rule,"—that is, matters not touched upon in the "Articles and Formularies"—there is so far freedom of opinion that they may be discussed without penal consequences. Nothing can be more clear than this declaration of the court of appeal; and the inference therefore is that there may be necessary and important doctrines which no minister of the national religion is bound to teach, or which he is bound to respect, or which he may not publicly preach against.

The principle, then, upon which this doctrine rests is none other than the conclusion at which Hobbes arrived; and which he expressed in these terms:—

The Scripture of the New Testament is there only law where the lawful civil power hath made it so.*

Thus the established religion, according to the judges in the

* *Leviathan*, pt. iii., c. xlii., p. 520. London. 1839.

highest court, is not Christianity as a whole, even in the sense of those who profess it; they have adopted, as they think, certain portions of the revelation of God, and have incorporated them into the law, and as parts of the law they are obligatory upon the ministers of the national Church; but all that part of the Christian doctrines not so incorporated is of no obligation; that is, the courts of law will not only not enforce them, but will even maintain and protect those who deny them.

The Queen is by custom styled "Defender of the Faith," but the legal meaning of those words has been changed since Henry VIII., in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, A.D. 1544, having forfeited his claim to it as a Papal grant, annexed it to the imperial crown. Now the Queen renounces the title, at least her judges renounce it for her, so far as it means anything. The judges say, and repeat, "This court [of appeal] has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith." They do not pretend to give a sentence in conformity with truth, but with statute law; and a sentence notoriously at variance with the plainest precepts of revealed religion would be a valid and legal sentence, which the police, and if need be, a regiment of dragoons, might be called in to enforce.

It is now perfectly certain—indeed it always has been—that the established religion is not the Christian faith other than in name. The judges of the supreme court of appeal in ecclesiastical causes renounce all jurisdiction in matters of faith: they do not pretend to know anything of religion or theology; they shrink from contemplating them; and if a man were brought before them for teaching the final salvation of the devil in a state of obstinate impenitence, they would release him from all further observance of justice because the contrary of that opinion is nowhere to be found within the statutes of the realm: such a man might be a privy councillor and a bishop of the national Church.

The Anglican ministers are not bound to teach the faith, they are not bound to hold it, and they may deny it, because the supreme court has no knowledge of it, nor jurisdiction relating to it. Some thirty years ago there was a good deal of noise made about "reserve in communicating religious knowledge," and many a man screamed with a frantic energy that the "ministers of the Gospel" were bound to declare "the whole counsel of God." Well, it seems they are not: the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decides that they are not; more than that, it has decided that they may suppress it and falsify it, if they like to do so. If it be their pleasure to preach heresies they may do so; they shall be protected in

their benefices in order to do so; provided always they do not contradict an Act of Parliament, in other words, the Act of Uniformity passed in the reign of Charles II.

Here we have a clear proof of the fact that the Catholic faith slipped out of the grasp of the State when Elizabeth became Queen. Henry VIII. laid his hands on the Church; Edward VI. had not wholly destroyed it when he died: the bishops and priests who conformed to his will, and used the new rites of man's devising, were sacred persons, upon whom the holy oil had flowed, and to whom supernatural powers had been once given. But it was not so with Elizabeth, notwithstanding her hypocrisy: the Bishop of Carlisle consented to crown her, in violation of the rights of some other prelate; and she swore to protect the liberties of the Church, for she was crowned with Catholic rites, like a Catholic queen, according to the Roman Pontifical. This was all that was done. The Catholic bishops were displaced, apostates and heretics usurped their dignities, but no Catholic bishop submitted to the supremacy of Elizabeth. She founded a new religion, and instituted a new Church; the ancient faith was proscribed, and the profession of it was made penal.

The English Protestants, now masters of the State, pretended to teach the religion of Christ more truly than the Catholic Church, and to teach the whole of it. It is admitted by all that they made great changes—that they rejected sacraments, mutilated the sacred writings, and remodelled the Divine revelation to suit State necessities; but, for all this, they did not hesitate to maintain that they taught and held the true faith of Christ. This is now proved to be an imposture: for we have the deliberate declaration of the Supreme Court that the national religion has nothing to do with faith. The three prelates of Canterbury, York, and London, accept and concur in the portentous declaration: "This court has no jurisdiction to settle matters of faith." But the powers of the court extend to all matters of the national religion, and no minister of that religion may contradict it with impunity; yet is it lawful for him to contradict the faith as such, provided he does not meddle with matters settled by statute. It is clear, then, by the confession of the supreme judges, that the national religion and the faith of Christ are not one and the same thing.

The national doctrines have been settled once for all; they cannot be "amended;" though the sovereign claimed power to do so in the reign of Henry VIII.; and yet there is no pretence of infallibility. Hence it follows that the doctrines may be false, and that they cannot be "amended." The national religion is not true; it need not be true upon the

principles of those who profess it; and a Parliament composed in part of unbelievers and Jews is the only tribunal which can effectually correct the errors it may involve. It is not within the competence of the highest court in the kingdom, though constituted specially for spiritual and ecclesiastical purposes, to "settle matters of faith," or even to tell its suitors "what ought to be the doctrines of the Church of England." That Church, so far as the court is concerned, may teach damnable errors, may teach pollution of the worst kind; and, if so, it must continue so to teach; it is not the business of the court to make things straight, but to see that the law is kept; and it does not care in the slightest degree whether that law be good or evil.

If the "Church of England" teaches, as a matter of fact, a single article of the faith, that is an accident: it is no part of its business to do so. On the other hand, it may teach nothing of the kind. It may be, as the judges say, that "there may be matters of religious belief on which the requisition of the Church [of England] may be less than Scripture may seem to warrant." Thus, according to the highest authority of the Anglican community, it is possible that the ministers of it are not bound to teach fundamental verities without which salvation is impossible. A member, therefore, of the Establishment who should, with the utmost sincerity, set himself to ascertain what his religion means, may even, upon the principles which he holds, fail to discover that which it is absolutely necessary he should find: his Church does not speak the whole truth; it is silent where it ought to have spoken, and keeps back from those who belong to it what God has spoken to all. This is the real state of the case, according to the declaration of the supreme tribunal which regulates the national religion. The Established Church does not, upon its own principles, teach the faith.

To those outside that community, this is no novel information: it has long been known that the Establishment is a religious system inconsistent and incomplete; but it was hardly to be expected that we should hear from the mouths of the judges sitting in the highest court, that the tribunals of a religion which sets itself up as the most pure in the world, should be without jurisdiction to settle matters of faith;—in other words, the faith, as such, is a subject beyond its province, and there are no means accessible to the members of the Establishment, within that Establishment, by which they can tell what the faith is. Its ministers may preach lies, may deny the faith, and teach all imaginable errors, if so it please them; and there is no judge to correct their excesses, or even

to tell the people whether they commit excesses or not. We repeat, then, the Christian faith, as such, is not held by the Established Church; for that community is, according to the declaration of its highest court, not bound to hold or teach matters of faith.

It may be urged, in reply, perhaps, that "the Articles and formularies" derive none of their binding force from the secular courts which interpret them, and that they proceed from a higher original—from "the Church." But there is no recognition of that higher original anywhere to be found: the courts repudiate it; and, what is more to the purpose, the very men who adopted, as well as the men who devised, the Articles, never imagined that they could give them any weight. These men, better informed when they signed the Thirty-nine Articles in February, 1563, made a protestation of their own spiritual and civil impotence: they subscribed that document, and put it forth as a humble petition to the supreme authority that it might be made binding upon them.* The "formularies"—by which, we presume, the Book of Common Prayer is meant—are not the work of any other person than the civil legislature; for even in the 80th of the Canons of 1603, that book is referred to as "lately explained in some few points, by his Majesty's authority:" in other words, by King James I., who proved his supremacy by making corrections in the public offices of the religion he professed, the moment he crossed the border and became the holder of the crown to which that supremacy was annexed.

Certain members of the National Establishment cling to it still, because, as they think, its ministers are priests, and administer at least two of the sacraments which our Lord had instituted for the salvation of men. Let it be admitted for a moment, but only by way of supposition, that there are priests, and bishops, and sacraments—two only—accessible to the members of the national community: it will make nothing for them. These priests and bishops have sold themselves to the secular power; they have betrayed their trust, and there is no security against deception. They have ceased to teach truth, as such; they are not bound to teach the truth at all. "Matters of faith" they have nothing to do with; and it is no part of their duty to teach them. They have thus abandoned the priestly function, and have abjured that knowledge

* "Ista subscriptio facta est ab omnibus sub hac protestatione, quod nihil statuunt in præjudicium cujusque senatus consulti, sed tantum supplicem libellum petitiones suas continentem humiliter offerunt."—Wilkins, *Concil.* iv. p. 238.

the guardianship of which is committed to priests:—*labia sacerdotis custodient scientiam.*

Two most serious doctrines were admitted, in the court appealed from, to be doctrines binding on the conscience of the ministers of the national religion; and the promoters of the litigation in the court below did not dream that the sentence of Dr. Lushington could be reversed on those points, when it came to be reviewed by the supreme judges sitting in the court of final appeal. We borrow the words of Mgr. Manning in his short but impressive Letter to an Anglican Friend* :—

After full hearing, the sentence given was a reversal of the judgment of the court below; or, in other words, a declaration that to deny the inspiration of any portion of the Old and New Testament, so long as no entire book is thereby erased from the Canon, and to deny the eternity of punishment to the wicked,† is not at variance with the articles or formularies of the Church of England.—P. 19.

Thus the decision in itself is a very grave thing, no doubt, in one sense; but only till men realize that the judges were incompetent upon their own showing. They were not judges of doctrine, but of common and statute law, and had no sort of authority whatever to determine the questions put before them; neither did they—in fact, they determined nothing more than this: that there is no law, common or statute, which requires any man to hold any opinion either way on controverted matter. The truth or falsehood of the incriminated propositions remains untouched, because the judges had no jurisdiction in the case.

The decisions of the Privy Council—whether right or wrong—are in themselves an element of no value in the appreciation which men ought to make of the national religion. The subject-matter really to be considered is the fact of the existence of that tribunal, and its own account of itself. The court is the highest spiritual court to which Anglicans have access, as Anglicans; from it they derive the knowledge of their duties, and the solution of their doubts: it is from it they learn whether certain propositions may be maintained; but they cannot learn whether they are true or false—for the court cannot answer that question. If an

* *The Crown in Council on the Essays and Reviews*: a Letter to an Anglican Friend. By Henry Edward Manning, D.D. London: Longman. 1864.

† This doctrine was taught in England about five hundred years ago, and was condemned in 1368 by Simon Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury, sitting at Lambeth. It was expressed in these words:—"Quod omnes homines damnati in inferno sunt reparabiles et beatificabiles."

Anglican wishes to learn whether Baptism has, in a given case, been validly administered, he cannot obtain any information; though if he wishes to know whether the administration was legal, according to Act of Parliament, the court will enlighten him: but it knows nothing of the Divine law of which the sacrament of Baptism is a part.

It is taken for granted by this court, and ostentatiously proclaimed by it, when it discusses the extent of its jurisdiction, that the law it administers to the national clergy is not the law of God—of that it knows nothing, and apparently cares nothing: its business is to regulate the preaching and writing of certain gentlemen according to the will of the nation, as that will is expressed in the statutes of the realm. It recognises neither church, nor sacraments, nor doctrines which it is bound to respect, and its religion has no higher sanctions and no more awful sources than has a turnpike or a railway act. It is useless to allege canons or texts of Scripture, however plain, in the highest court of this kingdom—though specially constituted for ecclesiastical and spiritual causes—because they have no authority except that which may be given them by Parliament. To discuss the truth or falsehood of a sentence given under these conditions is an absurdity; because the judges do not pretend to ascertain truth: revealed verities are not subjects upon which they exercise their learning. In short, it is now ascertained, beyond the possibility of a doubt, by the confession, twice made, of the supreme court of the national religion, that the “faith of Christ” is absolutely banished out of the legal system of the land, and that the national clergy is not bound to hold or teach it, as such.

ART. II.—VENN'S LIFE & LABOURS OF S. FRANCIS XAVIER.

The Missionary Life and Labours of S. Francis Xavier, taken from his own Correspondence, with a Sketch of the General Results of Roman Catholic Missions among the Heathen. By HENRY VENN, B.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. Longman. 1862.

WERE it not for certain qualities which provoke no light sentence of moral condemnation, Mr. Venn's book would be highly amusing to any reader possessed already of a moderate knowledge of the subjects of which it treats. There is an artless and unconscious simplicity about its blunders and absurdities that reminds us of some of those delightful descriptions of the manners and customs of a strange country, which visitors for a few weeks occasionally publish for the edification of their friends. Mr. Venn has been on a tour of inspection. He has been travelling in a country to him entirely foreign, whose manners and customs and characteristics are certainly not such as those with which he has been familiar. He has set out, as a zealous Secretary of the Church Missionary Society should do, to explore the newly-discovered region of "Romish" missions. Perhaps there are many members of that Society who have never heard of such things, and who believe that their own missions stand alone in the world as instances of the evangelizing spirit bequeathed to the Church by the Apostles. To such readers as these, Mr. Venn's book will come like the letters of a traveller to his friends at home; for he not only professes to sketch the life and labours of S. Francis Xavier, but he throws in, out of the abundance of his information, a general account of the extent—and, we need not add, failure—of "Romish" missions to the heathen. This general account is, indeed, drawn from authors, such as Mosheim and Geddes, not generally allowed to be remarkably veracious; but the result must of course be at once instructive and consoling to the supporters of the Church Missionary Society. It is true, their own missions do not seem to produce much effect on the heathen: the few nominal converts they make are apt to end by decamping with the missionary's silver spoons, or at all events by relapsing into the idolatry from which they have been rescued, as soon as the tangible motives

for their conversion cease to exist. But, anyhow, Romish missions are all failures, and Protestant missionaries *can* do something towards making them so. Then, the lives of these last worthies are often not very edifying; they give—as Mr. Venn, no doubt, knows—a good deal of trouble to the managing authorities at home, and we occasionally hear scandalous stories of their taking to trade and other lucrative employments, or of acquiring from the simple natives, whom they are sent to enlighten, large tracts of land for the benefit of their own children. No matter,—the war can be carried into the enemy's country on this point also. The “Romanists” have a great model missionary—indeed, according to them, a Saint—who worked miracles, raised the dead, and had the gift of tongues like the Apostles: but now Mr. Venn has demolished this hero, and shown him—not exactly to have been fond of money, or to have acquired property for his own family, or to have given way to any other pardonable weakness of that sort, but—at least to have had his failings and his failures, and, by his own confession, to have been devoid of those marvellous gifts, which, if they had been truly his, would be so difficult an argument to deal with for the defenders of Protestant doctrine and the supporters of Protestant missions. So we may well imagine that Mr. Venn's venturesome investigations upon the subject of “Romish” Missions, and his apparently veracious account, “from the most authentic sources,” of the life and character of S. Francis, must have been received with no slight flutter of satisfaction by the circles to which they were more immediately addressed. Mr. Venn is not the only writer of our day, on the Protestant side of the question, who has found his account in contributing to satisfy the somewhat ignoble tastes which are indicated by the demand for controversial literature of this stamp.

However, we have somewhat anticipated our history of Mr. Venn's inquiries. His preface informs us that he could not satisfy himself by any of the existing Histories of Catholic Missions. He is, we think, somewhat fastidious, for Wittmann, Henrion, and others have given either general histories, or accounts of particular missions, and the great collection of the *Lettres Edifiantes* is a storehouse of information as to details. But what Mr. Venn wanted was biographies of individual missionaries. “Wherever I inquired,” he tells us, “the life of Xavier was presented to me, and no other works of the class could be named.” The question is, of whom did he make his inquiries? “I searched public libraries and booksellers' shops without success.” Were the libraries and booksellers' shops Protestant or Catholic? And what did

Mr. Venn ask for? One of the publications on the Colenso controversy represents Lord Dundreary as sending to all the shops in Belgravia for a copy of the "Pentateuch," we need not say, with about as much success as Mr. Venn in his search for the life of a "Catholic Missionary." Booksellers' apprentices do not generally know more than the names of the works they sell. We have heard of a shopman being considerably bewildered by a demand for a copy of "the Scriptures."

I made inquiries personally at the head-quarters of Romish missionaries in France—namely, the Institute of the Faith at Lyons, but was assured that the life of Xavier was the only biography of any authority. The same answer was returned to a friend who made the inquiry at the College of the Propaganda at Rome; and my friend was further informed that it was contrary to the principles of the Romish Church to *permit* the *unauthorized* publication of the personal history of its missionaries.—Pref. p. ii.

We pass over the question as to who the officials were who got rid of Mr. Venn and his friend in the manner that he relates. If these gentlemen had asked any well-informed Catholic of their acquaintance, without travelling as far as Lyons or Rome, they might have obtained a list of biographies of Catholic Missionaries quite long enough to satisfy them. We are about to save ourselves the trouble of giving such a list by recommending a single work to Mr. Venn's careful perusal. Has he ever heard of Marshall's *Christian Missions*? That work will more than satisfy the inquisitive secretary of the Church Missionary Society. We do not ask him to accept it as an authority; for it has yet to establish itself as such. But it deserves Mr. Venn's serious attention: more especially as it will assist him to draw a contrast, on the authority of his own co-religionists, between Catholic missionaries and the emissaries of Protestant societies.

Having been induced, in the way that we have mentioned, to devote his attention to the life, and afterwards to the letters, of S. Francis Xavier, Mr. Venn, as respects the class of religionists to which he seems to belong, was certainly in the position of the traveller in an unknown country, who has much that is new to tell to his friends at home. Here, however, he makes his first mistake. If he would but have related what he had found, his book would at least have been useful, though it never could have been brilliant. S. Francis Xavier's letters, which have preserved their freshness and beauty in spite of the stilted and over-Ciceronian Latin to which they were unfortunately consigned in the seventeenth century, would not have lost all their charm and, certainly, not all their instructiveness, even in that limp English in which the correspondence of the

Church Missionary Society is carried on. If Mr. Venn would have translated them as they stand, we should have been his debtors for a boon which, we are sorry to say, English Catholics ought long ago to have conferred upon themselves; and his own friends would have had the very best possible opportunity of judging for themselves as to the character of the Apostle of the Indies. But Mr. Venn was too much of a philosopher to do this. He must needs edit and explain S. Francis. He would give some extracts from the letters, but they could not be trusted by themselves. He must analyze the thoughts of Xavier, and assign motives to his actions; he must sit in judgment on his defects, and bestow a patronizing approbation upon his virtues. The career of the Saint must be arranged, and his character, as it were, cut into slices, part to serve as a warning as to what is to be avoided, part—with a few gentle modifications from the experienced hand of Mr. Venn—to be useful as an example which even the missionaries of a Protestant society may find it worth while to imitate. But this is not all. Our author is, unhappily, not only a theorist, he is a theorist full of prejudice. His controversial bias overpowers his candour. He does not approach the study of a "Romish" saint and missionary with indifference: he handles his materials with suspicion, dislike, and fear. The Protestant spirit within him writhes and howls before the presence of S. Francis: but Mr. Venn must do its bidding, and he betakes himself to his task with a fury which shows how little he is his own master. He makes short work, of course, of the miracles and the supernatural gifts that have been attributed to Xavier. Then he attacks the received opinion as to his success as a missionary, and the multitude of the conversions brought about by his means. Having thus divested his subject, as we may say, of its external magnificence, and brought S. Francis down to the level of an ordinary labourer in the propagation of Christianity, he proceeds to carry on his attack by pulling his personal character to pieces. It is true that here his hand falters; he now and then crouches to and fawns on the majestic figure that he is endeavouring to demolish, and his better nature refuses to be altogether enslaved to the behests of sectarian bigotry. Then again he carps, and finds fault, and insinuates unworthy motives: he blames what he considers the arrogance of a Saint the very foundation of whose character was humility and charity, and the inconstancy of one whose whole career, from Montmartre to San Chan, was one consistent course of the most heroic perseverance. We shall have to draw attention to some few instances, out of a great many, of his ludicrous and blundering criticisms. But, after

all, his picture will hardly satisfy even a reflecting and candid Protestant. The character of S. Francis Xavier, as he is represented by his Catholic biographers, is one that any thoughtful Christian can recognize. Noble and glorious as it is, its lineaments are such as have not rarely been seen among the heroic children of the household of faith. There is a grandeur about it which raises it above the common level, but there is nothing in it which is unreal, inconsistent, or exaggerated. It fits into his work, and explains his career. It is but a partial repetition and reflection, an earthly and faint copy, of the divine original, to which all the Saints, in the infinite variety of their marvellous beauty, are conformed. What wonder, then, if, according to the Master's promise, His own power and influence and fruitfulness in holy works were communicated, in a measure, to the servant who followed so close in the Master's footsteps? But take the character of S. Francis as it has been drawn by his Protestant assailant: it is at once distorted and disfigured, a monstrous and unintelligible compound; and there is nothing in it that corresponds to or accounts for the work that he accomplished, and the power that he confessedly wielded over the hearts of hundreds of thousands of his fellow-creatures.

If any one wishes to learn how to find fault with everything, whatever it may be, we recommend him to study Mr. Venn. His pages are a perpetual illustration of the Gospel saying about the children sitting in the market-place. We shall content ourselves with a few specimens that exemplify a not very uncommon feature in Protestant criticism on Catholic things and persons. It is not long since that a Protestant preacher in one of our great manufacturing towns quoted, in a sermon against the practice of confession, the words "Who can forgive sins but God alone?" as having been used by our Blessed Lord with reference to the subject in question. The preacher's own sympathies, of course, were entirely in keeping with the words of the Scribes and Pharisees. It is not often that so gross a mistake is made, but it is not unfrequent to find that those things which are most unacceptable to Protestant minds in the lives of Catholic Saints, or the practices or doctrines of the Church which they attack with the greatest animosity, are just those on which the example or teaching of our Lord and of the Apostles has been most explicit. To Catholic eyes, certainly, the texts about the Real Presence, or the Supremacy of S. Peter, or the Power of the Keys, or again, about the excellence of virginity, the indissolubility of marriage, or the eternity of punishment, seem to be among the most clear and unmistakable passages in those Scriptures by which Pro-

testants profess to be exclusively guided. Without entering further into the general subject, we may congratulate Mr. Venn upon having frequently, in his criticisms upon S. Francis Xavier, run his head with remarkable adroitness against some saying of our Blessed Lord, or some plain rule of action followed by S. Paul. Thus, we have not got far in his volume before we come to the well-known incident of the refusal of S. Francis to visit his relations, when he passed within a few miles of the Castle of Xavier, on his way to Portugal, whence he was to sail for the Indies.* This displeases Mr. Venn, and he thinks it would have been more heroic to go and see these relations. But he has forgotten that our Lord actually enjoined conduct of the kind on those who were called to Apostolical service, and that S. Francis, on the way to evangelize a new world, was exactly in the position of those to whom that injunction was given. Mr. Venn's strictures really fall on Him, Who said, "Let the dead bury their dead," and Who would not allow one whom He had called to preach the Gospel, to go and bid adieu to his friends at home. They who act on these words of our Blessed Lord—which must have been recorded that they might be acted on—do not show any want of tenderness to the parents and relatives of whom they decline to take a last farewell: rather they show the greatness of their love by not trusting themselves to a trial which could not be formidable if their love were not so great. Again, more than once he charges S. Francis with inconstancy, because he did not fix himself in one particular spot, but pressed on, ever further and further, to fresh fields of labour and self-sacrifice. Yet it is just this that characterizes the career of an Apostle, and distinguishes him from the ordinary missionary, sent to work in a defined and restricted sphere of action. S. Francis writes from Amboyna, that he has gone thither as soon as he saw that his labours were no longer needed in India. Mr. Venn cries out at this, and accuses him of having been, in reality, disappointed in all his hopes in India, and so driven to a change of scene to hide his failure. Then again, Xavier cannot get to Macazar, and so he sails for

* We must here give an instance of a trick that, we are sorry to say, has been acquired by Mr. Venn, and from which very few of his pages are entirely free. He seldom tells a story fairly, or quotes an author without some perversion of what he says. In this case he writes, "the biographers state that the cavalcade passed near the Castle of Xavier, where Xavier's aged mother was lying at the point of death" (p. 13). The biographers only say that Xavier's mother was old, or that she was still alive. The "*point of death*"—with all the ideas suggested as to a son who would not visit a parent on her deathbed—is Mr. Venn's addition to the story.

the Moluccas. "Another proof," says Mr. Venn, "of the *inconstancy* that marks the career of Francis Xavier." He cannot go to one place, and so he goes to another, instead of remaining idle! Again, from the Moluccas, S. Francis went, at the risk of his life, and contrary to the most earnest entreaties of his friends, to some islands called the Islands of the Moor, whose inhabitants were exceedingly savage, and famous for their skill in poisoning. It is of this expedition that S. Francis is writing, when he describes the strength given by God under circumstances of extreme danger, to enable those who expose themselves in such a manner for His sake, to understand the Gospel maxim, "He that will save his life shall lose it, and he that will lose his life for My sake shall find it." Mr. Venn, always captious, remarks:—

After such pious and magnanimous resolutions, we might expect to hear that Xavier fixed his abode amongst those neglected savages. We might be prepared to read of his labours among the people in letters written in the vivid style in which he described his labours among the Comorin Christians. But his good resolutions were fulfilled by a transient visit to the islands. His stay there was only three months,

—during which, as the biographies tell us, he not only converted great multitudes of the inhabitants of the towns, but penetrated into the most inaccessible wilds of the islands, to convert and tame the ferocious savages they contained. His life was often in imminent danger, and on one occasion saved only by a miracle. But because he had to return towards India on matters of great moment, Mr. Venn is not satisfied. Did he ever read the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles of S. Paul? How often did he "fix his stay" for more than three months in any but the greatest cities? "But now, having no more place in these countries, and having a great desire these many years past to come to you, when I shall begin to take my journey into Spain, I hope, that, as I pass, I shall see you," writes the Apostle to the Romans. If these words occurred in a letter of S. Francis Xavier, Mr. Venn would say, "What! no cities unvisited in Greece and Asia Minor! Why did he not stay to take care of his Corinthian or Ephesian converts? It is clear that he was disappointed in the East, and was ambitious of preaching in the metropolis of the Empire!"

We may add that if Mr. Venn had really been capable of understanding either the character or the writings of the Apostle of the Gentiles, it would have been a fortunate occurrence that brought him across the life and letters of S. Francis Xavier. If we were called on to name two saints who, in

different ways, and under very different circumstances, have caught in a peculiar degree the spirit of S. Paul, we might be tempted to fix on his great commentator, S. Chrysostom, and on his great imitator, S. Francis Xavier. The Homilies of the one, the life and letters of the other, reflect in no faint guise the features of that great and royal soul, to whose workings, under the varying incidents of its chequered career, we owe the production of so large a portion of the New Testament Scriptures. A mind steeped in the study of S. Paul ought to find many beautiful illustrations of his character in the remains of one so like him as S. Francis. But Mr. Venn can only help us in drawing out the parallel by a number of petty criticisms upon the one saint that can easily be answered by a reference to the other. Sometimes it is a point of Catholic practice, such as the invocation of the intercession of others living, or in heaven: as if S. Paul had never earnestly begged the prayers of his converts. Sometimes it is the authoritative tone in which S. Francis writes to those who were under his obedience as their religious superior. We need hardly say that his letters are full to abundance of evidence of his wonderful humility, and of the large and tender charity with which he regarded all those who were his brethren in religion, and placed under his authority. But Mr. Venn thinks the language magisterial, despotic, and even arrogant, because it is simply the ordinary language used between religious superiors and their subjects. But, at all events, Mr. Venn might have remembered certain passages in the Epistles which are open to exactly the same criticism, and which, indeed, seem to have met with it from some of the refractory Corinthians.

There is, however, one series of phenomena in the letters of S. Francis which seems to puzzle Mr. Venn beyond all measure; though here, too, any one who has attended to the glimpses of the interior life of S. Paul that are disclosed in his Epistles, would have been at no loss for an explanation of the mystery. But, perhaps, it is hardly fair to expect Mr. Venn to know much about the theory of spiritual consolations. The passage which we have just quoted is closely followed by one, among many others in the letters of Xavier, in which he mentions the superabundant and excessive sweetness with which his soul was, from time to time, inundated,—particularly under circumstances of the greatest external privation and danger. This is no uncommon fact in the lives of missionaries of far inferior sanctity, and certainly will not surprise any Catholic reader who meets with it even there. Mr. Venn stares at it, and turns it round and speculates upon it, as if it

were the most extraordinary prodigy in the world. He is taken aback as a savage might be at a clock, a looking-glass, or a musical-box; he is fidgeted and put out by it as a Protestant lionizer in an Italian church is occasionally disconcerted and bewildered at the devotion of some poor peasant before the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. What *can* it mean? says Mr. Venn:—

Had Xavier been a nervous and timid, as well as a pious man, the explanation would have been obvious.

He does not say why it is so obvious that nervous and timid men should feel such intense joy and happiness under the most imminent danger, and we must confess to not quite understanding what seems to him so very plain.

But he was, in his general temperament, bold, calm, and fearless of death.

However, here the Protestant spirit seizes Mr. Venn's hand, and he is obliged to explain that the joy of S. Francis must *not* be attributed to any very high motive or source:—

His emotional joy is not accompanied by the exercise of a lively faith in the Divine Presence, or of anticipation of future glory, such as we meet with in the writings of S. Paul, and of many eminent Saints of later times. The prospect of a speedy admittance into the Saviour's presence has ever implied a more calm and dignified joy, *far removed from animal excitement*.

Mr. Venn seems certainly quite at home with S. Francis Xavier. He has no evidence of the nature of his feelings beyond what he can gather—and he reads them with a rather imperfect knowledge of the language—from the letters of the Saint written after the time when those feelings existed, and which only mention their existence, without describing them; yet he is quite sure there was no faith in the Presence of God—no anticipation of future glory—no thought of speedy admission into the presence of Christ, mixed up with them. In short, these feelings were *not*, as Mr. Venn implies, quite calm and dignified enough; they had some “animal excitement” about them. But Mr. Venn will tell us, not only what they were not, but even what they were:—

It is impossible not to revert for an explanation to Xavier's endeavours to comfort Mansilla under trials, by the thought of the merit of suffering, and the prepayment of the penalties of Purgatory.—P. 116.

Such is Mr. Venn's lucid explanation! It is of course perfectly clear that the consolations of which S. Francis speaks, as gifts of which he was so unworthy, and which he thinks it worth while to mention to his friends in Europe as so remarkable, could not have been the fruit of simple commonplace

reflection upon truths well enough calculated to encourage to patience and resignation, but which certainly have not ordinarily the effect of making patience and resignation needless, by flooding the soul with that heavenly joy which it is the prerogative of God to give when and how He pleases, without or with apparent cause or foundation. Mr. Venn can quote S. Paul, and yet not know this.

After all, however, Mr. Venn seems to have felt that his book would be very tame and inconclusive if he confined himself to attacks upon the actual doings, sayings, and feelings of S. Francis, however captious his criticism might be. It was necessary to make fresh difficulties, in order to explain them to the disadvantage of Xavier. The instance we shall give of Mr. Venn's use of this weapon of controversy shall be drawn from those very letters to Mansilla—or Fr. Mancias—to which allusion was made in the passage just now quoted, and its explanation will serve to illustrate the allusions to purgatory which seem to have struck Mr. Venn. The case is a very simple one. Mancias had accompanied S. Francis from Portugal, and laboured long and fervently in the missions on the Fishery coast and about Cape Comorin. He had just been ordained priest when he went there. We owe him a great debt of gratitude for having preserved to us a very valuable series of letters from S. Francis. Mancias, who afterwards lost his vocation, and was excluded from the Society of Jesus, required, as is evident from the letters, constant encouragement and support in the very arduous ministry in which he was engaged. The letters of Xavier are full of topics of consolation under difficulties, and exhortations to patience. We subjoin in a note, as a specimen, a passage which Mr. Venn has rendered into English with his usual inaccuracy.* There

* The passage in the Latin text is as follows :—"Deum ora ut multâ te corroboret patientiâ, necessariâ in primis ad tractandum cum istâ gente. Sic tecum reputa, quasi Purgatorium isthic tuum sit, in quo jam hinc noxarum tuarum penas luas, et agnosce non vulgare Dei beneficium, indulgentis tibi, ut vivens spiransque summo gratiæ quæstu, ærumnâ multo minore, peccata juventutis expies."—Ep. lib. i. xv.

This passage is quoted by Mr. Venn as contrasting strangely with those seraphic expressions of joy in his work which have just been quoted. There is just as much to wonder at as in the contrast between the letter of a doctor to a friend, saying that he himself was in excellent health, and his prescription to a patient of a course of strong doses. Mr. Venn's version is as follows :—"God give you patience, which is the first requisite in dealing with this nation. *Imagine to yourself* that you are in Purgatory, and that you are *washing away the guilt* of your evil deeds. Acknowledge the singular mercy of God in granting you the opportunity for expiating the sins of your youth while you live and breathe, *which may now be accomplished by the merit of grace*, and at a far less cost of suffering than in the world to come."

are many such passages in the letters, bidding Mancias take his sufferings as his purgatory, in expiation of the sins of his youth, and pray above all things for patience. S. Francis, with beautiful charity, even meets him, as it were, half-way. He expresses to him occasionally his own disgust at the bad conduct of the Portuguese, who were continually destroying his hopes of success with the natives, by some act of cruelty or injustice. He threatens to complain of them to the Grand Inquisitor at Lisbon, or to withdraw himself to Ethiopia, where, at all events, he will have a field of labour open to him, without the danger of being thwarted by the very persons who ought to have been his chief assistants. But then, observes Mr. Venn, the letters written at the same time to people in Europe speak of none of these drawbacks. All is bright and enthusiastic, accounts of success, calls for new missionaries—not a word about purgatory or going to Ethiopia—

It is impossible not to be startled at the inconsistency, *to use no stronger term*—[charitable man!]*—between these letters to his fellow-labourer Mansilla, and those which Xavier sent to his friends in Europe.*

Then he decides, that, of the two, the letters to Mancias must be the most truthful. "*But how, it will be asked, is Xavier to be acquitted of dishonesty?*" Mr. Venn promises to tell us, but he defers his solution "till we are more perfectly acquainted with Xavier's character and cast of mind" (pp. 55, 56). And then, after due preparation, he gives the solution.

He was a man of strong impulses, of quick transitions of feeling, liable to pass from extravagant hope to unreasonable despair. He probably wrote from the impulse of the moment. He lacked indeed that stable confidence in the enterprise he had taken in hand, which every true missionary derives from a supreme regard to the word of God. It is impossible otherwise to reconcile etc.—P. 79.

Of course, there is in reality, no contradiction at all; and if there were, Mr. Venn's hypothesis would not explain it; for he tells us himself that the letters to Europe were not written at the spur of the moment, but once a year, with great deliberation and reflection. But every one writes differently to different people. What was useful to keep up the failing

Mancias is not told to *imagine himself* in Purgatory, but to consider that *his Purgatory is here*. He would know, also, very well that Purgatory does not wash away *guilt*; and perhaps could have informed Mr. Venn that *pœnas luere* means something different from that. As to the words *summo gratiæ questu*, Mr. Venn has not an idea of their meaning—that is, that sufferings in this life may bring a great increase of grace and merit, which sufferings in the next life cannot.

courage of Mancias, was not exactly what was prudent to put into letters to Europe, which were circulated among people of all sorts and classes. The letters to the King and to Simon Rodriguez contain many passages which show sufficiently how dissatisfied S. Francis was with the conduct of some of the Portuguese officials; and the reflections about purgatory are simply addressed to Mancias, as any reader of the letters may see, and have nothing to do with the state of mind of S. Francis himself.

This supposed inconsistency of character is not the only blemish that Mr. Venn endeavours to fix upon Xavier. The next case that we shall notice is an instance of a charge which, as a Protestant writer, it was his bounden duty to make. Mr. Ruskin, if we remember rightly, is very severe somewhere upon an artist who asked another, "Where do you put your brown tree?" It seems that, according to certain conventional rules, there must be a brown tree in every landscape. Protestant limners of Catholic subjects have their "brown tree," which must be brought into the picture somewhere or other. This inevitable feature is "the arm of flesh," on which Catholics are supposed to lean. It might have been thought, from the history of Protestant missions, that this charge would, from prudential considerations and the fear of a crushing retort, have been kept in the background by Mr. Venn. Or again, it might fairly have puzzled any one acquainted with the career of S. Francis to guess in what shape it would be made against him. Certainly a man who went forth against a hostile army with a crucifix in his hand, who sailed to Japan in a vessel manned by idolaters, who exposed his life, as we have mentioned, in the Isles of the Moor, and other places, and who died in the attempt to enter China alone, with the certainty of imprisonment or death before him if he fell into the hands of the government—such a man, it might have been thought, would have escaped at least this charge, whatever others might be invented against him. But no—the picture must have its brown tree, and Mr. Venn, whatever may be his other defects, does not lack assurance. Does not the veracious Dr. Geddes assert that "the Jesuits were all to a man of the same opinion with that great Apostle of the Indies, Francis Xavier, *whose maxim, as Navaretta informs us, was, that missionaries without muskets do never make converts to any purpose*"? (p. 258). Mr. Venn puts in the quotation with a placid satisfaction, apparently quite unaware of the unfeeling cruelty of reminding his readers so pointedly of the Protestant Bishop of Labuan's excellent rifle-practice among the pirates of Borneo, and of certain very re-

markable developments of missionary enterprise in South Africa. But he has been too niggardly in his dealing with this feature in the apostolical career that he has traced for his readers. It would have been interesting to them, no doubt, to have heard of some of the missionary musketry of S. Francis. It may, perhaps, be, that he has not been able to find any anecdotes that could satisfy the legitimate curiosity which he has excited. However, he makes up for the omission, to a certain extent, by a bold stroke of invention. Xavier, he tells us, was "Royal Commissioner" from the King of Portugal, and he devotes a section of one of his chapters to considering his conduct in the discharge of this important office. We cannot help regretting that he did not make him "Commander of the Forces" at once. One title sounds as well as the other, and it is quite as true that Xavier held the one office as that he held the other. Indeed, when we turn to the section in question, we find that his discharge of the office of Commissioner consists in the exercise of the influence that he certainly had with John III. of Portugal, and with his viceroy in India. There is some trace of his having had a kind of authority to insist on the punishment of disorders among the neophytes at Cape Comorin, and particularly to prevent the employment of their persecutors in the pearl fisheries under the Crown. This is the whole amount of his commissionership, and this was obviously only delegated to him for the moment, to further the ends of his sacred ministry.

But it is quite superfluous to confute Mr. Venn's absurd statement. Not content, however, with this, he goes on still further in his use of this same topic. According to him, S. Francis was punished, like all who put their trust in men, by being made to work against his will, in obedience to the behests of the secular power on which he made himself too dependent. Mr. Venn is perfectly aware of the history of the Comorinese Christians, and of Xavier's mission to them. It is written with all possible plainness by the ordinary biographers of S. Francis, whom Mr. Venn is quite able to quote when he thinks he can pick a hole in their statements, but whom he quietly ignores when they mention facts that are inconvenient to him. These Christians were first converted by Michael Vas, the Vicar-General of Goa. After S. Francis had spent some months in that city, and had succeeded in producing a perfect reform, as to morality and religious observance, among the Portuguese who inhabited it, the Vicar-General mentioned these neophytes to him—the readiness with which they had embraced the faith, their present destitute condition, and the certainty that there appeared to be of a great increase in the

number of converts, if a further attempt was made. S. Francis listened to the account with tears in his eyes, and at once was inflamed with the desire to go among them—the more so as the life that a missionary would have to lead among them was sure to be painful and laborious. With this account of the matter staring him in the face, Mr. Venn proceeds to invent another after his own liking:—

Where shall Xavier turn to make his first aggression upon the kingdoms of darkness? The suburbs of factories and garrisons could scarcely, as we have remarked, present to him an attractive field of missionary enterprise. To visit the courts of some of the powerful kings in amity with the crown of Portugal would be an appropriate sphere for the personal friend and commissioner of John III.; or to have visited some of the cities and seats of learning in the interior of India, would have been a fitting enterprise for a late professor of the most celebrated university in Europe. But no such employment was before Xavier. He had allied himself with kings and viceroys in his missionary character, and now he must suffer the penalty, by becoming an agent in a pet scheme of Don Alfonso Soza. . . . In a missionary point of view, he was sent to build on another man's foundation. In a political view, he was sent to secure to the King of Portugal the monopoly of a lucrative pearl-fishery.—Pp. 29, 30, 32.

The single foundation on which all this hypothesis is built, is that Xavier, in a letter to Europe, says that he goes to the fishery coast "*Prætoris missu!*"

But Mr. Venn has not yet done with his "arm of flesh." The brown tree occupies quite a large space in his canvas, and it leads him into one of the most preposterous absurdities that his book contains. Before the reader gets half through the volume, he will be startled by the heading of a section in capital letters, "Proposal to the King of Portugal to transfer to the civil and military authorities the duty of converting the heathen." Mr. Venn would actually have us believe that S. Francis proposed to the king, that the work hitherto done by priests and missionaries, should be committed to soldiers and laymen! This certainly is carrying out the principle of "Musket-Christianity" to its legitimate development. Mr. Venn seems to be serious, and to think that he has made a great discovery; and he takes care to improve the occasion, of course, by moralizing upon so strange a method of carrying on the work begun by the Apostles. But then, as he has told his readers, the Church of Rome *always* does this, she never uses any other method of conversion—or at least for eight centuries before Xavier's time she used no other; so that he had plenty of precedents to go by (pp. 80, 81). Somehow or other, Mr. Venn remembers his own visit to the "Institute of the Faith"

at Lyons, and his friend's fruitless application at the Propaganda in Rome. She seems to have changed her plan in these days,—though “the sentiment of ‘military conversions’ has not yet died out in her” (*ib.*).

The foundation on which Mr. Venn has based this crowning absurdity about the use of the secular power by S. Francis, is one of the most remarkable and characteristic letters in which the Saint addresses the King of Portugal.* He tells his Highness that he had had considerable doubt whether he should propose to him what he thinks most essential for the advancement of the Christian religion in India, for it is a measure to the adoption of which he is afraid that the king is very unlikely to be persuaded. He therefore fears that his having proposed it may make matters worse for his Highness, as increasing his responsibility. Nevertheless, he has made up his mind to speak. He then tells him that many measures that ought to be taken, in discharge of the duty of a Christian government, for the advancement of religion, are omitted or hindered on account of jealousies among the officials. There is a question as to the person on whom the duty falls—one will not do it himself, nor allow another to do it; a third complains of the credit of his own labours being given to another; and so on. Thus nothing is done, and opportunities that can never be recovered pass by. The remedy is that the king is

* Mr. Venn makes great nonsense of this letter in his translation. He begins his extract thus :—“To come to a matter which concerns myself individually, I have often pondered in my own mind, after carefully considering the question on every side, *what* I could write to your Majesty, as to the best means of spreading, and of firmly establishing, the Christian faith in this country. I am impelled to this course, on the one hand, &c.” (p. 157). The sense is entirely lost. S. Francis has been speaking to the king of information on various subjects, which his Highness will have received from *others*. “As for me,” he says, “*quod ad me privatim attinet*,”—“I have pondered and deliberated a long time *whether* I should write to your Highness—*ecquid exponerem per literas*—what, as I look round on what goes on here, and consider all things with the greatest attention, seems the thing to be done, &c.—*quod mihi circumspicienti quæ hic fiant, et attentissime cuncta reputanti, faciendum videretur*, &c.” A little further on, where S. Francis says he had feared lest his letter might make the king's danger greater at the day of judgment,—“*aggravaret conditionem ac periculum*,”—Mr. Venn makes him say “aggravate your doom.” Then Xavier says he was conscious of having no desire in India, but of wearing himself out with labours, and even of laying down his life for the good of souls,—“*hic laboribus me conficere et vitam ipsam profunderè in salute animarum procuranda*,” Mr. Venn has it “*beyond finishing my labours and spending my life*.” Indeed, the whole paragraph in which these last words occur is sadly mauled in his version. We give these few specimens, which might be multiplied indefinitely, in order to justify the assertion that Mr. Venn has attempted more than he is equal to in the translation of the letters, and to point out that a fair proportion of his misrepresentations may be accounted for as simple blunders.

to let it be clearly understood in the most positive way, that he lays the responsibility of seeing to these obligations, which belong to him as a Christian sovereign, upon his own representatives in the government, more than upon all the priests and religious in India; and that from them he will exact the strictest account, rewarding them or punishing them according to their discharge of these duties. He even urges the king to take a solemn oath that he will punish any governor who neglects to advance the conversion of the Indians by all the means in his power; and to exact a strict account, in the reports sent home to him, of the state of affairs with regard to religion at the time that they are written; naming, moreover, all the missionaries one by one, and declaring that not on them, but on his own official vicegerents, he lays the burthen of discharging his duty to God in this respect:—

“For,” says Xavier, “since God has laid upon your Highness this most weighty duty, of providing for the eternal salvation of the nations subject to you, you ought not to commit that duty to any others but those who here are your vicegerents, and who represent the person of your Highness in the dignity of the magisterial office.”

We need hardly take the trouble to explain to our readers the purport of this earnest and characteristic proposal. There are many passages in the letters to the king of the same nature. Mr. Venn, instead of admiring the apostolical freedom and the burning zeal which they display, can see in them only an absurd proposal to give up the work of preaching and administering the Sacraments into the hands of the civil and military authorities. He must lecture the Saint about the “arm of flesh,” and so he conjures up this ridiculous dream of his own, in order that he may take it for his text. But he wisely stops short in his version of the letter—just a few lines before a passage, in which the writer entreats the king to send out as soon as possible a large number of preachers of the Society of Jesus!

We must take the liberty of remarking, that a great many of Mr. Venn's chief delinquencies consist in these suppressions of passages in the letters he quotes, or in the historical authorities he depends upon, which do not square with the view which he chooses to present to his readers. It is necessarily impossible for us to expose a tenth part of the instances in which Mr. Venn does this; we should have to write a volume as long as his own. But we may remark, that this kind of unfaithfulness in a writer of history or biography is far less excusable than others. We may imagine many reasons for Mr. Venn's positive mistakes. He really is very frequently at

sea as to the meaning of the Latin in which the letters of S. Francis are preserved to us, and his ideas of missionary duties and the apostolical character have been formed in the atmosphere of the society of which he is, no doubt, a most worthy secretary. His knowledge of ecclesiastical history seems to have been gained by dipping into Mosheim, and other Protestant writers of less calibre, but not less unfairness. Moreover, he has found a way of dispensing himself from the study which might have been thought incumbent upon an historian of S. Francis Xavier, whose object is also to give a general view of the results of Catholic Missions. He knows of Henrion's history, and of the *Lettres Edifiantes*, as well as of the biographies of S. Francis Xavier; but he has not thought it worth while to read them through. For all these reasons it is not surprising that Mr. Venn's book, not only in the part which relates to S. Francis, but in that which treats of the general history, should be a tissue of the most childish and ludicrous blunders, and the most flagrant misstatements as to facts. Still this does not account for the suppression of evidence which it is clear that he had before his eyes; it does not explain the deliberate separation of a passage from its context, in order to quote it in support of a statement which that context would have shown to be absurd. It does not explain the constant exclusion of facts from his narrative, which would have given a high idea of S. Francis, when the narrative itself proves that the pages in which they are to be found have been consulted by the writer, and when indeed he draws an inference of a contrary character from other facts which are only fairly to be explained by those which he omits.*

* We may as well give one or two instances of this kind of *suppression* on the part of Mr. Venn. We will take one of the earliest in the book. Mr. Venn has a passage in which he contrasts what he imagines to be the comfortable and lordly condition of S. Francis Xavier in his voyage to India, the dignity that he possessed as Papal Legate, and Commissioner of the King of Portugal (!) &c., with the humble state of an ordinary missionary of the present day. Certainly, there are many points of contrast between the two, which the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society might have studied with profit; but as it is, the only fruit of his reflection seems to have been that Xavier was much better off than the unfortunate Protestant missionaries with whose travelling expenses and social *status*, he is no doubt himself well acquainted. Xavier went out, he tells us, "sailing with the new Viceroy, and a guest at his table" (p. 19); and he has just before quoted a letter in which mention is made of the office of the Viceroy to provide the missionaries with every necessary. Mr. Venn must of course have read the beautiful anecdote of Xavier's persistent refusal to have the assistance of a servant; he must have read how, instead of being "a guest at the table of the Viceroy," he refused the offer, and used to distribute to the sick the meat sent him for his sustenance, living himself on bread that he begged day by

We live in days when the old trade of falsifying history, on which Protestantism has thriven and prospered ever since it was born, has been carried on with singular coolness and audacity; not, perhaps, in the very highest walks of literature, though even from these the lying spirit has not been entirely chased away; but in novels, poems, reviews, books of travel, magazines, and last, not least, the anonymous correspondence of journals. Yet not many books equally false in substance have been published like the present, with the name of the author, with the sanction of an official position, with references to authorities, and with a profession that they have been undertaken with a deep sense "of the sacred obligation of exercising the candour enjoined by the Lord of Missions, in His rebuke to some of His own Apostles, who would have repudiated the acts of all who followed not with them."—(Pref. p. iii.) Mr. Venn goes on in words which may perhaps explain how it is that he, a gentleman and a clergyman, has let himself appear so unscrupulous. He says, "*Yet there are more solemn interests than those of Christian candour at stake in the consideration of Xavier's history, which will develope themselves in the progress of this undertaking, and will, it is hoped, justify the amount of time and thought which the investigation has occupied.*" Mr. Venn writes somewhat

day from the crew; how he gave up the cabin allotted to him for an infirmary, and took his rest under the mast, or amid the cordage; how he washed his own linen, and spent his whole time in the most devoted actions of spiritual or corporal mercy. In short, the voyage to Goa, with its unusual length, and the contagious disease that broke out on board, gave S. Francis an opportunity for the continual practice of the most heroic charity. But all this is passed over by Mr. Venn, who leaves his readers with the impression likely to be produced by his sneer about the Viceroy's table.

We shall give but one more instance, of a somewhat different kind. S. Francis drew up for popular use a long exposition of the Creed, which is extant among his letters. Mr. Venn, who has just remarked on a prayer to "the *Saint Angel Guardian*," whom he calls "*an imaginary being*," quotes a passage of some length from this exposition, professedly with reluctance:—"An apology must be made to the Protestant reader for recording such *blasphemous fables*" (p. 127). And what is this passage? S. Xavier, after giving an account of the creation and fall of man, comes to the history of the Incarnation. He then says that before it took place the angels prayed to God that it might be carried out; the time was now come, since the chosen Mother of God was born, &c. Mr. Venn, as usual, mistranslates. "There was no hope of escaping damnation," he says, "*till the Holy Michael, &c.*" In the Latin it is simply *quando*. This passage, without its context, containing nothing but the prayer of the angels, is introduced with these words: "*The doctrine of man's recovery after the fall is to be taught in the following form,*" as if it were not a part, and a very accidental part, of a long commentary on the Creed, in which every single article is explained at length. And then, by implication, he charges S. Francis with *blasphemy*.

clumsily, and is often, like other writers, caught by the sound of a fine sentence, which may not mean to him what the words seem to convey to others. What are the *interests* which are more solemn than those of Christian candour? He seems really to avow that there is something of greater importance than to tell the truth of an enemy. We shall not venture to say exactly what he means; but his words furnish us with a convenient formula in which to express a fact which it might be uncourteous to put too plainly. The system to which he is a slave—to one of the hollowest and most illusive parts of which he is devoted as Secretary to the “Church Missionary Society”—has indeed certain interests which are superior to those of Christian candour. Animated by loyalty to these interests, Mr. Venn proceeds complacently in his task, and, without suspecting the dishonesty of which he is unconsciously guilty, “makes” history, by convenient omissions and ingenious interpretations, quite as if he were a Piedmontese diplomatist or the anonymous Italian correspondent of a leading journal.

After what we have said of the general characteristics of this work, it may seem almost superfluous labour to confute at any greater length its individual misrepresentations. There are, however, a few important points on which Mr. Venn is not alone in the objections that he produces against the received history of the life of S. Francis Xavier; or, at all events, as to which he may seem to readers unacquainted with the facts to have made out a serious case, based on documentary evidence. It is important not to leave such attacks unanswered; especially as the authorities on which he relies are beyond the reach of ordinary readers. This is, indeed, the main strength of such a book as that before us, which will confute itself to any one who will hunt up its references. We shall, therefore, deal briefly with three principal charges made by Mr. Venn against the biographers of the Saint, with regard to which he cites authorities which he endeavours to place in opposition to the received accounts.

The first point that we shall notice thus particularly is an attack that he makes against the received fact that S. Francis, when in India, and particularly in the course of those missionary labours in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin to which we have lately referred, was successful in converting hundreds of thousands of natives to the Christian religion. Here Mr. Venn comes, rather awkwardly, into collision with an authority of which he is very fond of availing himself against what he conceives to be the exaggerated accounts of

the biographers of S. Francis. This authority is no other than S. Francis himself, who, in one of his letters about his labours in Travancore, to the Society of Jesus in Europe, speaks of the multitudes that he had baptized; and even gives a number as a specimen—10,000 in a month. However, Mr. Venn girds himself up to the work. "The expression is very unlike Xavier's style: he very seldom gives statistics throughout his correspondence." Moreover, in other letters to Europe, of the same date, he does not mention the number. To Mansilla, a fellow-labourer in the same district, he says, "*quos nuper baptizavi plurimos.*" And then, says Mr. Venn, in this letter to Mansilla, Xavier recommends him to follow the advice of a Malabar Christian whom he sends him, because he understands the ways of the people, and the precautions to be taken in dealing with them. He enjoins Mansilla to let him do what he thinks right, and be guided by him; telling him that he himself had done so, and had never found reason to repent of it. Oh! says Mr. Venn, the secret is out—"all was done through a native *interpreter.*" There is not a single word in the passage about an interpreter: the person in question is said to know the *manners* of the natives, and is recommended as a safe guide how to deal with them. At length Mr. Venn comes to the conclusion that the "10,000 Christians" are a spurious addition to the letter. And a few pages further on we find him complacently proceeding to estimate what were the real results of S. Francis's labours:—

Putting aside, however, *uncertain tales*, it is not difficult to form a pretty sure estimate of his actual success from contemporary authorities.

His letters distinctly define his fields of labour to have been on the east and west of Cape Comorin. He visited Ceylon, and attempted in vain to gain access to Jaffnapatam, in the north of the island; but he never claimed any converts from this field: it had been cultivated by the missionaries of a different order, namely the Franciscans. The results of Xavier's labours must therefore consist simply of the additions which he made to the Comorin Christians, who had professed themselves Christians many years before his arrival, to the number, it is said, of 20,000. Xavier's letters give no statistics except the very questionable account of 10,000 baptisms in Travancore.—P. 75.

We must warn our readers against Mr. Venn's design in these lines. He wishes to lead them to limit the labours of S. Francis to "the Comorin Christians," strictly so called; but the Saint really preached over a wide tract of country in their neighbourhood; in many places, indeed, where missions do not seem to have been kept up afterwards. There is, moreover, an inaccuracy in the implied statement as to 10,000

baptisms in Travancore, which Mr. Venn, in the next page, seems to wish to take as the sum total of conversions in that region. S. Francis really gives that number as a *specimen*—10,000 in a single month. Let Mr. Venn now proceed:—

The earliest collection of original documents is a volume entitled “*Epistolæ Indicæ*” (Louvain, 1566), which contains statements of the number of Comorin Christians in four separate letters of different dates. Father M. Gaspar, general superintendent of the missions, in a letter dated January, 1553, estimates the Christians at Cape Comorin at 60,000.

Father M. Gaspar Barzeus, in the letter quoted, says, “*super 60,000*”—more than 60,000.

Father A. Brandonius (or Blandonius) writing from Goa, 1554, accurately distinguishes each station occupied by the Jesuit missionaries, by the latitude of the place; and, after giving the latitude of Cape Comorin, says that in the coast extending from that point, there are, more or less, 12,500 Christians.

Here we must again interrupt Mr. Venn. He has entirely misrepresented the writer whom he quotes. The letter in question, as he says, gives the latitude of each of the Jesuit stations, of which *several* are mentioned. Immediately before the passage quoted by him, the writer mentions the same station, Caulan, worked by the same Father, Nicolas Lancillotti, of which Fr. Gaspar Barzeus had said, in the letter last cited, that it was frequented by the Comorinese, who numbered above 60,000. Then the letter goes on to mention another and a *distinct* station, at the distance of twenty-six leagues, which he calls *Portus Comorinus*, and which certainly is neither Cape Comorin, nor a tract of country, but a little seaport. Here, he says, is Fr. Henry Henriquez—also mentioned in the former letter—and about 12,500 Christians. Mr. Venn’s version, “*in the coast extending from that point*,” is a mere invention of his enthusiasm for the good cause. The Latin has the simple word *illic*. Thus we have a statement with exactly as much truth in it as if the population of the city of York were given as that of the whole county. Mr. Venn then proceeds to quote two other letters, which give the number of Christians at 300,000 and 80,000 respectively. “These variations in the numbers will naturally excite the suspicion that they refer to different limits of the field of labour.” The first—that of Fr. Ant. Quadrus—certainly speaks of the whole district; in the latter—a letter of Fr. L. Frois, 1560—we have been unable to find the passage quoted by Mr. Venn. It is very natural to suppose that it refers to the same population that was reckoned in the earlier

letters at more than 60,000. We proceed with Mr. Venn, who now gives his own view of the matter :—

This is made clear by the Commentary of Acosta, 1570, being a digest of the "*Epistolæ Indicæ*," published up to that time, which states, "In 1565, the Christians of Cape Comorin, of Goa, and of the mountain regions of Cochin, were 300,000."

Mr. Venn then goes on to account for these numbers as follows:—He sets aside 100,000, or so, for the Syrians or Christians of S. Thomas, in the neighbourhood of Cochin, "whom the Portuguese endeavoured to bring under the dominion of Rome, and numbered in their statistics of the native converts." This last statement is a simple invention, entirely without foundation, as the writers of the Letters from India speak of converts under the instruction and care of the Jesuit Fathers, which these Syrians were not. He thus leaves his reader under the impression that the vast majority of these 300,000, if they were *not* Syrians, were, at all events, Christians of the province of Goa. He then returns to "the accurate statement of Fr. A. Brandonius, that the neophytes in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin amounted to 12,500." We have already shown that this "accurate statement" has been entirely misrepresented by Mr. Venn. It refers, not to the "neighbourhood of Cape Comorin," but to a single station out of many in that neighbourhood.

If to these be added a large allowance for the converts to the west of the cape in Travancore, so hastily visited and baptized by Xavier in 1544, the whole number of Comorin Christians may be estimated at 20,000, which is the number, according to Tursellinus, of those who originally stipulated with the Viceroy to become Christians upon their receiving Portuguese protection in their craft.—P. 76.

This is not a fair way of speaking of the original conversion of the natives of the Fishery Coasts; but, with many other misstatements, it must pass unexposed. But our readers now see what Mr. Venn comes to at last, as to the number of converts made by S. Francis. They were 20,000 before he went to them—and, as he appears to intimate, after at least 10,000 had been added, they were 20,000 still! We have already dealt with the manner in which Fr. Brandonius's letter has been used by Mr. Venn. We hardly know why that did not content him. It was quite gratuitous to quote the Commentary of Acosta. We have, however, to add that that Commentary actually gives, in the very sentence quoted by Mr. Venn, some accurate statistics which make the whole matter clear. These Mr. Venn has suppressed. Acosta's words are these :—

In the year of Christ 1554, the Christians (of the Comorin district) are said to have been 124,000 ; in 1555, 130,000 ; and we know from the letters of the year 1565, that the Christians of Comorin, Goa, and of the mountain region of Cochin, made up together more than 300,000 : since which time many thousands have been added, of whom the larger and better part consists of the Comorinese, men of such well-known virtue as to contend with the Christians of Europe, if not in the antiquity, at least in the constancy and simplicity of their faith, and in devotion.

Here is Mr. Venn's own authority completely destroying his theory ; and who, after this, can trust him in a quotation ?

Another, and more important, charge that Mr. Venn has made against the received histories of S. Francis, relates to his miracles. He argues, as others have argued, in the first instance, from the absence of any mention of miraculous powers in the Saint's own letters. We need hardly point out the worthlessness of such an objection, if it were true. It is known that we possess but a very scanty portion of the letters written by S. Francis. The editor of the Bologna version has calculated that two-thirds have been lost. In the next place, a Catholic Saint is the very last person in the world who could be expected to chronicle his own miracles. Certain special circumstances may force him to admit them, or even in some rare cases to claim them, for the greater glory of God. S. Paul and S. Bernard speak of theirs in a way that only proves that their cases were thus exceptional. In *ordinary* circumstances, to claim a miracle would almost amount to a proof that the humility to which they are vouchsafed was wanting. The Saints have learned their lesson from One who attributed His own miracles to the faith of those in whose favour they were wrought ; who said of the daughter of Jairus, " She is not dead, but sleepeth ;" and who so constantly charged those whom He healed not to mention what had been done. To expect S. Francis to have mentioned his own miraculous powers, is to expect him to have acted in a way inconsistent with his whole character. Mr. Venn must have read—though he has not thought fit to communicate them to his readers—some of the beautiful passages in which S. Francis enlarges on the necessity of humility as the only foundation for the apostolical and spiritual life. But as it happens, the assertion about the silence of S. Francis is not true. He mentions having restored a dying woman to health by baptizing her ; he mentions, also, the frequent daily cures wrought upon the sick during his labours near Cape Comorin. Any one who reads the passage with unprejudiced eyes, will see that the veil thrown over his own miraculous powers is easily penetrated.

The letter is to the Society at Rome (lib. i. ep. 14). He says :—

A great multitude of the natives came to us from all parts to ask that I would not think it too much to go to their houses, and pray to God over their sick relatives. The sick persons themselves also came to us in such numbers for the same purpose, that I had enough to occupy me merely in reciting a Gospel over each.

This, of course, refers to a well-known Catholic practice. Then he says that all the time he continued his other daily labours of teaching children, baptizing converts, translating the Catechism, answering objections, and burying the dead.

I thought it would be wrong not to assent to requests so just, wishing to satisfy both those who came to me for the sake of their health and those who came to entreat me for others, that they might not lose any of their *confidence* in, and zeal for, the Christian religion.

Certainly it would have been a strange way to encourage their *confidence* when they came to him, as is evident, to be cured by his prayers, to undertake to do what they asked him when no good could follow. A great many years afterwards, in this very district, which had then fallen into the hands of the Dutch, the descendants of the converts of S. Francis Xavier answered the solicitations of a Protestant minister by challenging him to do what the Saint had done. "Begin by raising at least a dozen from the dead, since S. Francis Xavier raised five or six on this coast; heal all our sick, and make the sea as full again of fish as it is; and when you have done this, we will see what answer we may have to give you." (*Lettres Edif.* t. x. p. 118.) The minister, unable to do what was required of him, took his departure immediately. We cannot help thinking that if S. Francis had *not* had the power of working miracles, his own account of his way of proceeding represents him as very injudiciously undertaking to satisfy "such just requests." He then goes on to say that the number of applicants became so great that he could not attend to all; nor could he help quarrels among them, as to whom he should first visit. He hit upon a plan, he says, to satisfy all. This was to send children (*pueros idoneos*) in his stead. They went to the houses of the sick, called together the family and the neighbours, said the Creed with them, and then exhorted the sick persons to a certain and well-founded hope of recovery (*ad certam exploratamque salutis spem*). Then they pronounced the prayers of the Church for the sick. "Quid multa!" says S. Francis :—

God, induced by the confidence and prayers of the children and the rest,

restored health both of body and mind to a great number of sick persons. His goodness to these sick persons was very great, since by means of their sickness itself He called them to the health of their souls, and drew them almost by force to the Christian faith.

If Xavier's delegates could heal the sick, it is not very likely that Xavier himself had less power. But, in fact, the last sentences need not be restricted, even as they stand, to the sick over whom the children prayed. This passage, therefore, ought really to be considered as conclusive of the fact of his miraculous powers as any in one of his own letters can be expected to be. Moreover, Acosta has preserved to us a beautiful anecdote with regard to one of his miracles—the raising to life of a young man at Cape Comorin. S. Francis was openly challenged with it by a friend at Goa. “To the glory and praise of God, Master Francis, what was that about the young man whom you recalled from the dead at Cape Comorin?” Upon this, Xavier blushed, embraced him, and said smiling, “Good Jesus! I to raise the dead! Wretch that I am, they had brought to me a youth who seemed to be dead; I bade him rise in the name of God, and he arose; and the people thought that a wonderful thing!” Who but will echo the remark of the person to whom the answer was related: “Doubt not that the youth was really dead, and that Xavier, by the power of God, raised him to life!”

If S. Francis himself witnessed or confessed to the operation of miraculous powers in support of his preaching, it is mere child's play to question this or that particular miracle because he does not mention it. S. Peter and S. Paul do not mention the miracles that S. Luke attributes to them. Mr. Venn appears to feel the weakness of the argument; and accordingly endeavours to supplement it in a way which does credit to his courage. This is simply an attempt to prove an absolute *contradiction* between the letters of S. Francis and his biographers on this point. He has again to manipulate his evidence with all the ingenuity on which it has been our duty to remark in the preceding pages; but his vigour never flags, and he probably concluded his chapter “On the Legendary Life of Francis Xavier,” with no small sense of satisfaction and triumph. We shall have to ask our readers again to follow his argument, and test the accuracy of his quotations; but we must first briefly set forth the *positive* evidence for the miracles contained in the biographies of our Saint.

S. Francis Xavier died in December, 1552, but his body was not brought to Goa till the spring of 1554. We learn from a letter of Fr. Melchior Núñez, dated in the same year, that several miracles were already well attested at that time;

and that an official inquiry was being made by the ecclesiastical authorities. Mr. Venn quotes the letter, but, as usual, misrepresents it, and passes over in silence the fact of the juridical inquiry. According to him, Nuñez "*timidly asserts* that some persons reported that Xavier wrought miracles" (p. 92)—an assertion on Mr. Venn's part, at all events, by no means timid. Nuñez does not give any general account of the life or miracles of S. Francis: he is occupied simply in relating the circumstances of his death, and the miraculous preservation of his body, although it had for a long time been covered with quicklime, in order to consume it, and in giving an account of its translation to Goa, and of the ceremonies with which it had been received. He then says, "Many things have come to light concerning him, which remained hidden while he was alive;" and he gives an instance of prophecy, "or knowledge of secret thoughts, witnessed by the person to whom S. Francis revealed them, and who declared the fact publicly on seeing the miracle of his incorrupt body in the church at Goa."* "Many also constantly affirmed—*constanti sermone affirmabant*—that he had raised a certain dead man to life at Cape Comorin." He then adds another miracle, related to him by Paul of the holy Faith—a Japanese Christian, who had accompanied S. Francis in his voyage to Japan—who "told me as a certain truth—*mihi pro re verissimâ affirmavit*—that he had restored sight to a blind man." In the teeth of these words, Mr. Venn observes that the person in question had remained in Japan after S. Francis left it, and

* This person was John d'Eyro, or "Durus," as Mr. Venn calls him, whose conversion and wonderful change of life are related at length by the biographers of S. Francis. Nuñez, in the letter now quoted, speaks of him as a Franciscan religious, "*vir integerrimæ vitæ*." He had been a merchant. Mr. Venn says "he had been discarded by Xavier, as his biographers assert, for stealing and lying." Mr. Venn showers epithets of this kind in a somewhat reckless way. John d'Eyro was not a thief, and, with regard to untruthfulness, his fault was a very excusable one. The facts are these:—After his conversion, he became Xavier's catechist and companion, but was never admitted into the Society of Jesus. On one occasion he secretly received a sum of money from some merchants, not for himself, but for the Saint's subsistence—an offence against the religious poverty practised by S. Francis, who made a point of living upon daily alms. This was what Mr. Venn calls "theft." Then, while spending some time in solitude as a penance, he had a vision (which S. Francis afterwards related to him in full detail), but from a false humility he denied having had it. This was, in fact, the instance of Xavier's knowledge of the thoughts of another person, to which he testified at the time of which Nuñez speaks. This denial was the lie. After this—it need not have been *because* of this—Xavier thought him not fitted for the Society, but foretold to him that he would enter the Franciscan order, and remain in it till his death, as was actually the case. Mr. Venn's attempt to impugn his testimony is full of his usual unfairness.

therefore the story must have reached Nuñez by hearsay. He proceeds also to argue that if Nuñez had known of more miracles he would have mentioned them: instead of which he "only gives the rumours of miracles having been wrought in distant and obscure localities, and rests these rumours upon insufficient and delusive authorities!" But, in fact, Nuñez goes on to say, "*I think it best not to write at greater length about the other things; since it is the intention of the viceroy to preserve all his actions for history, and send them to the king. The vicar-general has this business committed to him.*" This sentence, as well as the fact it records, is suppressed by Mr. Venn, who nevertheless argues from the silence of Nuñez, and also insinuates, a little further on, that the "wonderful stories which were afloat" were all collected in consequence of a letter *four years after* the death of Xavier, in which the king of Portugal ordered informations to be taken, both as to the life, manners, and actions of the Saint, and also as to any wonders that had been wrought by means of him, either before or after death. The witnesses were all to be interrogated *on oath*.

It is on the documents produced by these investigations that the history of S. Francis Xavier's life, as we have it in the ordinary biographies, is founded. No one in his senses can deny that such evidence is of the very highest authority. The process was, of course, very slow and elaborate, as it had to be conducted in different and distant places, by a succession of officials who had no particular interest of their own in the matter, and who had other engrossing occupations to excuse inactivity in this. Evidence had to be collected and sifted in all the various and distant places in which S. Francis had laboured; and we must remember that in those days it would take two years to get an answer to a letter sent from Portugal to India, and a longer time than that if it were sent to or from Malacca or Japan. But the process though slow was very sure as to its results. A thousand heroic actions of the Saint would pass unattested, and so be lost to us, but the few that would be gleaned would come to us on as high authority as it is possible under the circumstances to conceive. If, therefore, the biographers were faithful in their use of the materials before them, everything they record comes to us upon the oath of witnesses juridically examined. No one has ever yet shown any reason for believing that Tursellini, Lucena, and Bartoli, all men of the highest character, are unfaithful as historians; and with regard to the series of miracles set forth in the Bull of the canonization of S. Francis, we have the additional assurance, if any were required, that is furnished

by the proverbial severity of the Roman Congregations in admitting evidence on facts of that nature.

The knowledge that evidence is being officially collected—particularly when it is with a view to canonization—has a natural tendency to discourage the production of memoirs and histories independent of the juridical process. Individuals naturally hold their tongues when authority has taken the matter up. The case of S. Francis was, as it were, “put into Chancery” by the official inquiries; and it may be to this that we are to attribute the fact that a long time elapsed before his life was written: though, after all, the time that intervened between his death and the publication of his biography was less than in the case of Mr. Pitt. But even then the evidence was not complete. Tursellini, the earliest biographer, tells us how the matter stood when the first edition of his work was published, in 1594. The evidence collected by order of the king of Portugal had reached him; but this related only to what had passed in places under the Portuguese government, and was, besides, incomplete in itself. It was not till a year or two later that Tursellini received documents relating to Japan and other parts of the extreme East. Lucena, who wrote in Portugal a few years later, seems to have had the Portuguese documents chiefly before him. Orlandini, the historian of the Society of Jesus, is the only other writer who treated of the life of S. Francis before his canonization in 1622. Bartoli, who published his “Asia” in 1655, had all the evidence collected for the purpose of the canonization before him, as well as the archives of the Society of Jesus. Bouhours, whose life of S. Francis is the best known in England, on account of Dryden’s translation, is founded mainly upon Bartoli. His book appeared in 1682. About the same time Massei published a life in Italy, founded upon Bartoli, but also on his own researches among the archives at Rome, as well as on the letters of the saint, which had been much used also by Bouhours. Massei says, in his Preface, that everything in his life that is not to be found either in the previous biographies or in the Letters, is taken from the original Processes, to which he had access in the archives, and that he has been at great pains to exaggerate nothing.*

* Although we might be inclined to wish, with reference to the attacks now made upon the received biographies, that their writers had in every instance given distinct and particular reference to the authorities on which they relied, it is nevertheless not easy to see we should have in reality gained much by such a process. They are in the position of writers quoting documents that are not within the reach of their readers: even if they had given in each case the names of the witnesses, it would still have been out of our

There is, moreover, one satisfactory test that can be applied to the statements of the biographers; and this, as we shall proceed to show, leaves their veracity unquestioned, and, by so doing, adds to it the only possible confirmation that it can receive. This test consists in a comparison of their assertions with the letters written from India about the time of S. Francis Xavier, and with his own epistles. On this ground we have not the slightest fear of meeting Mr. Venn, and we shall proceed to dispose, in as few words as possible, of the argument as it stands in his pages, supported by a show of quotations unusually fallacious, even in a book of which we trust, by this time, to have shown the true character.

The earliest contemporary authority that can be compared with the Lives is the little volume of "*Epistolæ Indicæ*,"* of which we have already spoken. Besides the letter of Melchior

power to verify their quotations. Let us take an analogous instance in a work of our own day. Mr. Kinglake has made a number of assertions in his history of the Crimean War, on the faith of documentary evidence to which his readers have not access. What would they gain by his giving chapter and verse? Even in the case of books that are not in the way of everybody, it is very easy—as Mr. Venn and the author of the "*Saint's Tragedy*" have shown—to back up a statement which is the invention of the author's own imagination, by a reference which it is morally certain will never be looked up, at least by ninety-nine out of every hundred readers. If Tursellini, Bartoli, Lucena, and Massei had been inclined to falsify facts, they could have done it as well with the modern system of references and quotations, as by following the custom of writers of their own time in not giving their authorities except in a general manner.

* Mr. Venn introduces this book to his readers in words that might make them think it was a collection of miracles:—"But let it first be observed that the volume, in which the account of miracles appears, is entitled '*Epistolæ Indicæ de stupendis et præclaris rebus, quas Divina Bonitas in Indiâ et variis insulis per Societatem Jesu operari dignata est, in tam copiosâ Gentium ad fidem conversione. Louvain, 1566.*' The book was compiled by a Jesuit Father, who states in his preface that he had put together, in a readable form, extracts from a number of letters, to prove against heretics the signs of apostleship, and the stupendous miracles of the Church of Rome" (pp. 90, 91). Such is Mr. Venn's statement; from which it would appear that the book was a selection from the letters, containing all the miracles that had been performed, with the distinct object of proving the claims of the "Church of Rome" by these miracles. The fact is, that *there is nothing of the kind in the Preface*, and the book, which contains only a few letters at full length, with extracts from one or two others, was published with a view of vindicating the Society of Jesus from some attacks made on it by objectors in the Catholic Church itself. The "*stupendæ et præclaræ res*" of which it treats, are *not* miracles; but the great success that has attended the exertions of the missionaries in the conversion of the heathen. The letters, which are simply reports from the missionaries sent home to their own brethren, were written with no other object at all than simply to *be* reports. Mr. Venn's statement about the Preface is one of those random statements of which he is so fond. Who was likely to look into the Preface to see whether what he says is true?

Núñez, Mr. Venn professes to quote two other letters from his collection, in order to argue, from their silence as to the miracles, that their writers had never heard of them. The first letter he quotes is from Fr. Arius Brandonius. The only letter from this father in the collection says not a word about S. Francis Xavier, and therefore does not contain the passage quoted by Mr. Venn. It exists, however, in the collection of Maffei. Any one who reads it will see that no mention of the miracles in question could be expected in it. It treats of a variety of topics, and is, in fact, a kind of concise summary of matters of importance, written under the impression that other letters, containing fuller details, may have been lost at sea. It has nothing to do with the character or life of S. Francis in general; it simply gives a succinct account of his death, and of the translation of his body to Goa. There is a sentence speaking of the example of patience and perseverance left to his brethren by Xavier, and that is all. Yet in this short narrative there is incidental mention of at least two things commonly supposed to be miraculous: the preservation of the body of S. Francis after having been covered with quicklime, and subjected to other destructive treatment, and the testimony of the captain of the ship in which the body was conveyed, to its extraordinary escape from dangers at sea. Yet Mr. Venn has the face to declare that this writer "uses language which goes far to *negative* his belief in" the miracles; and after quoting the sentence about perseverance, he adds, "it is pretty clear that the writer of such a sentence had no idea in his mind of Xavier's possession of miraculous powers." He might as well argue that S. Peter denied the possession of miraculous powers in S. Paul, because he speaks of other gifts that he had received, without mentioning this. And in the next page he quietly says of Fr. Brandonius, "he negatives the idea of Xavier's miracles."

However, unfortunately for Mr. Venn, though he has inserted this letter into the "*Epistolæ Indicæ*," he is obliged to quote a third in the same collection (1555), by Fr. Antonius Quadrus:—

He records the marvels he heard of the success of the Jesuits in India; and gives, in the form of positive assertion, an extended list of Xavier's miracles; namely, the healing of many sick—the casting out devils from possessed persons in Comorin—the gift of prophecy—the raising a dead man to life—the curing of three men in Japan,—a dumb man, a paralytic, and a deaf man.

We sincerely hope that if, as we trust will before long be the case, the Letters of S. Francis Xavier are given to the public in English, a few selections from the "*Epistolæ Indicæ*"

may accompany them as illustrations. The letter of Antonius Quadrus should be among them. Mr. Venn has quoted it with his usual unfairness. It is the enthusiastic account by a missionary newly arrived on the scene, of the great and heroic example left behind them by S. Francis and others; but it dwells far more upon the virtues of the Saint, his love of suffering, his zeal for souls, the exquisite charity which made him become all things to all men, his rigid abstinence and mortification, and his wonderful gift of prayer and constant union with God, than upon miracles. These are mentioned naturally among other things, but it is by no means the object of the letter to draw up a catalogue of them. The list given by Mr. Venn is, however, as might be expected, incomplete. He omits to insert the statement that the Saint had *very seldom* said the Lord's Prayer over a sick person without healing him by it; and—not without a special purpose, as we shall see presently—he omits to say that the writer had it from a person present with the Saint at the time, that he possessed the gift of tongues in such a manner as to answer ten or twelve questions at once; and that this was not at all unusual with him.*

* We must find space to say a few words about Mr. Venn's treatment of another witness, of whom we have already heard—Emmanuel Acosta, whose short Commentary "*de Rebus Indicis*" is quoted in the work before us in a way to make the reader believe that it was entirely devoted to the life and works of S. Francis Xavier (pp. 96, 97). The entire Commentary occupies a little more than forty pages, of which less than a dozen relate to the Saint. Mr. Venn, after speaking of the letter of the king of Portugal ordering investigations to be made, says, "Emmanuel Acosta states, in his Commentary, published eighteen years after Xavier's death, that he had seen the documents sent over from India in reply to the king's letter, and that he gives the chief particulars in that Commentary." Acosta's words are:—"Ministri sedulo imperata fecerunt, atque ita multa de Francisco Xaverio ad Regem probe comperta atque explorata miserunt, *ut singula hoc loco prosequi nimis longum sit. Summatim nonnulla perstringam.*" Mr. Venn goes on: "His list of miracles is, nevertheless, but little extended or varied beyond those already noticed. He asserts the raising of two dead men to life, together with the gift of prophecy, and the restoring of speech to a dumb, and hearing to a deaf man" (p. 97). The details that Acosta proceeds to give, show clearly that when he says "*summatim nonnulla perstringam*," he meant to relate some of the actions and labours of S. Francis, rather than his miracles—as, indeed, the order of the king related more to the former than to the latter. He gives a brief sketch of the labours of the Saint in India, Malacca, and other places, particularly Japan; then he mentions his having had the gift of tongues, and speaks in a general way of his miracles:—"In Comorini autem regione dum ageret, non solum ægros complures a medicis desperatos morbo divinitus liberavit, spiritusque fugavit immundos, sed etiam mortuos revocavit ad vitam." He mentions two particular cases. He then gives several anecdotes of the Saint's knowledge of things at a distance; among which is the celebrated history of the defeat of the Acenians while

Such then is the bearing of what can be gathered from the early letters from India, written within three or four years after the death of S. Francis, on the question of his miracles; and we think that our readers will agree with us in admiring Mr. Venn for his courage in calling these witnesses into court. He has, however, another shaft in his quiver; and this time it is drawn from the letters of S. Francis himself. It should be observed that the earliest biographer of the Saint, Tursellini, was also the first translator of his letters; but he had before him only a small portion of the whole collection as we now possess it. There is one very notable addition that was afterwards made, in the shape of a series of letters to Fr. Mancias, or Mansilla, a fellow-labourer of S. Francis during his early missionary career in Southern India: some of them short notes, thrown off from day to day, and giving us a very interesting insight into the exquisite charity and large-hearted sympathies of the Saint. We have already had occasion to allude to these letters. As they were not before the early biographers, and as they mention many minute particulars of a part of the career of S. Francis which those writers had to compose, partly from other letters of his own to Europe, and partly from the documents collected after his death, it is obvious that they furnish us with an admirable opportunity of testing the accuracy of the received history. Nothing can, in reality, be more satisfactory than the result of the comparison. The letters confirm the history in many incidental and unexpected particulars, though at the same time, as is natural, they add many circumstances, and they leave out, as the letters of a saint were sure to do, some of the more heroic actions that have been recorded by other authorities. If Mr. Venn had been content to remark that they make no mention of these things, we should simply refer him to the answer we have already given to such an objection. But he is not content with this: and as he ventures here to use such expressions as "shameless fabrications" of the statements of the biographers, we shall take the liberty of throwing back to him his own epithet, and of exposing the "shameless" use that he has made of the letters to Fr. Mancias.

There is a well-known anecdote of S. Francis, which Mr. Venn makes the subject of his attack. It is, we believe, still kept before the memory of the native Christians of that part of India, by the existence of a Catholic church on the spot

he was at Malacca—a story, on account of which Mr. Venn is very angry afterwards with the biographers, attributing it to the "guard-room gossip" of the next generation.

where it happened. It is said that while he was in Travancore, the Christian neophytes were on the point of being attacked by a horde of armed ruffians, called Badages, although an army of the king of the country was approaching to their assistance; that S. Francis, at the head of a body of fervent Christians, went forth to meet the Badages with his crucifix in his hand, and, forbidding them to advance further, struck them with a sudden panic, and put them to flight. The anecdote, as thus related, is certainly very characteristic of S. Francis, nor can we see any reason why it should be rejected as impossible even by Protestant critics. The not very dissimilar anecdote of S. Leo going forth to meet Attila is not, we believe, generally questioned even by the most naturalistic historians. But it suits Mr. Venn to try and put the letters to Mancias in opposition to the story. In the first place, they do not mention it. In the second place—though here Mr. Venn travels beyond his own authorities—

A letter from Goa by one of the Jesuit Fathers, given by Maffei (1568, *Organtinus Brisciensis*), informs us that the Badages were the collectors of the royal tribute, a race of overbearing and insolent men, and commonly called Nairs, or soldiers.*—P. 60.

* We do not know why Mr. Venn should translate the letter of Organtino as he does. He says that the Fathers on the Comorin coast are in danger from the Mussulmans, and "ab aliis Ethnicis, quos Badagas vocant, regionum vectigalium exactoribus. Est etiam in primis importunum et contumax genus hominum militarium, qui Naires vulgo dicuntur." The Badages have nothing to do with the Nairs. There is no difficulty as to who they were, though there may be some difficulty—perhaps on account of the non-acquaintance with India of the translators of S. Francis Xavier's letters—as to the sovereign to whom they were subject. The question is, whether he was the king of Travancore, or some neighbouring potentate of Bisnaghur or Madura. In the latter case, there is no difficulty at all in the story; for the army sent to oppose them was that of the king of Travancore; but as the letters, as translated, seem to imply the former, we have adopted that hypothesis, and explained it by the letters themselves. The former hypothesis seems to be confirmed by a letter written in 1700, from a missionary in India, and preserved among the "Lettres Edifiantes" (x. 77). We give the passage at length, as it proves the local tradition as to the very action attacked by Mr. Venn. The writer says: "Cotate est une assez grande ville, située au pied des montagnes du Cap du Comorin, qui n'en est éloigné que d'environ quatre lieues. Elle est devenue fameuse en Europe et dans toutes les Indes, par une infinité des miracles qu'y a opéré, et qu'y opère encore tous les jours, Saint François Xavier. Cette ville, qui termine le Royaume de Travancor du côté du Sud, n'est pas plus à couvert que le reste du pays des courses des Badages, qui viennent presque tous les ans du Royaume de Maduré faire le dégât dans les terres du Roi de Travancor. La plaine où Saint François Xavier, le crucifix à la main, arrêta lui seul une grande armée de ces barbares, n'est qu'à deux lieues de Cotate du côté du Nord. Je ne sçais si lorsque le saint fit ce prodige, les Rois de Travancor étaient différens de ce qu'ils sont aujourd'hui; mais à moins que leur puissance n'ait étrangement diminué,

Therefore, says Mr. Venn, Bouhours expands the story of Acosta and Tursellini,—who do not relate every particular as it is found in the later accounts—into the legend given above, making the king of Travancore raise an army to oppose his own tax-gatherers.

And this legend has served its purpose ; for it has often been cited by Protestant eulogists as a proof of Xavier's Christian heroism, and of his commanding powers over the minds of savages. This *shameless fabrication* by Xavier's biographers lies within a very small compass. Any one who will take the trouble of reading the letters to Mansilla, and compare them with the biographies, may satisfy himself on the subject.—P. 86.

We have taken the trouble of reading these letters. They say nothing about the Badages being "tax-gatherers" (nor does Organtino describe them as such in our sense of the word), but they sufficiently confirm the whole story, and contradict it in nothing. In the first place, they speak of the Badages as pillaging the Christians of the Comorin sea-coast, and even of the danger in which Mancias himself might be from them. Then they show clearly that they were subject in some sense to the authority of the king of Travancore, for he is begged to forbid their ravages. Then they attack the Christians of Tuticorin, and the king sends a Brahmin to order them to desist. On this, they go off inland, and there is no hope of their being induced to desist from plundering except by the royal authority. If we may connect their cruelties with similar conduct on the Adigares, who seem to have been native subordinate rulers, and about whom complaint is also made to the "king" of Travancore, it becomes easy to understand that they were an armed force, whose business was to collect dues for the sovereign—whoever he was—of that part of India, but who often plundered on their own account, and were not very obedient to the royal edicts. In fact, a little later on in the Letters we come to the very state of circumstances under which the anecdote which Mr. Venn calls a shameless fabrication is said to have taken place. His objection is that the king could not have made war on his own "tax-gatherers." S. Francis writes to Mansilla about a fresh rising of these turbulent men, on account of the abduction of a relative of their chief, Beterbemalis, by the Portuguese. They vowed to destroy all the Christians. He then speaks of the king :—"I

celui en faveur duquel Saint François Xavier mit en fuite les barbares, n'avait assurément nulle raison de prendre la qualité de Grand Roi, puisqu'il est un des plus petits princes des Indes, et qu'il est tributaire du Royaume de Maduré. Mais, comme il ne paie ce tribut que malgré lui, les Badages sont obligés d'entrer quelquefois à main armée dans ses terres pour l'exiger."

learn that there is a report among the Badages that I have some influence with Iniquitiribimus, whom they call their king, though they do not much obey him, and indeed some of them, with Beterbemalis at their head, *have openly thrown off allegiance.*" The king sends to beg S. Francis to come to him, and the latter thinks his object is to obtain through his influence the assistance of the Portuguese. The next letter mentions a state of *open hostilities* between the king and Beterbemalis; and then the tone of the letters suddenly changes—we hear no more complaints of the danger of the Christians from the Badages. If the letters to Mancias do not actually mention the flight of the latter before the face of S. Francis, at least they mention every circumstance that is required by the story, and they give no other explanation of the cessation of the danger. So much for the confutation of this "shameless fabrication" by the Letters. And let us in conclusion ask, why Mr. Venn did not mention to his readers the facts which we have just now cited. Why did he argue upon the absurdity of supposing a war between the king and "his own tax-gatherers," when the Letters distinctly bear witness to the fact of their revolt against his authority?

We shall take leave of Mr. Venn with a few words on one more attack made by him on the biographers. It relates to the "gift of tongues," which is usually attributed to S. Francis Xavier. Here again Mr. Venn assumes a triumphant air, and casts his favourite epithet "shameless" at men a thousand times more honest as well as more learned than himself.

One species of miracle may be taken as an example of palpable contradiction between Xavier and his biographers; namely, the gift of tongues. Bouhours asserts, during Xavier's labours among the Travancore fishermen—"It was at this time that God first communicated to Xavier the gift of tongues." Then follows the recital of the Badages. Yet a letter written to Mansilla, in the midst of these events, contains the confession already quoted in a former chapter, of Xavier's total incapacity of making himself understood, and of his dependence on his interpreter Anthony. . . . In a letter written to Ignatius Loyola, immediately after his arrival at Cochin, January, 1554, *giving an account of his labours for the last year*, he says, "I have no news to tell you, except that we have so few labourers, that you should send us as many as possible." No news! though, as his biographer asserts, he had then just received the gift of tongues! So shamelessly do the biographers of Xavier contradict Xavier's own narrative.—Pp. 88, 89.

The date is misprinted in Mr. Venn's pages. It should be 1545. The statement that it was written "immediately after his arrival at Cochin," is calculated to deceive the reader. It

implies, we suppose, that it was soon after the beginning of Xavier's preaching on the Comorin coast, and that therefore it ought to have contained anything of importance that had happened. But it was written between two and three years after his mission began. The recklessness of Mr. Venn's statements, and the absurdity of his inferences, may be judged of by the fact that the letter *does not say a word about "his labours for the past year,"* and that he had written a long letter to the Society at Rome from the same place *a year before*, in which he *had* given an account of his labours, and from which, unless we are mistaken, it is easy to see, by the way in which he speaks of his controversies and conversations with the Brahmins, that he was able perfectly to talk their language.*

We will, if he wishes it, strengthen Mr. Venn's argument for him. There are other passages, not in the letters to Mancias, which the biographers may not have seen, but in letters to Europe which they must have seen, in which S. Francis speaks of the pains he was at to learn the language of the country from which he wrote. So that the biographers must not only have made an unfounded assertion, if S. Francis had not received the gift in question, but they must have done what Mr. Venn himself is a great adept at doing—they must have contradicted direct assertions of the authorities to which they had access. But men like Lucena, Tursellini, Bartoli, and Massei were not quite of the same stamp as the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. What is the fact? The Letters do not, in so many words, assert that their writer had the gift of tongues, any more than they do the same about the gift of miracles; but it is perfectly easy to see, from the Letters, that one gift as well as the other had been bestowed upon S. Francis. Just as he speaks of what never happens without good reason—a vast concourse of people thronging

* Our readers must by this time understand what sort of a writer they have to deal with in Mr. Venn. We have limited ourselves, in exposing his misstatements, to the earlier portion of the career of S. Francis; but the rest of the history is just as full of the grossest errors and most flagrant misquotations. We shall expose one more, because it bears on this same subject of the gift of tongues. Mr. Venn says, "There is reason to doubt whether Xavier's catechumens understood so much as the meaning of the words put into their lips: for, after all the baptisms recounted above, Xavier informed Mansilla that they had mistranslated the very first word of the Creed, and that instead of the word "I believe" (*credo*), they had been using the expression "I will" (*volo*) (p. 38). Mr. Venn has simply altered the pronoun. S. Francis has been looking over a translation made by Mancias, and he says "In *your* version of the Apostles' Creed there is something as to which I think it well to warn you;" and then he corrects this and another mistake. Thus, a passage in which S. Francis shows his knowledge of the language by correcting the mistake of another, is used to show his own ignorance of it!

to him with their sick to be prayed over, so that he was obliged to substitute children for himself, to satisfy their requirements, and by that and similar statements proves to any one who understands the language of the Saints that he had the gift of miracles—so by the account that he gives of long conversations and discussions, either with an assembly of Brahmins or Bonzes, or with individuals, in countries of which he could not have had time to learn the language, he shows sufficiently that he must have had the gift of tongues. If a traveller tells us that he bought a great many different articles in the places he passed through, he gives us to understand that he had money in his purse. So if a missionary relates interviews, and discourses, and harangues, where an interpreter is out of the question, no reasonable person can doubt that he knew the language of the people with whom he conversed. And what does Mr. Venn suppose the gift of tongues, or the gift of miracles, to be? Does he imagine that when we attribute either of these gifts to an Apostle or a Saint, we mean that he had them always at command—that they were habitual, as much his own as the gift of seeing or hearing? Catholic theology supposes nothing of the kind with regard to gifts of that class. If a missionary raises a dead person to life, or cures a sick person by his touch, we say he had the gift of miracles: we do not say that he could raise to life every dead person he met with, or cure every kind of disease in every instance that presented itself. The Apostles had power given them over the devils; but they could not dispossess the lunatic child presented to our Lord when He came down from the Mount of Transfiguration. Eliseus could know what was done by Giezi at a distance, and yet he could not read the heart of the mother who came to him in her anguish (4 Kings, iv. 27). “The Lord hath hid it from me,” he said, as if he were accustomed to have revelations of such secrets. So it is no argument against the assertion of the biographers of S. Francis that he received the gift of tongues, to bring a particular instance at a particular time when he had it not, or to bring other instances in which he set himself with all diligence to learn a language which he afterwards was able to speak by a supernatural gift. There are numberless passages in his letters from which it is clear that he must have had the gift; for he speaks of conversing with people of all nations as quietly as if there had never been any confusion of tongues. Unless Mr. Venn can produce some other explanation of these passages, he it is who puts himself in “shameless contradiction” with the Letters he professes to follow. These and other supernatural gifts are not attributed

to S. Francis on the authority of the Letters: they rest, like the remainder of his life, upon the sworn testimony of witnesses juridically examined. Nothing in the Letters contradicts that testimony. Not the use of interpreters when they were to be had, nor the study of the native languages undertaken by S. Francis; for those most favoured with gifts of this sort will never neglect natural means, and indeed will often use them to veil their supernatural powers. Not the temporary suspension or interruption of the gift; for that is only what is to be expected from the analogy of Scripture, and of the lives of the Saints.

ART. III.—ROME AND THE MUNICH CONGRESS.

Brief addressed by the Holy Father to the Archbishop of Munich, dated Dec. 21st, 1863.

The Home and Foreign Review. No. 8. April, 1864. Article 12, "Conflicts with Rome," signed "John Dalberg Acton."

THE Holy Father's letter to the Archbishop of Munich deserves certainly to be ranked among the most important ecclesiastical events of our day. We will mention some of the many reasons which lead us to this opinion.

Firstly, the great majority of the questions started at this day which regard Theology are of a philosophical character. This circumstance has been urged in so many different quarters as to have become quite a trite dictum among us; and it follows, of course, that a clear and distinct view of the Church's authority within the sphere of philosophy, is absolutely indispensable to any Catholic who would take part in the controversies of the day. Now this is the theme directly treated in the present Brief.

Secondly, certain principles which the Pope has now expressly and formally enunciated, are of the greatest moment in a strictly theological point of view. We refer to his declaration on the deference due to decrees emanating from Roman Congregations; on the existence of doctrines which are strictly of faith, over and above those which have been expressly defined; and on other similar matters.

Thirdly, the whole history of the Munich Congress, and its relation with Dr. Döllinger, is full of deep and painful interest, and since the publication of the Brief, every good Catholic must read that history in its true light. Dr. Döllinger incon-

testably possesses enormous erudition, great critical power, and not inconsiderable general ability, one-sided though he be, and deficient both in depth and width of intellect; moreover, his influence in Catholic Germany is extremely great. In what direction he will henceforth use that influence, is among the many anxious questions of our time.

Fourthly, the Papal Brief has brought the *Home and Foreign Review* to a sudden close; and as this fact more specially concerns the Catholic body of these islands, we will dwell on it at somewhat greater length. This periodical during its brief career has exhibited a vast amount of learning and of mental activity, but it has been animated throughout by profoundly anti-Catholic principles. Soon after its first number was issued, the English Bishops, acting under a sanction still higher than their own, warned the faithful against its tendencies; and its Editor has now frankly admitted (p. 688) that it "would surrender the whole reason of its existence," if it "ceased to uphold" principles which "the Holy See" in this very Brief has formally "rejected." So long as its publication was continued, there were obvious reasons which indisposed us from entering into direct conflict with its various utterances, unless some very special reason had rendered such conflict absolutely necessary. And now, indeed, that its publication has ceased, there might appear to be reasons fully as strong, though of an altogether different kind, which should no less dissuade us from such a course: because men might say that its self-imposed silence secures us from the possibility of reply. The fact, however, is quite otherwise. Sir J. Acton has now appended his name as responsible editor, and we shall be criticising, therefore, not an extinct periodical, but a living Catholic; a Catholic, we will add, who is extremely well able to defend himself, so far as the strength of his cause may permit. At the same time we should be sorry not to express emphatically our sense of the manliness and straightforwardness he has displayed in this frank acceptance of responsibility.

We had hitherto thought that even those Catholics who place at the lowest point the authority of such Pontifical documents, at least admitted the obligation of a "respectful silence" as to their contents. If Sir J. Acton had acted, even on this lowest view—if, without professing any change of opinion, he had simply said that in deference to the Papal pronouncement he terminated his periodical—we should by no means have been too curious in inquiring whether he really yielded as much deference to that pronouncement as its character demanded: on the contrary, we should have gladly

hailed his submission as a graceful and suitable homage to the Church's authority. But his estimate of duty has been most different: his valedictory article consists of one sustained and energetic attack on the principles enunciated by the Holy Father. "All that is being done for ecclesiastical learning by the priesthood of the Continent bears testimony," he says, "to the *truths* which are now called in question," *i. e.* to the errors condemned in the Papal Brief; "and every work of real science written by a Catholic adds to their force" (p. 689). Of those who treat Theology as the Holy Father prescribes, he tells us (p. 690) that "their methods are obsolete, and their labours vain." The Pope pronounces, in so many words, that Catholic philosophers are under the obligation of submitting themselves to the doctrinal decrees of the Pontifical Congregations; but Sir J. Acton replies, that it is a "monstrous error" if we "attribute to the Congregation of the Index a share in the infallibility of the Church" (p. 679). Nay, he goes much further: he says that the German theologians, with whom throughout he expresses unreserved sympathy, "attach no more value to the unreasoned decrees of" the Index "than to the undefended '*ipse dixit*' of a theologian of secondary rank" (p. 678). Further, as to "the method of Rome" in "adjusting the relations between science and authority" (p. 673)—a method which he considers signally exemplified in the maxims of this Brief—he criticises it as follows:—

The true limits of legitimate authority are one thing, and the area which authority may find it expedient to attempt to occupy is another. *The interests of the Church are not necessarily identical with those of the ecclesiastical government.* A government does not desire its powers to be strictly defined; but *the subjects require the line to be drawn with increasing precision.* Authority may be protected by its subjects *being kept in ignorance of its faults*, and by their holding it in *superstitious admiration*. . . . These arts are simply those of all human governments which possess legislative power, *fear attack, deny responsibility, and therefore shrink from scrutiny* (p. 674).

Consistently with this view of the case, he is of opinion that historical inquiry

has gradually laid bare the whole policy and process of ecclesiastical authority, and has removed that *veil of mystery* wherewith, *like all other authorities*, it tries to surround the present (p. 673); and he considers that "the twilight of opinion enables it to assume" "the halo of infallibility" (p. 674).

Finally, with a *naïveté* which in a less serious matter would be exquisitely droll, he assigns as one of his reasons for discontinuing the Review, his unwillingness to impair "the

authority and dignity of the Holy See" (p. 686). As though any private individual could well do more (*pro viribus suis*) to impair such authority and dignity, than by saying that the principles which that See maintains are fundamentally erroneous and inexpressibly mischievous; that the Pope has been hitherto enabled by the twilight of opinion to assume a halo of infallibility; that he *finds it expedient* to cling to a position exceeding the true limits of legitimate authority; that he fears attack, denies responsibility, and therefore shrinks from scrutiny. Such are the final utterances of the *Home and Foreign Review*. Certainly it has died like a wasp, which leaves its sting in the wound it has inflicted.

But we have not yet done any kind of justice to Sir John's whole view of the Pope's position in the Church. We would, therefore, beg our readers carefully to ponder the following portentous paragraph:—

What is the Holy See in its relation to the masses of Catholics, and where does its strength lie? It is the organ, the mouth, the head, of the Church. *Its strength consists in its agreement with the general conviction of the faithful.* When it expresses the common knowledge and sense of the age, or of a large majority of Catholics, its position is impregnable. The force it derives from this general support makes direct opposition hopeless, and therefore disedifying, tending only to division, and promoting reaction rather than reform. The influence by which it is to be moved must be directed first on that which gives it strength, and *must pervade the members in order that it may reach the head.* While the general sentiment of Catholics is unaltered, the course of the Holy See remains unaltered too. As soon as that sentiment is modified, Rome sympathizes with the change. The ecclesiastical government, based upon the public opinion of the Church, and acting through it, *cannot separate itself from the mass of the faithful, and keep pace with the progress of the instructed minority.* It follows slowly and warily, and sometimes begins by resisting and denouncing what in the end it thoroughly adopts. Hence a direct controversy with Rome holds out the prospect of great evils, and at best a barren and unprofitable victory. The victory that is fruitful springs from that gradual change in the knowledge, the ideas, and the convictions of the Catholic body, which in due time overcomes the natural reluctance to forsake a beaten path, and by insensible degrees *constrains the mouthpiece of tradition to conform itself to the new atmosphere with which it is surrounded.* The slow, silent, indirect action of public opinion bears the Holy See along, without any demoralizing conflict or dishonourable capitulation. This action *it belongs essentially to the graver scientific literature to direct* (p. 686).

Now, what are those principles of the Holy See which Sir J. Acton thus wishes to revolutionize? Avowedly those declared in the Munich Brief. But all the more prominent of these are strictly theological, if there are any such in the world.

What doctrines are strictly of faith? What is the dogmatic authority of Roman Congregations? What is the dogmatic authority of the "sensus fidelium"? What is the value of scholastic theology, and the weight due to that encouragement which the Church has ever given it? Such are the chief questions to which the Brief gives an answer; and when the Council of Florence decreed that "the Roman Pontiff is the teacher of all Christians," no one doubts that it was precisely to such questions as these that primary reference was made. But Sir J. Acton considers it an universal and inevitable fact that so far from teaching the "instructed minority" on such matters, the Holy Father cannot even "keep pace with their progress." The "instructed minority," it seems, are not included in the number of those sheep and lambs whom Peter is to feed, or of those brethren whom by his unfailing faith he is to strengthen. It is not he who teaches them but they who teach him. They make indeed all equitable allowance for his position; they quite see that he cannot be expected to reach their height of divine knowledge, unable as he is to "separate himself from the mass of the faithful." Still the fact remains. Catholics have hitherto supposed that in matters of religious doctrine it is the Pope and bishops who teach the faithful. But the instructed minority possess their esoteric gospel; and according to that gospel "the graver scientific literature" teaches the faithful, and they by a slow and laborious process enlighten the Pope. Peter is ever the hindmost of all Catholics in arriving at true views of theological science and theological truth.

These things are miserable enough; but still worse remains behind. We must complain, indeed, seriously of the vagueness which characterizes many of Sir John's propositions on the most vital and critical points; but there are some sentences which we cannot understand otherwise than as denying altogether the existence of *any* infallible *Ecclesia Docens*. It is not that he is Gallican and refuses to admit the Pope's infallibility except in connection with the body of bishops; he recognizes it as little when the Pope acts with them as when he acts without them. It is a "vulgar mistake," says our author (p. 681), "to confound religious truth *with the voice of ecclesiastical authority*." "*The whole Church*" is not "infected with the liability to err *from which her rulers are not exempt*" (p. 682). And an earlier passage explains his meaning at greater length. "In the civil affairs of mankind . . . particular authorities may fall into error . . . but the political conscience of *the whole people* cannot be irrecoverably lost. The Church possesses *the same privilege*, but in a much

higher degree. . . . Whatever authority therefore *expresses* that knowledge of which *she* is the keeper must be obeyed. But *there is no institution* from which this knowledge can be obtained with immediate certainty" (p. 679). According to this statement, it is the collective faithful only who are infallible, and there is no infallible Ecclesia Docens at all. It is difficult to suppose that Sir J. Acton really means this, and we earnestly hope that he does not mean it; but we can imagine no other interpretation of the words which we have quoted. We are bound to add our humble opinion, which we submit altogether to the judgment of theologians, that he who should really deny infallibility to the collective body of Catholic bishops, when professing to teach, in union with their head, the Catholic faith as such, could not be an unsound or a disloyal Catholic, because he would be no Catholic at all.

It is not for us to attempt a refutation of such an error as this; we can but refer to any ordinary treatise "*De Ecclesiâ*." Of course, if Sir J. Acton, so far as authority is concerned, would refuse interior assent to the voice of the whole Catholic Episcopate, it was only to be expected that he should refuse it to the doctrinal decrees of the Index, or to such a Brief as is now before us. Yet, as we just now said, we are unwilling to believe that he can really intend what his words seem to convey, or that he seriously advocates an opinion which will be unanimously regarded, by men of every creed, as inconsistent with the very name of Catholic.* At all events, there are other thinkers to whom it is clear that that name cannot rightly be refused, who are, nevertheless, in agreement with him on this particular point; and who will openly profess that they owe no interior assent, and that they yield none, to the Holy Father's recent pronouncement. Their argument is most intelligible. "Not even Ultramontanes," they say, "profess that the Pope speaks infallibly unless he speaks *ex cathedrâ*; nor does he speak *ex cathedrâ* unless he addresses the universal Church, and expresses or implies the sentence of heresy on those who

* We cannot profess to have been surprised at finding the *Reader* (April 16th) unable to distinguish very clearly between Sir J. Acton's Catholicism and simple Protestantism. "Where is the organ," it asks, "of that supernatural power" which "aids" mankind in apprehending "the higher set of topics"? "Not in the Pope, it seems, according to the new Catholics; not in the writings of the Fathers; not in Conferences; not anywhere, nor in any collection of anywheres! Only in the '*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*,' or in the general *consensus* of human belief after the possibility of denial is exhausted! Well, if that is the upshot, what difference, other than a difference of wish, remains between the new Teutonic Catholicism and much Teutonic Protestantism that we wot of?"

dissent. The present Brief fulfils neither of these conditions ; hence, even on the Ultramontane view, it is not infallible. But to claim our interior assent to that for which infallibility is not even professed, is the extremity of tyranny and usurpation, and most alien therefore from the true spirit of the Church.”* In the very article which we are criticising there are some words which may well be understood as meaning no more than this.† Since, therefore, we are most unwilling to fasten on Sir J. Acton any extreme doctrine, which we sincerely hope he may disavow, we will take for granted, so far as the remainder of our present article is concerned, that at last he means no more than to express agreement with that particular line of argument which we have just drawn out.

Since then it is impossible in one article to exhaust one-tenth of the considerations suggested by this momentous Brief, we can, perhaps, in no other way more serviceably welcome the auspicious fact of its publication, than by choosing two points in particular for our comment. Firstly, we will show that all its doctrinal declarations have a peremptory claim, on the ground of authority, to a Catholic’s full and unreserved acceptance ; and secondly, we will illustrate its practical effect, by exhibiting the real drift of those errors which it condemns. Two subjects of much wider extent are reserved, possibly for future notice ; the one historical, the other doctrinal. The first, a history of recent Catholic thought in Germany, as culminating in this Munich Congress ; the second, a comprehensive view of this Munich Brief, in its full theological bearing.

On the first point which we have undertaken, the argument opposed to us may be thus syllogistically expressed :—“ No interior assent can be reasonably claimed, on the ground of authority, for any theological pronouncement which is not infallible ; but the theological declarations of the Papal Brief are not infallible, hence no such assent can be reasonably claimed for them.” If either of these premises be refuted, the argument breaks down ; but, for our own part, we confidently deny them both. We maintain, firstly, that even if these declarations were not infallible, all good Catholics would nevertheless be under the obligation, and that on the ground

* For one instance out of many in which this general ground is taken, see a very temperate letter in the *Rambler* of July, 1861, p. 268.

† “ It is only the utterances of an infallible authority that men can believe without argument and explanation ; and here was an authority not infallible, giving no reasons, and yet claiming a submission of the reason ” (p. 677).

of authority, not merely of not exteriorly contradicting them, but of yielding to them a certain kind and degree of interior assent. We maintain, secondly, that though the Brief neither is nor professes to be a definition of faith, its theological declarations, nevertheless, are infallibly true; and Catholics are therefore under a strict obligation of unreservedly accepting them in all their fulness.

We admit, of course, that if these declarations were not infallible, we could not be obliged (or permitted) to embrace them with an act of divine faith; nay, even as the case stands, there are some of them for which this firmest of all possible assents cannot reasonably be claimed. But it is the strangest possible reasoning to take for granted, that because we may (and ought to) withhold from a proposition the firmest of all possible assents, we are at liberty to withhold from it, even on the ground of authority, all interior assent whatever. The testimony which assures me that the battle of Marathon was fought, is less universal and indisputable than that which assures me that the city of Vienna exists; am I, therefore, at liberty to disbelieve the battle of Marathon altogether? In the present case, so strange a misconception could not have possibly arisen, except from a most unworthy and inadequate idea of the Church's office and mission.

The Church was founded, as for other great ends, so primarily and pre-eminently for this—to guide and strengthen men on their road to heaven. Now, in order to do this with any hope of success, it was, no doubt, absolutely necessary that she should possess the gift of preserving faithfully, and teaching infallibly, that great body of revealed truth which is commonly ranged under the two heads of doctrine and morals. But although this gift is necessary, yet, even so far as guidance alone is concerned, it is very far from being sufficient; on the contrary, as regards the enormous majority of her children, if she exercised no other gift than this, she would hardly afford them any guidance whatever. For clearness' sake we will express our meaning under the particular head of morals, begging our readers to remember that a precisely similar argument may be drawn out under the head of doctrine also. Take, then, all the infallible decisions on moral truth which the Church has ever put forth; in what respect, we ask, would the immense majority of her children receive advantage, though they knew every one of these decisions by heart, unless the Church did a great deal more, both in teaching them their duty, and exciting them to its performance? These two further functions, we say, are absolutely and most strictly indispensable: first, that she shall apply the general principles

a good preacher, he abstains from uttering those abstract and general statements which are the Church's infallible edicts, and confines himself to those very topics on which he is avowedly liable to error. Once grant, then, Sir J. Acton's principle, in proportion as the preacher more faithfully and effectively performs his office, in that very proportion will his reasonable hearers withhold all interior assent from his teaching, except so far as they (uneducated rustics) are able to understand and follow the chain of argument on which it proceeds. If we could imagine a rural congregation acting so ridiculous a part as Sir J. Acton would inculcate, what would ensue? The Church's ministration of teaching and exhortation would, as regards them, be absolutely futile. Their *parochus*, from a living minister of the Gospel, would be degraded to the level of a passive theological dictionary, through whom a number of farmers and day-labourers may learn to the extent of their desire the infallible definitions of popes and councils;—definitions, we may add, which, even if translated for them by his kindness into the vernacular, would remain about as intelligible to them as in the original Latin. Away with such childish absurdities! The common sense of the matter surely is this:—They cannot possibly separate what is true in their *parochus's* instruction from what may be mistaken; they have no means for doing so. They must either accept all or reject all. And since (in consequence of his authorization by the Church) the portion which is indubitably true immeasurably preponderates over that which may possibly be mistaken, by the former alternative they learn a vast number of absolutely necessary truths of which the latter alternative would leave them wholly destitute. In adopting the former alternative they obtain every help for attaining Heaven; in adopting the latter they would themselves choose Hell as their eternal portion.

So far, then, the point at issue between Sir J. Acton and ourselves is simply this: He assumes as a matter of course that it can never be obligatory, nor even reasonable, to accept any proposition on grounds of authority, unless in deference to some infallible pronouncement.* We maintain, in contra-

* Here is an instance of the confused and obscure way in which Sir J. Acton often writes:—"To submit absolutely," he says (p. 677), "would either be," on the part of Dr. Frohschammer, "a virtual acknowledgment of the infallibility of the authority, or a confession that an ecclesiastical decision necessarily bound the mind *irrespective of its truth and justice*." This latter is not at all the necessary alternative. There is a different alternative altogether—viz., that an ecclesiastical decision may bind the mind because of the vast preponderance of *a priori* probability in its favour, even though it be not *infallibly* true and just.

diction to this, that it is very often more reasonable, and not unfrequently obligatory, to accept a proposition on grounds of authority, when there is reason for confidently holding that the judgment of that authority, though fallible, is very far more likely to be correct than our own. How far in any given case this principle is applicable, depends on the circumstances of that case; and we now, therefore, proceed to consider those circumstances in the particular controversy before us. Let us suddenly turn our thoughts from the lowest to the highest intellectual grade of Catholicism. We have seen how strict is the obligation of a rustic to accept the fallible instruction of his appointed teacher; why is a German theologian under a less strict obligation to accept the instruction, even though it were fallible, of him who has been appointed by Christ the "teacher of all Christians"? The Pope has been preaching a sermon; and that principally on topics most strictly theological. Can any of his audience, we ask, without grievous sin, refuse to that sermon all influence over his convictions, even though it were true that it is not absolutely infallible? God forbid that we should without irresistible evidence charge any of them with doing so! We sincerely hope that they will, one and all, make a noble sacrifice of intellectual pride, and approve themselves as loyal Catholics. But Sir J. Acton claims for them as for himself the liberty of such refusal, and we are called therefore to examine the question. Let us first, then, take a general view of what may be called the Holy Father's pastoral addresses.

The rulers of the Church, as we have seen, are commissioned, not merely to preserve intact the precious deposit of faith and morals, not merely to exercise spiritual government, but also to fulfil what we may specially call the pastoral office. They have been commissioned to urge the great truths of Christianity on the heart and conscience of believers, and to administer, as occasion may arise, instruction, exhortation, praise, rebuke. This office, so far as regards the great mass of Catholics, they perform only, and *can* only perform, through individual priests; but towards those who occupy a more prominent position, this function is discharged sometimes by the united Episcopate of a country, often by the Holy See itself. Ecclesiastical history is crowded with instances in which the Supreme Pontiff praises heroic martyrs and confessors, or exhorts to patience suffering nations, or rebukes tyrannical and licentious kings or seditious and turbulent peoples. Unless, indeed, such instances met our eye at every turn, we should feel that the common father of Christendom was remiss in performing the essential duties of his office, and wanting in due

pastoral solicitude. We may add also that no formal decrees can by their very nature give us by any means so accurate and lively a sense of the Church's moral doctrine, as we obtain by the study of these most touching and impressive individual addresses. And it would, indeed, be an astounding proposition if some Catholic were to maintain that since these addresses are not absolutely infallible, he cannot reasonably allow them to produce any effect on his personal conviction, except so far as he is intellectually convinced by the arguments which they contain.

A little consideration, however, will show that the Pope's letter to the Archbishop of Munich stands on still higher ground than these ordinary pastoral admonitions. We are still, indeed, supposing, for argument's sake, that its theological declarations are not infallibly true, though in a later part of our article we will expose the complete falsehood of this hypothesis. And as we do not wish to mix up the question of fact with that of principle, we shall here assume, partly from the Holy Father's express or implied statements, partly from Sir J. Acton's avowal, that certain German theologians are suspected on good grounds of maintaining such tenets as these:—1. "Those doctrines alone need be believed with divine faith, which have been expressly defined; there are no portions of the Catholic faith, undefined, indeed, but proposed nevertheless as divinely revealed by the ordinary teaching of the whole Church throughout the world, and thus—no less than defined doctrines themselves—demanding from us the firmest of all possible assents." 2. "A Catholic is under no obligation of believing those propositions which are regarded by the general consent of Catholics as so certain that the contradictory opinions—though not heretical—are theologically censurable." 3. "Neither is he under the obligation of accepting as true any doctrinal decisions (as such) which emanate from the Pontifical Congregations." 4. "The purity of Catholic dogma, and (by consequence) its capability of being reconciled with secular science, has suffered most grievous detriment by the prevalence within the Church of maxims opposed to these." 5. "The scholastic theology, warmly as it has been encouraged and heartily as it has been praised by successive popes and episcopates, proceeds on most faulty methods, and it issues accordingly very often—not through the fault of individual scholastics, but of the scholastic theology itself—in untrustworthy and mistaken conclusions." All these five theses are condemned in the Papal Brief; and three things are at once manifest on the very surface. Firstly (as we have

observed more than once already), the main points at issue are within limits most strictly theological. Secondly, the question turns, not on individual doctrines, however vitally important, but on what is still more fundamental: on the very test and conditions of true Catholic doctrine, and on the first principles of theological science. Thirdly, the gulf is not only most wide, but impassable, between the two antagonistic positions. These Germans begin by alleging that the Papal maxims (now embodied in the Munich Brief) involve a most deplorable corruption of dogma, and necessarily result in mere human opinions—often altogether erroneous opinions—being held up to the faithful by the whole body of their pastors under the false and most mischievous guise of Divine and infallible Truth. In reply, the Holy Father pronounces, in effect, that the advocates of such theses reject an important portion of the Catholic Faith itself; and that they reject also a very large amount of absolutely certain Catholic truth, magisterially taught by that authority which has received directly from God the power and commission to teach it. Further, in regard to what is certainly the least serious of their errors,—their attack on scholastic theology, he says expressly, that by this their “false opinion, the authority of the Church herself is brought into peril,” because of the permission and the praise which she has accorded to that theology. Every thinking Catholic is compelled, by strict logical necessity, to make choice between one or other of these two violently opposed theories, as to the first principles on which his knowledge and acceptance of dogma is to be based.

Now we are very desirous of making it clear that the question here at issue is totally distinct from any controversy between those who are respectively called “Ultramontanes” and “Gallicans,” and is, in fact, far more vital and fundamental than that old controversy. We will, therefore, waive the question whether, *at this moment*, any kind of interior assent is due to the Brief. We will suppose so much time to have elapsed that there can be no possible doubt of the concurrence of the Catholic Episcopate with the judgment of their Head. We are further to suppose, at this early stage of our argument, that even when they *have* concurred, the Brief, merely as such, does not become in any sense infallible; and we must suppose, therefore, that the *Ecclesia Docens* has no actual gift of infallibility in regard to every judgment which she may concurrently put forth for preserving doctrinal and theological orthodoxy. Still no Catholic whatever may doubt—nor, we believe, will any one German Catholic think of doubting—that the *Ecclesia Docens* has been entrusted by

Christ, absolutely and exclusively, with the momentous duty of preserving in its integrity the deposit of Christian dogma; and that she has been gifted with all the privileges which are absolutely required for the performance of that duty. Is it possible, then, we ask—is it imaginable—that she has been permitted by her Divine Founder to fall into error, not on this or that subordinate particular, but on the very fundamental principles according to which dogmatic knowledge is to be obtained? Is it possible, or imaginable, that she can have been permitted unanimously to repudiate theological maxims which alone are true and even necessary, while she unanimously teaches in their stead a body of principles which in itself is false and anti-Catholic, and which in its necessary consequences is fatal to dogmatic purity? Even, then, though it were true that this Brief, as such, is not infallible, surely the very least required by Catholic loyalty and theological reason, after its publication,* is that those who may have hitherto held the theses which it condemns shall at once cease from all positive interior adhesion to them; that they shall earnestly look about for fresh and fuller light; and that they shall do so under the confident expectation of finding abundant grounds for accepting the whole doctrine now authoritatively proposed.

The reasons for this conclusion are so obvious from all our previous remarks, that we should say no more on this subject, did we not desire to put prominently forward one particular consideration. We have already observed that the very lowest view hitherto taken on the authority of such documents involves the obligation of "respectful silence;" nor do we doubt for a moment that all German theologians will pay to it, at least, so much deference as this. Here, then, is one unspeakable benefit for which we have already to thank the Holy Father. Such theses as those above stated will no longer be openly maintained, and the pure stream of theology will be saved from all further peril of such poisonous defilement. On this, however, we found our proposed argument. God has instituted the *Ecclesia Docens* for the purpose of preserving dogma in its integrity; and for the same purpose He has given her authority to forbid the public expression of any tenets in regard to which she may judge such prohibition expedient. Now that she may be permitted, from time to time, to fall into practical mistakes in the exercise of that power, so far as this or that subordinate doctrine is concerned,

* We may add, for the satisfaction of our Gallican readers, "and after its acceptance by the Catholic Episcopate."

is a supposition which presents no insuperable difficulty, though we are very far (ourselves) from embracing it. But what is to be said of the supposition that He permits her to use the legitimate authority which she receives from Him, for the purpose of peremptorily silencing the only maxims which can save her whole body of dogma from profound and ever-increasing corruption? Among all imaginable theories of ecclesiastical authority, whether propounded by Catholic or Protestant, this is surely the most extravagant and outrageous.

We have hitherto been arguing on the supposition that the Munich Brief is in no sense infallible. But we are now to maintain, as we have already expressed ourselves, that though it neither is nor professes to be a strict definition of faith, its theological declarations are nevertheless infallibly true. This assertion we consider to be indubitable, no less on "Gallican" than on "Ultramontane" grounds, so soon as we have had time for full certainty that the Catholic Episcopate assents to the Pontifical judgment. For the sake, however, of brevity and clearness, we will express ourselves throughout in accordance with that "Ultramontane" principle, which is not only held by the vast majority of theologians, but of which we are convinced that it is the one true Catholic doctrine. Nothing will be easier than for those of the other school to adjust our language to the requirements of their theory. All this portion of our argument, indeed, will be expressed in the merest skeleton form and outline; for to illustrate and expand it would be to write a good-sized theological volume. And it will be seen as we proceed, that our argument tends, not only to vindicate that right which the Brief undoubtedly possesses of being humbly and dutifully accepted on the ground of authority, but that it serves other purposes also. It will be found to give us the greatest possible advantage in appreciating the practical result of those errors which the Brief condemns; and it is also available (though this is beyond the scope of our present article) for the purpose of theologically defending the whole doctrine of the Brief. First, then, for the foundation of our argument.

No error was ever broached more obviously absurd, than that the assent of divine faith is due to no other doctrines except those which the Church has expressly defined. Many other errors, perhaps, have been equally pernicious with this, but hardly any, surely, can have been so obviously ridiculous. Every one mentions it as one extraordinary peculiarity attending the definition of the Immaculate Conception, that

such definition was not required by any existing misbelief; while as to the Church's earliest definitions, it is quite proverbial that they were invariably put forth "*propter insurgentes hæreses.*" To say, therefore, that the Church taught no doctrines as of faith before she defined them, is to say that before heresies arose she had no faith at all. Can anything, indeed, be more extravagant than to imagine that before Arius's condemnation there was no heresy in thinking that the Son of God had a beginning of existence? or that before the condemnation of Apollonaris there was no heresy in denying to Him a human soul? or that before Luther's condemnation there was no heresy in thinking the faith required for justification to be a man's firm belief in his own acceptance and certainty of salvation? All those doctrines are in every age portions of the Catholic faith, and to disbelieve or doubt them is heresy, which (as the Munich Brief expresses it) "*are delivered [to the faithful] as divinely revealed by the ordinary teaching of the whole Church dispersed throughout the world.*"

Moreover, these doctrines may be thus delivered either (1) "*expressly*" or (2) "*practically*"—*i. e.* (1) by direct statement or (2) by obvious and immediate implication. Thus, in teaching my child the "*Our Father,*" I "*practically*" teach him that it is his duty to forgive them that trespass against him.* The number of truths thus practically taught by the Church is very considerable, as a little thought will convince us. Thus, from the first, in prescribing penitential exercises, she has practically taught that such exercises are acceptable to God; in inculcating prayers for the dead, she has practically taught that they may be benefited by prayer; in baptizing children, she has practically taught (what many Protestants have since denied) that the administration of sacraments to unconscious recipients is not necessarily against Christ's institution; in her various Eucharistic ceremonies she has practically taught that some great and august mystery is there contained. Indeed, generally, prayers, religious ceremonies, pious usages, each has its own obvious and immediate doctrinal implication; and with the mass of men it is far more by such means as these than by direct statement, that Catholic dogma sinks

* It might seem more obvious rather to use the words "*explicitly*" and "*implicitly*" than "*directly*" and "*practically.*" But according to theological usage a doctrine is said to be taught "*implicitly*" by the Church, if she teaches some other doctrines from which it is a logical deduction. Now a doctrine which the Church teaches "*implicitly*" only in this sense, is *not* taught by her as an integral portion of the Catholic faith. She may *afterwards*, indeed, "*explicitly*" teach it; but that is a different question.

deeply, though silently, into the heart, seizes the convictions, and influences the will.

What, then, is the origin, and what the advantage, of doctrinal definitions? Their first origin, as has been already said, is ordinarily the springing up of some heresy. If we look at the Early Church, we shall find that, so soon as this takes place, the great majority of Catholics recognize its true character, and recoil from it with horror and anathema; while a certain minority are deceived by the heresiarch's sophistry, and think that his tenets do not so very widely diverge from what has hitherto been taught. It becomes, then, the office of the *Ecclesia Docens* (1) to anathematize the heresy; and (2) to give some intellectual analysis of the assailed doctrine, which shall be sufficiently clear and precise for marking out intelligibly and distinctly its points of contrast with the insurgent error. Here already are two different advantages accruing from definitions: (1) they make Catholics quite certain that this or that doctrine is of faith, whereas it was previously possible that opinions might differ on this head; and (2) they give a certain intellectual analysis of the doctrine in question.

But further, the attention of Catholics is now specially called to this particular doctrine, and they occupy themselves with pious zeal in its further intellectual analysis; and thus the science of theology has its beginning. The Church has ever encouraged this habit of intellectual analysis, which performs for her the highest services in preserving and deepening the uniformity of religious belief, and which, indeed, is but one part of that general exercise of reason on revealed principles which she has ever most warmly promoted. On the other hand, in order that those services may be truly performed, in order that the Catholic's exercise of reason may tend to edification and not to gradual subversion of dogma, her supervision over the whole progress of theological science must be vigilant and minute. Such supervision she has ever exercised; and she so prizes the theological science which has thus grown up under her fostering care, that not only does she earnestly recommend its study as the authoritative exposition and illustration of her creed, but erects various of its enunciations into infallible decrees of faith. This takes place in more than one way. Thus that precise cycle of doctrines which she has expressly or practically taught as of faith from the first, may be proposed by her, as time advances, in a deeper, fuller, clearer theological analysis. Again, a doctrine may be defined which has not hitherto been taught either expressly or practically as an integral part of the Catholic faith, but in regard to which intellectual investigation has clearly established that

it was taught by the Apostles or is contained in Scripture. Nay, some conclusion which follows from a revealed premiss by the exercise of reason may be regarded by her as so importantly illustrating and elucidating the doctrine from which it springs, that she defines it as of faith, and so proposes it to the faithful to be believed under pain of heresy.* And thus there comes to exist extensively a second class of definitions. Those which we first mentioned do but declare some doctrine to be of faith which Catholics were obliged to believe as of faith before the definition was issued: but those of which we have been last speaking impose on Catholics an obligation which did not before exist; as in the most remarkable instance of the Immaculate Conception.†

These foundations having been briefly laid, we proceed with equal brevity to build on them our argument.

1. It is the duty of the Ecclesia Docens not merely to preserve the deposit of faith pure at any given period, but to watch jealously against the entrance into Catholic thought of any dangerous element which may *hereafter* be injurious to such purity. Suppose, *e. g.*, some proposition begins to find acceptance with certain Catholics which by necessary consequence would lead to heresy, though these Catholics themselves have not pursued it into that consequence. It would be rare indeed that circumstances would warrant her in erecting the contradictory of that error into a doctrine of faith; and yet she cannot possibly fulfil her trust unless she peremptorily banish it from Catholic thought. But it is plain that she cannot possibly effect this, unless she have the power of infallibly declaring that it is an error; no such interior assent as can reasonably be given to a fallible declaration would suffice for the sure expulsion of such error from the whole body of Catho-

* It is very far the more common opinion of theologians that the Church possesses this latter power. So Viva (*Quæstio prodroma de Theſibus damnatis*, n. 9):—"Potest à Pontifice definiri de fide aliqua conclusio, descendens ex unâ præmissâ de fide, et alterâ moraliter evidente." The general doctrine sketched in the text is very clearly set forth in Perrone's little work on the Immaculate Conception, part 2, c. i. Closely connected with it is the doctrine of development, on which, however, we have no room here to touch. We may refer our readers, however, to two articles which appeared in this REVIEW so long ago as June and December, 1847, and which precisely express our convictions on the question. We are anxious to say so much, because we think that more than one writer in the *Rambler* or *Home and Foreign Review* has carried the notion of development too far, and has thus tended to bring discredit on a doctrine which, in itself, we are convinced, is most sound and Catholic.

† Perrone draws a distinction between these two different classes of definitions: *De Locis Theologicis*, pars 3, n. 339.

lic thinkers. The same argument applies with equal force to other propositions, which may not indeed lead by *legitimate consequence* to heresy, but which are yet so connected with it in fact, that, unless effectually expelled, they will certainly introduce it. We may add that, as regards these latter propositions, she has not even the power of erecting their contradictories into doctrines of faith. Hence the *Ecclesia Docens* has the gift of pronouncing infallibly, not merely that such a proposition is heretical, but that such another is theologically unsound, though not heretical. If she had not this gift she would have no means of preventing the gradual (and perhaps speedy) inroads of heresy among her flock; and so could not faithfully preserve the deposit committed to her charge.

2. If the *Ecclesia Docens* certainly and evidently possesses this power, it must in itself be mortally sinful to hold that a proposition which she censures does not deserve the censure affixed to it; though we are by no means saying that the mortal sin is one of heresy. We should only add, that since even in the case of defined doctrines invincible ignorance is universally admitted as an excuse for unbelief, much more in such cases as these.

3. In order that a doctrine may be of faith, it is not necessary (as we have seen) that the *Ecclesia Docens* should expressly define it: it suffices if she expressly or practically teaches it throughout her territory, as revealed by God. In like manner, if I could know for certain that the *Ecclesia Docens* throughout her whole territory, with full cognisance and sanction of the Holy See, expressly or practically teaches the unsoundness of a certain proposition, I should know with precisely equal certainty that such proposition *is* unsound. And it would in itself be a mortal sin, if, possessing such knowledge, I dared to embrace the proposition as true or doubt its falsehood. But, where the Church has not expressly spoken, is there any means by which I can *become* thus absolutely certain that the *Ecclesia Docens* practically condemns the proposition? One answer to this interrogation shall be given afterwards: here we suggest another. Suppose some question to have been actively ventilated by theologians, and the whole body of them without exception to have come confidently to the conclusion that certain propositions relating to it are theologically unsound. Suppose also the Holy Father and the whole *Ecclesia Docens* to be well acquainted with this fact, and to display no kind of disapprobation, but rather the contrary. A moral certainty would thence arise that she practically teaches the unsoundness of such propositions;

and a consequent obligation to abstain from all assent to them.*

4. Just as various propositions may be theologically unsound on the subject of the Trinity or of Grace, so also on the subject of the Church. Take, for instance, the theses recited by us in page 76. It is quite *imaginable* that these propositions are theologically unsound; or, in other words, that even if not heretical, they tend directly in one way or other to an impugnement of some particular contained in that doctrine respecting the Church which was revealed by Christ.

5. That power which the Catholic Episcopate can exercise collectively, the Holy Father can exercise individually, as the Church's ruler. That infallibility which the Catholic Episcopate possesses collectively, the Holy Father possesses individually, as the Church's teacher. Here it is that we part company with Gallican opinions: but our proposition is held by the large majority of Catholic theologians.

Now let us apply these various principles to this case of the Munich Brief. In the first place, we can see no kind of reason for doubting that its doctrinal declarations are put forth by the Holy Father in his capacity of universal teacher, and are therefore in themselves infallible. The supposed objector, to whom we referred at starting, raises two difficulties in the way of this conclusion: (1) the Brief is not formally addressed to the Universal Church, but to the Archbishop of Munich; and (2) it does not express or imply an ascription of heresy to the various theses which it opposes. We will take these two difficulties in order.

When the Holy Father has put forth any exposition of doctrine, inquiry is made whether he does so as universal teacher or merely as a private doctor.† One test given to make us certain of the former alternative is its being addressed formally to the Universal Church. But we are here certain of this alternative on grounds altogether distinct. For the Brief professes on its surface to have been elicited by

* So much sanction as this, *e. g.*, may undoubtedly be claimed for a certain body of doctrine on the endowments of our Lord's Sacred Humanity, which is maintained by all theologians, which is taken for granted in all books of meditation and spiritual reading wherever the subject is mentioned, and which is especially dear to devout Catholics.

† Some few theologians (with whom, however, we cannot at all agree) suggest a third alternative—viz., that he may publish a doctrinal decision, not as universal teacher, nor yet only as a private doctor; but as the head of some Congregation. In the present case, at all events, there is no need for considering this alternative, as there is no intervention of any Congregation in the matter.

that anxiety for the pure preservation of dogma, which Pius IX. experiences as occupying "this Apostolic See;" as having "committed to him by Christ the Lord, the most grave duty of ruling and governing His whole Church, and feeding all His flock with the pastures of salutary doctrine, and constantly watching that the most holy faith and its teaching (*ejusque doctrina*) may never suffer any detriment."

And our argument is greatly illustrated by the Brief of 1859, which condemned Gunther. This also was addressed to an individual pastor, the Archbishop of Cologne; yet no one has ever doubted that the Pope issued it as universal teacher, and that he condemned Gunther in that capacity. Indeed, in a later Brief of 1860, he states, as a "*reductio ad absurdum*" of some proposition which he censures, that to uphold it would be to imply that his condemnation of Gunther had been erroneous.* It is quite certain, then, that though that Brief was addressed to an individual, the Pope issued it as universal teacher, and claimed to be infallible in its decisions. There is a certain difference, no doubt, between the two letters addressed respectively to the Archbishops of Cologne and of Munich: in the former the Pope speaks expressly of certain errors having been promulgated; in the latter, he carefully abstains from doing so. But a moment's consideration will show that this difference in no way affects the dogmatic authority of the Munich Brief. For the Holy Father exhibits no reserve whatever in condemning most stringently the errors against which he inveighs; his only reserve concerns the question of *fact*, whether such fundamental errors can really have been advocated in an assembly of Catholic theologians.

The second difficulty raised has no greater force than the first. It is true (no doubt) that the Pope in no part of this Brief ascribes *heresy* to the censured errors; and this (no doubt also) would suffice to show that it is not a definition of faith. But no one ever thought it was; we only maintain that it is an infallible condemnation of certain theses, not necessarily as heretical, but as theologically unsound in one or other degree. And certain though it is that he does not impute to them heresy, it is equally certain that he does impute to them theological unsoundness. We have already quoted his censure of the attacks directed against scholastic theology. Here is another passage of the Brief, and a truly momentous one:—

* "*Ad quod si Baltzer animum advertisset, intellexisset sanè doctrinam de homine quam in suo scripto profitetur, tanquam ecclesiasticis dogmatibus consentaneam, defendere, idem esset atque nosmet incusare quod in Guntherianâ doctrinâ judicandâ erraverimus.*"

Even though the question concerned that subjection [of the intellect] which is to be yielded in an act of divine faith, yet that would have not to be confined to those things which have been hitherto defined by the express decrees of Ecumenical Councils or of Roman Pontiffs and this Apostolic See, but to be extended to those things also which are delivered [to the faithful] as divinely revealed by the ordinary authority [magisterium] of the whole Church dispersed throughout the world, and are therefore accounted by Catholic theologians, with universal and consistent consent, to appertain to the faith. But since the question concerns that subjection by which all those Catholics are bound in conscience who apply themselves to the speculative sciences, in order that by their writings they may confer new benefits on the Church, therefore the men of the above-named Congress should recognize that it is not sufficient for learned [sapientibus] Catholics to receive and revere the before-mentioned dogmas of the Church; but that it is also necessary (*opus esse*) for them to subject themselves, as well to the doctrinal decisions which are issued by the Pontifical Congregations, as also to those heads of doctrine which are retained by the common and consistent consent of Catholics as theological truths, and as conclusions so certain that opinions adverse to the same, though they cannot be called heretical, yet deserve some other theological censure. Therefore we do not think that the men who were present at the above-mentioned Congress of Munich either could or would have opposed the doctrine now expounded [nunc expositæ] which is retained in the Church [as flowing] from the principles of true theology.

The Holy Father thus expresses a distinct judgment that to "oppose the doctrine here expounded," is to oppose "the principles of true theology"; or (in other words) is theologically unsound. And when the supposed objector takes for granted that the Pope only speaks *ex cathedrâ* when he condemns heresy, and not also when he condemns theological error of any kind, we may at least call on him for some proof of so gratuitous and anti-Catholic an opinion.

We must maintain, then, unhesitatingly, that the doctrinal declarations of the Brief are in themselves, and on their own authority, infallible. But even if that were doubtful, no argumentative advantage would accrue to our opponents. The questions at issue, as we have already observed, relate, not to this or that individual doctrine, however vital, but to the very first principles on which a Catholic's knowledge and acceptance of doctrinal truth are to rest. It is most certain, therefore, that one or other answer to these questions has been throughout practically taught by the Holy See, as the foundation on which its various doctrinal decisions have been made; while we have already seen that such teaching is infallibly true, and that, if we could know for certain what it is, we should be under the absolute obligation of assenting to it. Now, at all events, since the publication of this Brief, we do know for

certain what this teaching is, because the Pope has himself told us. The Munich Brief, then, even though its doctrinal declarations were not in themselves and on their own authority infallible, would at least convey to us the sure and certain knowledge of an infallible teaching; and this, for all practical purposes, is the same thing.

We are to show, lastly, the real drift and tendency of those errors which the Holy Father has now condemned; and at starting we observe a very important distinction which marks them off from Frohschammer's errors condemned in 1862. Each of the two erroneous systems, indeed, seeks to obtain for secular science a far more complete emancipation from ecclesiastical authority than sound doctrine permits. But they aim at their common end by different methods: the earlier system by trying unduly to emancipate secular science from the control of theological, the latter by trying unduly to emancipate theological science from the control of ecclesiastical authority. And thus the phenomenon has originated, to which we have more than once drawn attention in this article, that although the direct theme of this Munich Brief is the due subordination of secular science, yet the errors which it mainly condemns are most strictly within the sphere of theology. In order, however, to understand exactly the state of the case, we must begin with a few prefatory remarks on the relation between religion and secular science.

Theological science, we need hardly say, is generated by the exercise of reason on principles known by revelation; secular science, in its various branches, by the exercise of reason on principles known by reason itself, or by experience. Religion, however, and secular science are constantly crossing each other, and very many are the truths which belong equally to both. This happens in more than one way. Firstly, the doctrinal deposit committed to the Church's keeping has the closest relation with philosophy; it possesses no one constituent which may not be assailed on strictly philosophical grounds. A large portion, indeed, of Catholic dogma is in its own nature within the sphere of reason; though, of course, it is a very different question how far unassisted reason would have advanced in its exploration. The Church's whole moral doctrine, for example, is so circumstanced, and her whole exposition of God's Attributes. But doctrine the most purely supernatural may easily come into conflict with (erroneous) philosophy. Thus, the Church's teaching on Grace may be indefinitely corrupted and falsified by unsound psychology; nay, even such mysteries as the Trinity, the Incarnation,

Transubstantiation, may be opposed by a chain of philosophical reasoning, purporting to show that they are intrinsically impossible. Here, then, is one way in which religion and secular science may easily be brought into conflict. Another way is, by means of the various facts which are either inseparably mixed up with the very foundations of Christianity, or else are stated in that Inspired Volume which the Church authenticates; for both these classes of facts may easily be in apparent collision with the conclusions whether of historical or of physical science. We see, therefore, over how large a field of secular science the Church's authority extends. She has the power (as we have pointed out) of infallibly pronouncing propositions to be erroneous, if they tend by legitimate consequence to a denial of any religious doctrine which she teaches. But secular science contains a vast number of such propositions, and on all these, therefore, the Church has power to pronounce an infallible judgment.

We may here notice, by the way, a transparently fallacious argument which has occasionally been used by Catholic writers of the school which we are criticising. Such writers sometimes speak as though nothing were further from their wish than to meddle with theology itself. Their aim, it seems, is merely to introduce some more satisfactory harmony between religion and secular science than has hitherto prevailed; and they complain that the Church should look with a jealous eye on what (as they think) appertains so very indirectly to her province. A transparent fallacy indeed! Their allegation assumes, as a matter of fact, that certain propositions, generally accounted as true conclusions of theological science, are in conflict with certain other propositions which are generally accounted as true conclusions of this or that secular science. If this fact be granted them, it follows that two different methods are imaginable of removing such apparent conflict between the sciences: firstly, by showing that the former propositions are not true conclusions of theological science; and secondly, by showing that the latter are not true conclusions of secular science. If these writers adopt the latter method, there is no pretence for saying that the Church has ever shown the slightest disposition to interfere with them in any way whatever. But if they adopt the former, they are simply treading on theological ground; and they are as absolutely under the Church's jurisdiction, as though they were writing formal treatises on the Trinity or the Incarnation.

What, then, is the true spirit, what the proper attitude towards the Church, in which theological investigations should be pursued? The Church, as we have seen, practically teaches

an indefinite number of doctrines as integral parts of the Catholic faith, which she has not expressly defined; and her infallibility, moreover, extends to a large cycle of further truths, which are not in themselves integral parts of the Catholic faith at all. In the following truly admirable passage, the Bishop of Birmingham has most forcibly expressed the same general truth:—

Unquestionably there is what I may call an outer and an inner theology, a variable and a fixed element in that loftiest of sciences. Yet they run so into each other that it is impossible to treat them like separate bodies, or practically to class them in distinct compartments. There is a theology the conclusions of which rest so completely on revealed premises that they cannot be separated from Faith. And there are other conclusions elicited from revealed propositions by the direct appliance of fundamental certainties in the natural order, which therefore present a most certain and unanimous theology, or what is equivalent to it. *Many things go to form the integral belief of the Church that were never formally defined; for there is an unwritten as there is a written rule of faith, a statute and a common law of believing. The decrees of faith but incorporate and fix the common belief in formal terms as circumstances call for dogmatic declarations.* The Church treats not her decisions as the Anglican authorities treat their Articles, straining to reduce them to their minimum of sense, in order to accommodate them to a society devoured with unbelief. *Her decisions live in the habits of the faithful, and express not more but less than her entire belief.* They are sustained and environed by a yet larger and more comprehensive tradition; they are expanded by the theologian, and by the preacher, and by the pious meditations and practices both of clergy and laity. They come out of the fulness of that common and unwritten tradition, as well as from the deposit of Holy Scripture; and *there yet remain unfixed by decrees, both doctrines of faith, and dogmatic facts, and moral laws, and fundamental principles of the Church's constitution and discipline, without which the Church would not be what Christ has made her.* Under whatever pretext of science or of criticism, and under whatever plea of their not being defined, to attempt to strip religion of these doctrines, or of that inner theology which is inseparable from faith, or from fixed principles such as faith presupposes, or even from the theology generally taught and preached; or to separate religion from that sacred history on which her evidence, her doctrine, or her edification reposes; would be to incur the charge and the sin of inculcating, as the case may happen to be, heresy, or what approximates to heresy, or is rash, or scandalous, or offensive to pious ears (pp. 55, 56).*

This passage contains some exposition of that most fundamental and pervasive principle, which theologians call, "*Ecclesiæ iuge magisterium*;" and a theologian imbued with

* *On certain Methods of the "Rambler" and the "Home and Foreign Review."* A Second Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Birmingham. By the Right Rev. Bishop Ullathorne.

that principle, throughout his investigations, ever gazes (if we may so speak) on the aspect and countenance of his mother the Church. He is eagerly desirous that her spirit may be infused into his whole body of thought; that he may understand her decrees according to her true mind; and that he may duly grasp those other doctrines which she practically teaches without express decree. Every fresh conclusion at which he seems to arrive he distrusts, until he has carefully considered how far it harmonizes with her practical conduct and maxims. And even though each individual conclusion so harmonizes, he is still dissatisfied, unless his whole assemblage of conclusions, his whole *corpus* of doctrine, seems according to her mind, in the respective proportions and emphasis of its various parts. Nay, a good Catholic, even when pursuing secular science on its own ground, will never lose sight of revealed truth, nor of those various living authorities by whose unceasing pronouncements it is infallibly taught. "For although," says the Holy Father, in this Munich Brief, "those natural sciences (*disciplinæ*) rest on their own proper principles known by reason, yet their Catholic cultivators must have Divine Revelation before them as a directing star, through whose guiding light (*quâ prælucante*) they may beware of errors and quicksands, wherever in their investigations and arguments (*commentationibus*) they perceive that they may be led thereby, *as happens very frequently* (*ut sæpiissimè accidit*), to say what is more or less opposed to the infallible truth of those things which have been revealed by God."*

In contrast with this true theological spirit, let us now contemplate the inevitable result of those maxims which the Munich Brief condemns. They may be thus briefly summed up. "The Ecclesia Docens is not infallible, except as regards her express definitions; and where the Church is not infallible, the declaration of her authorities has no more legitimate force than is due to the actual arguments which they adduce." On this view, a theologian has simply to take for his principles the definitions (as contained, *e. g.*, in Denzinger's small volume), which have been put forth in various ages by popes and councils, and to manipulate them according to his own views

* Many good Catholics have some difficulty in understanding how the exercise of such a principle as this can be made consistent with the admitted independence of secular science on its own ground. There is no question which at the present day more clamours for a full investigation than this; but it is, of course, far too large to be entered on episodically. Perhaps we may be allowed, without impropriety, to refer for some inadequate notice of it, to a Catholic work published some years ago. See Dr. Ward's "Philosophical Introduction," Preface, pp. xxi-xxvi.

of history and logic, with no further deference or submission to the living Church.* His private judgment thus exercised may lead him to the opinion that S. Augustine, whom the Church has ever revered as the great doctor of grace, is the virtual founder of a condemned heresy against that very doctrine; or that the scholastic theology is radically unsound, though the Church has not merely cherished it throughout with her warmest favour, but has almost identified herself with it, by incorporating its characteristic thoughts and expressions into her very definitions of faith. If such are the conclusions in which an inquirer is landed by his private judgment, he will not be deterred by any reverence for the Church's authority from holding and even publishing them. In one word, whereas the one fundamental principle of genuine theology is unreserved and eager submission to the "*Ecclesiæ jure magisterium*," a total refusal of such submission is the one principle pervading this most unsound and poisonous counterfeit. It is in its whole spirit and bearing a simple substitution of the Protestant "private judgment" for the Catholic "authority."

So much for theological science in its strictest sense. As to those large portions of secular science which come into contact with theology, writers of this school do not conceal the fact that they handle them almost entirely in the same way as Protestants; that they handle them with hardly any greater reference to the Church's voice than if she did not exist. In the January number of the *Home and Foreign Review* we find this remarkable statement:—"Inasmuch as dogmatic utterances [of the Church] are *very rare*, and the [ecclesiastical] authorities which generally intervene in matters of science *have no part in infallibility*, those propositions [adopted at the Munich congress] implicitly claim for science all the freedom which is demanded in Dr. Döllinger's inaugural address" (p. 241). According to these gentlemen, then, Catholics are at liberty to expatiate over the whole domain of secular science—even that part with which theology is most

* Sir J. Acton admits, it is only fair to say, that the Church's "authority is not limited to the precise sphere of her infallibility; and that opinions which she has long tolerated or approved . . . cannot be lightly supplanted by new hypotheses of scientific men" (pp. 683, 684). But he immediately proceeds to state as a "maxim" from which he *dissents*, that "theological opinions long held and allowed in the Church gather strength from time, and an authority in some sort binding from the implied sanction of the Holy See." And he says virtually, as we have already seen, that the decrees of the Congregation of the Index are of no more value than "the undefended *ipse dixit* of a theologian of secondary rank" (p. 678).

intimately connected—with no submission whatever to any ecclesiastical authority, except to those “dogmatic utterances” which by their own confession are “very rare.”

Great is the consolation of remembering that these shallow, proud, and most pernicious errors are now for ever banished from Catholic theology. But we must not forget that though these particular errors are put to silence, the spirit which has prompted them still lives in the midst of us. We are far, indeed, from meaning to imply that this age of the Church is worse than others. Every age in its turn is replete with calamities; and if we read that series of Papal addresses to the Church which we mentioned at an earlier part of our article, we shall see that each successive Pope has regarded his own period as most heavily afflicted.* Whether the evil and irreligiousness of our own time exceed that of others, is a truly unprofitable inquiry; for all times are predominantly evil and irreligious: but what is the particular *kind* of evil and irreligiousness now rampant, is surely of all inquiries the most practical. To us it seems that among all the Church's heavy afflictions, none is now more grievous than the tendency, not in practice only (as at all times), but even in theory, to separate the general current of thought and action from the influence of religion and of religious teachers. It is, of course, among Protestants that this tendency is far more extensively and formidably exhibited; and the great body of Catholics in these islands seem as yet on the whole (thank God!) faithful to their traditions. But living as we do in habits of constantly increasing familiarity and intimacy with Protestants, it is absurd to doubt that we are in danger of serious harm from the infection of their evil principles; and among those lay Catholics who specially profess intellectual culture, the symptoms appear to us truly alarming. Illustrations abound. Sometimes it is implied that clerics and laymen legitimately differ from each other in their estimate of human life and conduct; nay, it has been called an encroachment on the sacerdotal office that a layman should address his fellow-Catholics (as at Malines) on the worthlessness of this world's goods. Sometimes it is urged that the moral and religious training of clerics and laymen

* We think that Pius IX. has hardly issued a single document which does not contain some reference to the fearful evils by which the Church is now so heavily bowed down. So in the Munich Brief he refers, at starting, to the exceeding bitterness of the time (*asperrimis hisce temporibus*); and afterwards he speaks of the false opinions which have appeared in Catholic Germany as adding to the anguish which so many causes contribute to produce. “*Hæc sanè omnia . . . nostrum sollicitabant et angebant animum tot aliis pressum angustiis.*”

should differ, not in matters of detail, but in its fundamental principles; a view which, intellectually speaking, is below contempt, unless either it be denied that clerics and laymen have one common nature, or else it be assumed (which is really the assumption) that the moral excellence of one class should be measured by a different standard from the moral excellence of the other. Or, again, in the various discussions about mixed education, it is often taken for granted that religious instruction and training is but one part out of many; instead of being the one foundation, on which all must be built under pain of the whole edifice being unsound and rotten. But why dwell on individual questions? Look at the highest spheres of non-ecclesiastical action and speculation respectively, the sphere of politics and the sphere of philosophy. Both these regions are in open and flagrant rebellion against God and the Church. It is held unconsciously by many, and actually expressed by some, that the politician, as such, has no concern with man's supernatural end, and that the philosopher, as such, has no concern with revealed doctrine.* The Holy See of late has been especially energetic against both these malignant errors. Gregory XVI., in his well-known Encyclical "*Mirari vos*," declares authoritatively (in the words of a canonized predecessor), that "the power and authority" of princes is "conferred on them, not only for the world's government, but, *most of all*, for the Church's protection." And the present Pope has repeatedly and most earnestly inculcated the obligation incumbent on philosophers and philosophy of rendering to the Church due submission. It is with very deep truth, then, that an able writer in the *Civiltà* (of whose paper we give some analysis in our present number) places in close juxtaposition, two orations delivered almost contemporaneously to Catholic audiences, the one by M. de Montalembert at Malines, the other by Dr. Döllinger at Munich. Both these orations tend to disparage—we need not here determine precisely to how grievous an extent—the Church's legitimate authority, whether in politics or in philosophy.

For ourselves, however, we regard the philosophical movement with immeasurably greater alarm and consternation than the political. No one, indeed, can condemn and repudiate

* It may, perhaps, be better here to explain. No one pretends that either political action or philosophical speculation is directly under the Church's authority; but both are indirectly under it. The politician, in his political capacity, is bound to defer to the Church so far as his measures affect the welfare of souls; and the philosopher, in his philosophical capacity, is bound to defer to the Church so far as his speculations affect revealed doctrine.

more unreservedly than we do M. de Montalembert's whole principle on "the liberty of worships." But, in the first place, a man's view of such matters is almost or altogether apart from his interior life; and even a saintly person, under invincible misapprehension, may hold such opinions. But further, the evil work of de-Catholicizing civil society has been now so completely wrought out in far the largest portion of Europe, that the question at issue rather concerns our theoretical estimate of the past, than our practical provision for the present. It may be said indeed (and truly) that the French orator's principles imply the civil tolerance of such errors as the religious sense of Europe would still repudiate; of sects, *e. g.*, which might be started on the basis of polygamy or of atheism. But M. de Montalembert is far more given to action than to speculation; and his Catholic instincts would assuredly save him in practice from any such blunder. Indeed, remarkably enough, in his Malines orations, he excepts from his proposed liberality all sects which should deny God's existence or run counter to natural morality; in other words, he excepts all but those who are tolerated already in far the greatest part of Europe, and with whose external liberty in such regions no Catholic dreams of interfering.

But the other case is widely different. The pursuit of secular science on the principle of disregard to ecclesiastical decisions eats like a canker into the whole substance of a man's religion. We have seen that the number of philosophical tenets is enormously large, which lead by legitimate consequence to denial of this or that Catholic verity; what safeguard, then, can be imagined against an inquirer embracing some of these tenets, if he makes it his very principle to disregard those ecclesiastical declarations which condemn them? Here, then, we have to suppose a man engaged in active philosophical speculation, who still believes in Catholicism, but who holds also certain philosophical tenets, which in their result are antagonistic thereto. He has, of course, started on a road which has no end except apostasy. At what pace he advances along that road, will depend on the degree in which he unites intellectual keenness with spiritual obtuseness; but every day will bring him nearer to his unhappy goal, unless God give him grace to retrace his steps and renounce his fundamental principle. He naturally tries every attainable method to relieve himself from the burden of two contradictory convictions; and so gradually sinks from bad to worse. First, he refuses to believe any Catholic doctrine which is not strictly defined. Next, as to the defined doctrines themselves, he more and more chooses to confine his acceptance of them to the lowest sense which

their words will grammatically bear, instead of studying the Church's full intention. Then a current of thought finds outward vent, which has long been silently proceeding; and he both thinks and speaks of the Church's rulers with compassionate contempt. He regards them much as he might regard Balaam's ass: they are made the organs of a divine utterance, he thinks, at certain very wide intervals, but are otherwise below the ordinary level of humanity in their apprehension of God's works and ways. It is difficult to know how long this state of mind can last; but one would think the time could not be far distant when he will find himself in a direct opposition to the Church's teaching which no sophistry can gloss over, and be confronted with the awful alternative of total retraction or undisguised apostasy.

It may be said, perhaps, that deplorable as such an exhibition may be, at least but very few are exposed to these awful perils, and that in this respect political liberalism is far more disastrous than philosophical. But, on the contrary, "the instructed minority" exercise an enormous influence on man's destiny; a degree of influence which is not exaggerated, we believe, by the said "instructed minority" themselves, or by Sir J. Acton as their mouthpiece. It is not the effect produced by them on their contemporaries which is so formidable, but the effect produced in forming the convictions and maxims of the rising generation. And no doubt it is a sense of this which animates Catholic authorities in the movement now proceeding in so many different parts of Christendom—nowhere more than in Rome itself—for elevating ecclesiastical education in its intellectual aspect. It is this, we are convinced, next to directly spiritual means, in which the true remedy is to be found for evils whose fearfulness and imminence it is difficult to exaggerate. It will be a very great boon also if (as the *Civiltà* article induces us to hope) these controversies may lead to a renewed cultivation of the scholastic theology. We are confident that neither scriptural, nor patristic, nor historical studies, necessary as they are, can produce their due result, unless built on the scientific mastery of dogma. Now, as the *Civiltà* writer most truly remarks, the scholastic cannot be called the *best* scientific theology taught in the Church, simply because she neither teaches nor has ever taught any other. But we are wandering to a theme which would require an article for itself.

The mention, however, of the *Civiltà* leads us to one final consideration, deeper than any which has preceded. "We have learned," says the writer in question very opportunely, "not from the scholastics but from the Catechism, that the end

for which man was placed in the world is to save his soul, and not to construct linguistic science, historical criticism, and biblical exegesis." The certain and unfailing result of intellectual rebellion is practically to forget, some go the length of explicitly denying, this foundation of all; and such a fact not only throws men into direct antagonism with the Church's spirit, but takes from them all power of appreciating (even if they wished it) her maxims and demeanour. It is said (we know not how truly) of Mr. Telford, the eminent engineer, that in his view rivers were created for the one purpose of feeding canals. According to him, then, each individual river is more excellent of its kind, more perfect, more admirable, in proportion as it is better adapted to fulfil this the great end of its existence. If such were really his whim, it would follow, as a matter of course, that whatever judgment he formed on the relative excellence of rivers was simply untrustworthy and ridiculous; in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it would be absurdly wrong, and if in the hundredth it happened to be approximately right, this circumstance would be due purely to accident. In like manner, if any one goes astray on the first principles of human conduct—if he is at sea as to the very end for which man was created—every judgment which he forms will be absolutely worthless, whether on human action itself or on the efforts put forth by the Church for directing it. When an uneducated rustic can form a just criticism on the poetical beauty of Hamlet or Faust, then (and not till then) will it be worth while to listen to our poor blinded intellectualist, when he expresses his judgment on the maxims and policy of the Holy See. Such men have already pronounced on the Church the very highest eulogium which it is in their power to pronounce, when they have expressed a severe censure on her rules and principles and a kind of compassionate contempt for her divinely appointed pastors.

ART. IV.—FROUDE'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND— MARY STUART.

History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. Vols. VII.—VIII. Reign of Elizabeth, Vols. I.—II. London: Longman. 1863.

Marie Stuart et le Comte de Bothewell. Par L. WIESENER, Professeur d'Histoire au Lycée Louis le Grand. Paris: Hachette. 1863.

The History of Mary Queen of Scots. By F. A. MIGNET. 2 Vols. London: Bentley. 1851.

La Persécution Religieuse en Angleterre sous le Règne d'Elizabeth. Par l'Abbé C. J. DESTOMBES. Paris: Lecoffre. 1863.

ONE of Dr. Donne's many quaint and pithy sayings was to the effect that a man may, if he choose, be his own sunshine or his own umbrella: meaning that it depends upon ourselves to make for ourselves, by a vigorous effort of will, whatever atmosphere, moral or material, we desire; and that, within certain limits, the mind possesses the power of deciding for itself under what aspect it shall view any person or thing which may be presented to its notice. The intellectual or moral versatility thus indicated, provided it be held under due control, is, in some respects, and especially as regards the maintenance of individual tranquillity of mind, a valuable quality. But it is a most perilous ingredient in the character of one who assumes to be the instructor of others; and it is particularly dangerous where the instruction regards, not opinions, but facts, and where the question which is to be investigated is the truth or falsehood of these facts, as they are in themselves, and not as they present themselves to the mind of the narrator. And there is no department of literature in which this elasticity of the perceptive faculty is fraught with consequences so fatal as that of history. The historian's mind ought to be a perfectly colourless medium. The first condition of his success is that, in considering his facts and his authorities, he shall divest himself of his own moral individuality. The phenomena of historical science are purely objective. There is no such thing as subjective historical truth.

We are speaking, of course, of the process of investigation, and not of the results. A perfectly colourless result would probably be far from desirable, even were it practicable. But, speaking humanly, it certainly is not practicable. The mind

of the historical student is not a machine ; its operations never can become other than voluntary ; nor can any finite agency ever infallibly attain its ends. Not even the most stoical impassibility of judgment can resist persistently the impulses of prejudice ; nor will intuitive perspicacity itself suffice to penetrate every cloud of error. All that can be required of the historian is an honest effort to learn the genuine facts of history, and an unshrinking fearlessness in looking them in the face, without regard to their bearing upon foregone conclusions, whether these conclusions be another's or his own. Having thus honestly collected and arranged the data, it is his undoubted right, and indeed his duty, to draw his own conclusions therefrom, and to present them in a connected and intelligible narrative. But it is no less plainly his duty carefully to separate the inferences from the facts, and to preserve for the reader the same power of determining the correctness of these inferences which he had himself possessed. It would be a grievous abuse of this privilege of his position to withhold any substantial fact or circumstance which, even though his own verdict should have overruled it, might fairly be supposed to have an important bearing upon the judicial result. Above all, it would be a plain violation of all the laws of historical integrity to carry into the narrative the spirit of an advocate, no matter how honestly and impartially a judgment may have been formed ; to adjust the narrative so as to give colour and consistency to the views on which it is based ; to put forward the circumstances which lend it probability, but to pass lightly over, still more to suppress, hostile authorities or adverse appearances ; most objectionable of all, while appealing to authorities, to press them beyond their legitimate import, and to present one's own reading or construction of their meaning, while the reader is deprived of the opportunity of testing by actual examination the justice of the construction which he is thus required implicitly to accept. The writer who does this may be a brilliant and successful essayist ; he may even, as matter of fact, advance the cause of historical truth ; but he is not in any sense a historian.

We presume that not even the most enthusiastic of Mr. Froude's admirers will consider him as—in these respects at least—a model historian. Many brilliant and attractive qualities he undoubtedly possesses. But close adherence to the objective facts of history is, we conceive, the very last characteristic by which even his friends would care to describe him. It would be difficult to name a historian who more systematically lives and moves in his own historical atmosphere ; who, to recur to Dr. Donne's homely metaphor, can

more easily make for himself at pleasure the sunshine or the shade.

Mr. Froude's earlier volumes, among many beauties and many defects, were marked by two prominent characteristics—a love of paradox and a hatred of Catholicism. The Quixotism of his paradoxical apology of his early hero, Henry VIII., had almost proved fatal to the success of his work; and, notwithstanding its unquestionable ability and its many literary excellencies, we are satisfied that the work is entirely indebted to the sympathy of English Protestantism with the deep and deadly anti-Roman spirit which pervades it, for the degree of popularity which it eventually attained, in despite of the palpable and acknowledged extravagance of its estimate of the character of Henry. In his later volumes, Mr. Froude has, for the most part, held his love of paradox strongly in check; but we regret to have to say that he has, perhaps in self-compensation, given looser rein to his anti-Roman prejudices.

Not, indeed, that where he is anti-Roman, it is in the interest and with the sympathies of the popular Protestantism of England. Mr. Froude's antipathies are directly against the dogmatic principle, as such. His sympathies with Protestantism, and even with fanatical Protestantism, are strong and undisguised. But what he admires in Protestantism is, not the positive, but the negative; not its building up, but its pulling down. He is, perhaps, no less indifferent, and even contemptuous, towards the Scriptural reconstruction attempted by the Reformers than towards the timeworn fabric against which, in common with himself, the Reformers directed their efforts; and if his dislike of Rome and of the Roman system is more intense, it is not so much on account of the specialities of the Roman creed as a whole, but simply because he sees in Rome the embodiment of that Dogmatic Principle which, in its supposed conflict with the exercise, or at least with the supremacy of Reason, it is his mission to depreciate.

Perhaps it is not too much to say that the theme of the two new volumes of the work which are now before us enables him to indulge both his tendencies, without offending any of the popular prejudices which have become traditional in England. Elizabeth has long been the heroine of English Protestantism; and the personal character of this popular heroine has too many of the Tudor peculiarities, not to afford frequent opportunities to the panegyrist of the incarnation of all that was evil in that haughty race, of presenting in an attractive light, to minds already predisposed to admiration, the very same characteristics which, in his portraiture of her father, were made to outweigh the monstrosities which, in the

pages of other historians, had rendered him an object of historical detestation.

A formal criticism of Mr. Froude's character and history of Elizabeth, would, at this stage of his work, be quite premature. The volumes now published comprise scarcely one-fifth of her entire reign, and can hardly be said to do more than indicate the laying of the first threads of that tortuous web of policy, at which, for forty-five years, her restless fingers and still more restless mind never ceased to toil. We must reserve this task for a more advanced stage of the publication. For the present, we shall content ourselves with some strictures on the manner in which Mr. Froude deals with one single episode of the early history—that of the ill-fated queen of Scots.

But first, we cannot overlook that general characteristic of his entire work to which we have already referred—the recklessly contemptuous and virulent tone which he uniformly holds in regard to Catholics and to Catholic doctrines and usages. We do not now allude to a certain flippant levity which occasionally appears in his narrative of Catholic affairs, and which, while it falls painfully, we do not say only on a Catholic, but on every reverent, or even sober mind, may perhaps pass with the mass as smart writing, and even earn an easy reputation for brilliancy and point. We can afford to let this pass without comment; and indeed, in some cases, this levity is not altogether unfriendly, as in the opening paragraph of the chapter on the state of religion in England in the beginning of the new reign:—

The Reformation was again the law of England. The Catholics sat still, paralyzed by the rival interests of France and Spain, while the work of Mary and Pole faded away. The nuns and monks were scattered once more; the crucifixes came down from the rood-lofts, the Maries and Johns from their niches, and in Smithfield Market, at the cross-ways and street-corners, blazed as bonfires, as in the old days of Cromwell. Amidst bear-baiting and bull-baiting, May-day games and river pageants, London kept its feast of recovered liberty (VII. p. 87).

It is not to sallies such as these we allude. Neither are we concerned about the more serious strictures to which the doctrines or practices of Catholics may be occasionally subjected. In this hard every-day world of collision and conflict, Catholics must be content to practise the virtue which they have long had a prescriptive right to consider hereditary—patience under misapprehension and misrepresentation. And in the actual field of polemical warfare, we are prepared to meet many a sturdy knock, well assured that as the adversary has not spared, so he will not be spared in his turn. In that

interchange of argument and recrimination which is the necessary accompaniment of controversy, there must always be a wide margin within which the courtesies and discourtesies of the conflict will vary according to the tastes and the temper of the combatants. But history is not, or ought not to be, controversy; and no writer who has even the slightest perception of the congruities, or even of the bare decencies of literature, will think himself at liberty to abuse the advantage which its supposed neutrality gives him, by making it a vehicle of coarse virulence, or of offensive and contemptuous vituperation.

It is not, therefore, with a desire to repudiate certain charges which Mr. Froude makes it his practice to advance on every conceivable occasion against Catholics, that we have alluded to this characteristic of his history. These charges have been over and over again refuted, and the imputed doctrines have been as persistently repudiated. Mr. Froude is free, so far as we are concerned, to put forward his own view of our doctrines, whenever his statement avowedly takes the form of an exposition of our doctrinal belief. For example, monstrous as are the misrepresentations of Catholic tenets in the following passage, we are content to let it pass, on the chance that it may possibly not be accepted without question by those who will read it with the knowledge that it is the statement of a partisan.

Revolution cannot be controlled with the logic of moderation; and toleration of those who are themselves intolerant, is possible only when the common sense of mankind compels them to an inconsistency with their theories. The Lutheran might seem nearer to the Romanist than he was to Beza or Zuingle; but the vital differences were not the apparent differences; and the distinctions between the Reformers were, after all, but insignificant shades of variety, compared with the principle which parted all of them from the orthodox Catholic. The Catholic believed in the authority of the Church; the Reformers in the authority of reason. Where the Church had spoken, the Catholic obeyed. His duty was to accept without question the laws which councils had decreed, which popes and bishops administered, and, so far as in him lay, to enforce on others the same submission to an outward rule, which he regarded as divine. All shades of Protestants, on the other hand, agreed that authority might err; that Christ had left no visible representative, whom individually they were bound to obey; that religion was the operation of the Spirit on the mind and conscience; that the Bible was God's word, which each Christian was to read, and which, with God's help and his natural intelligence, he could not fail to understand. The Catholic left his Bible to the learned. The Protestant translated the Bible, and brought it to the door of every Christian family. The Catholic prayed in Latin, and whether he understood his words, or repeated them as a form, the

effect was the same ; for it was magical. The Protestant prayed with his mind, as an act of faith, in a language intelligible to him, or he could not pray at all. The Catholic bowed in awe before his wonder-working image, adored his relics, and gave his life into the guidance of his spiritual director. The Protestant tore open the machinery of the miracles, flung the bones and ragged garments into the fire, and treated priests as men like himself. The Catholic was intolerant upon principle ; persecution was the corollary of his creed. The intolerance of the Protestant was in spite of his creed. In denying the right of the Church to define his own belief, he had forfeited the privilege of punishing the errors of those who chose to differ from him (VII. pp. 23, 24).

It is difficult to read such strictures and maintain one's temper unruffled ; but we have long had to bear far harder things than these. If we protest at present against the repetition of such outrages, our protest is made almost as much in the interest of scholarship as of religion. No possible interest of either can be served by the course which Mr. Froude has pursued. If he does not adopt as his own, he certainly has not said a word to indicate that he repudiates, the blasphemous ribaldry of the Scottish fanatics who described the Mass as "a Paphian idolatry identified with the coarsest forms of licentiousness" (VII. p. 104). Indeed he appears to go a step further, and to identify himself entirely with their sentiment, when he declares of the same Venerable Mystery that "to plain eyes, unjaundiced by theology," it "resembled too nearly the abomination of the Amorites, or the accursed rites of Thammuz" (Ibid.). But whatever may be thought of these passages, in other cases there can be no doubt that the offensiveness is all his own ; nor can we believe that there are many readers so habituated to the tone of the scoffer as not to be shocked by the profanity of his vulgar allusion to O'Neil's having "his soul cared for by holy wafers from de Quadra's chapel" (VIII. p. 35), or to sympathize with the gratuitous coarseness which describes the Archbishop of St. Andrew's as "the most abandoned of all episcopal scoundrels" (VIII. p. 349).

A more serious form which Mr. Froude's habitual contempt of the religious sensibilities of Catholics is apt to assume, is a tendency to regard as settled principles, and to put forward on all possible occasions, in apparent unconsciousness of their offensiveness, a number of assumptions in reference to Catholics which, from constant repetition, have almost come to be regarded as axioms in a certain school of popular controversy. Mr. Froude, for example, in narrating the course of the religious changes in England under Elizabeth, and detailing the gradual and almost insensible progress which the new

liturgy made among the clergy, does not think it necessary to offer a word of explanation or to insinuate a syllable of apology for the statement that "the vast majority of the clergy, unambitious of self-sacrifice, or, it may be, acting under secret instructions, and *with a dispensation for perjury when hard pressed*, abjured the Pope, retained their benefices, and laboured in secret for the cause which they seemed to desert" (VII. p. 88). What reader of this passage would entertain a doubt that it was a settled and recognized practice among Catholics to obtain and act upon "dispensations for perjury"? This is the natural and necessary impression which it must make upon non-Catholic readers. To Catholics the effect is almost to paralyze every better impulse of charity and Christian fellowship, by bringing painfully before them the hopelessness of obtaining even ordinary justice, we do not say as Catholics, but even as men of honour or of common truthfulness and candour.

In this, however, and in other similar instances, Mr. Froude is but expressing opinions, and may possibly claim that privilege of thinking and speaking according to his own lights which every essayist enjoys. But the danger of all such indulgence by a historian of personal prejudices and prepossessions is so remarkably exhibited in Mr. Froude's manner of dealing with facts, and even with documents, in reference to the offensive assumption of which we complain, that we must postpone our main subject for a little while, in order to bring one flagrant example of this injustice under the notice of the reader.

It so happens that the very point on which Mr. Froude thus dogmatically pronounces, viz., as to the lawfulness of Catholics, while they still internally maintained their allegiance to the old faith, conforming externally with the religious services of the Anglican Church, was actually proposed for the decision of the Roman See. Or rather, indeed, a case was proposed in which compliance might have seemed infinitely more innocent than that contemplated in Mr. Froude's supposition. In the case made out by Mr. Froude there was question of the clergy holding their benefices under the new system, officiating as ministers of the new worship, officially teaching the new doctrines, and solemnly taking the newly framed abjuration oaths. Speaking of the practical conduct of the Pope in reference to the case thus stated, Mr. Froude does not hesitate to advance the opinion that *an indulgence to do all these things* may have been granted by secret instructions, and that the clergy may have been provided with an anticipatory dispensation for perjury.

But let us see what did actually occur. We shall leave Mr. Froude himself to relate the story. Here is his account of an application made at Rome on behalf of the English laity by Mgr. de Quadra to the Spanish Ambassador in London :—

On the 7th of August de Quadra wrote to the Spanish minister at Rome, begging him to ask the Pope in the name of the English Catholics whether they might be present without sin at "the common prayers." "The case," de Quadra said, "was a new and not an easy one, for the Prayer-book contained neither impiety nor false doctrine. The prayers themselves were those of the Catholic Church altered only so far as to omit the merits and the intercession of the saints : so that except for the concealment, and the injury which might arise from the example, there would be nothing in the compliance itself positively unlawful. The Communion could be evaded : on that point they did not ask for a dispensation. They desired simply to be informed whether they might attend the ordinary services." The Bishop's own opinion was that no general rule could be laid down. The compulsion to which the Catholics were exposed varied at different times and places ; the harm which might arise to others varied ; nor had all been equally zealous in attempting to prevent the law from passing, or in afterwards obstructing the execution of it. While therefore he had not extenuated the fault of those who had given way to the persecution, he had in some cases given them a hope that they had not sinned mortally. At the same time he had been cautious of weakening the resolution of those who had been hitherto constant. If the Pope had more decided instructions to give, he said he would gladly receive them. There was another class of cases also, which there was a difficulty in dealing with. Many of the English who had fallen into heresy had repented and desired to be absolved. But the priests who could receive them back were scanty and scattered ; and there was extreme danger in resorting to them. In some instances they had been arrested, and under threat of torture had revealed their penitents' names. The Bishop said he had explained to the Catholics generally that allowance was made for violence, but they wished for a general indulgence in place of detailed and special absolution ; and although he said that he did not himself consider that this would meet the difficulty, he thought it right to mention their request.

The question of attendance on the English service was referred to the Inquisition, where the dry truth was expressed more formally and hardly than de Quadra's leniency would have preferred.

"Given a commonwealth in which Catholics were forbidden under pain of death to exercise their religion ; where the law required the subject to attend conventicles ; where the Psalms were sung and the lessons taken from the Bible were read in the vulgar tongue, and where sermons were preached in defence of heretical opinions, might Catholics comply with that law without peril of damnation to their souls ?" (VII. pp. 471-473).

Now, what was the decision on this question, which, be it remembered, regarded, not the clergy, as in Mr. Froude's

hypothetical case, but the laity; and which involved a compliance infinitely more venial in degree than that contemplated in Mr. Froude's scandalous hypothesis?

Jesuitism was as yet but half developed. The Inquisition answered immediately with a distinct negative.

Although the Catholics were not required to communicate with heretics, yet by their presence at their services they would assume and affect to believe with them. Their object in wishing to be present could only be to pass for heretics, to escape the penalties of disobedience: and God had said, "Whosoever is ashamed of me and of my words, of him will I be ashamed." Catholics, and especially Catholics of rank, could not appear in Protestant assemblies without causing scandal to the weaker brethren (p. 473).

But the worst is yet to come. It is not enough to imply the gratuitous insult here conveyed, that what was then refused *would have been* readily acceded to at a later period. We grieve to say that Mr. Froude, in the blindness of his anti-Roman antipathies, is guilty of the grossest and most unjustifiable misrepresentation of his authorities in his effort to fix upon the Pope and the Sacred College a still more hateful and revolting criminality. Here again Mr. Froude shall speak for himself:—

The peace itself came not an hour too soon. Scarcely was it signed than news came from Italy that the Sacred College had repented of their first honest answer to the English Catholics who had asked leave to attend the established services. It had been decided in secret council to permit Catholics in disguise to hold benefices in England, to take the oaths of allegiance, and to serve Holy Church in the camp of the enemy. "Remission of sins to them and their heirs—with annuities, honours, and promotions," was offered "to any cook, brewer, baker, vintner, physician, grocer, surgeon, or other who would make away with the Queen;" the curse of God and his vicar was threatened against all those "who would not promote and assist by money or otherwise the pretences of the Queen of Scots to the English crown;" the court of Rome, once illustrious as the citadel of the saints, was given over to Jesuitism and the devil; and the Papal fanatics in England began to weave their endless web of conspiracy—aiming amidst a thousand variations at the heart of Queen Elizabeth (VIII. pp. 67, 68).

It will be observed that Mr. Froude's story is told without a single word of doubt, much less of disbelief. We venture to say that there is not in the whole range of his History one event related with more undoubting confidence, or presented for the reader's acceptance with more unquestioning authority. To complete the boldness of the demand upon the unhesitating acceptance of the reader, he is referred by a footnote to "Report of E. Dennum, April 13, 1564, Strype's Annals of Elizabeth, vol. I. part 2, p. 54." Now it is quite true that there is such a report in Strype; but Mr. Froude could not

bring himself to imperil his pet prejudice against Rome by telling, what even Strype has the honesty to confess, that this Edward Dennum was neither more nor less than a spy of Cecil's, dispatched abroad for the purpose of sending home "intelligence of foreign conspiracies and contrivances;" and that his "Report" professes to have been obtained by "making use of money," and thus "getting several notices of the Pope and what he was doing in his privy cabals and councils." Moreover, he withholds altogether the evident marks of spuriousness which even this alleged report of Cecil's spy bears upon its very face, as it is described by Strype; viz., that "a copy of it fell into the hands of Sir James Ware," but that "the original was always kept private in the Queen's closet, along with other papers of secrecy." And, in truth, it is plain, even from a glance at the document, that it is simply one of the numberless libels upon the Church and the Roman See with which, under a variety of names, not only England but Germany and even France were deluged at the time, and which all contained, under various forms accommodated to each particular exigency, a *rifacimento* of the old calumnies as to pardons, dispensations, and licences to commit sin, which had been brought forward only to be repudiated with indignation and abhorrence by every member of the Church, from the Pope to the humblest layman. And yet even with this document, such as it is, Mr. Froude could not afford to deal fairly. For the purpose of bearing out his former allegation it was necessary to make it appear that the Sacred College, that is, the body of cardinals, who had before refused the "indulgence," were now led by the "development of Jesuitism" to yield a still more glaringly iniquitous concession. The spy's report, as given by Strype, speaks of a secret council of which "three cardinals were members." This would not suit Mr. Froude's purpose; and accordingly he gives the decision as that of "*the Sacred College*" which "*had repented of their first honest answer to the English Catholics*"! We must confess that it has seldom been our misfortune to meet with a more flagitious example, whether of blindly reckless bigotry, or, what we should be sorry to impute to Mr. Froude, of scandalously dishonest misquotation.

Leaving, however, these general considerations as to the spirit in which Mr. Froude has discussed those questions which concern Catholics and their religious interests, we pass to that portion of his present volumes which relates to the history of Mary Queen of Scots.

After what has been said of his views as to the character of Elizabeth, it is hardly necessary to premise that his judgment

of her unhappy rival is unfavourable in the extreme. Mary Stuart's natural gifts of mind and of body, her beauty, her grace, her accomplishments, her powers of fascination, her courage, even her devotedness in such cause as Mr. Froude will allow her to be capable of embracing with her whole sympathies,—all these he admits, and, perhaps, even exaggerates. But the charm of these natural graces of the woman only heightens the deformity of the portrait which he presents; in which an underground of duplicity, selfishness, sensuality, and craft is constantly visible through the glittering glaze of the varnish and the brilliant and seductive colouring in which lay the fatal spell of its fascination. In the moral nature of Mary Stuart, Mr. Froude does not recognize one solitary excellence. "In the deeper and nobler emotions, she had neither share nor sympathy" (VII. 360). She "was ever her own centre of hope, fear, or interest; she thought of nothing, cared for nothing, except as linked with the gratification of some ambition, some desire, some humour of her own" (Ibid.). Even her very virtues were tainted at the core. If she "never betrayed a friend," this "simplicity of conduct was not wholly a virtue; it had been produced by the absence of all high and generous considerations" (VIII. 271). In her eyes "tears were no sign of promise." If she conceived or pursued high schemes of public policy, it was simply because "her public schemes were but mirrors in which she could see the reflection of her own greatness" (Ibid.). If she was faithful to her Church, and zealous for its creed, it was because that creed was "the form of conviction which least interfered with her self-indulgence" (Ibid.). There is one virtue, indeed, for which Mr. Froude gives her some degree of credit, but it is that she reached "that strange point in the ebb and flow of emotions *where the criminal passion of a woman becomes almost virtue in its utter self-abandonment*" (VIII. 360). Her duplicity was perfection. "Open and straightforward conduct, in truth, did not suit the complexion of her genius; she breathed more freely, and used her abilities with better effect, in the uncertain twilight of conspiracy" (VIII. 82). She was an "admirable actress; rarely, perhaps, on the world's stage has there been a more skilful player" (VIII. 357). So thoroughly had she obliterated the moral sense from her soul, so perfectly had she mastered all the compunctious visitings of conscience, that, with thoughts of the blackest and foulest murder in her mind, she was able "to sleep with the soft tranquillity of an innocent child" (VIII. 361). But beneath this calm exterior, the fiercest and most unbridled passions at times held rule. She could hate her brother Murray, "with

the hate of hell" (VIII. 260); and in the occasional outburst of these sleeping fiends lay the secret of her ruin; "the passions at times which were blended with her policy, made her incapable of the restraint which was necessary for her success; while her French training had taught her lessons of the pleasantness of pleasure, for which she was at any time capable of forgetting every other consideration" (VIII. 271, 272).

Such is the sum of Mr. Froude's estimate of the character of Mary Stuart: a painful and revolting conception, in the details of which even those who have been accustomed to the views of adverse historians will find it difficult to acquiesce, and against which those in whose memory she is connected with so many tender and romantic associations will gladly close their eyes in reverent incredulity. We have already declared our intention of reserving for a more advanced stage of the narrative our formal judgment upon Mr. Froude. An important part of the story of Mary Stuart—that of the alleged discovery of the so-called casket of letters—is expressly held back by him for a later volume. We shall not, therefore, for the present, question the view of Mary's character which it has pleased Mr. Froude to put forward; but as the whole tone and colour of the story, so far as it has yet proceeded, is due to this unfavourable view, we think it right to examine, at least in a few instances, how far (even in so much of the evidence as he has hitherto laid before his readers) Mr. Froude has acted fairly and impartially, we do not say in the judgment which he advances, but in the selection and the use of the evidence on which this judgment is founded.

Taking men, such as they commonly are, it is hardly in the nature of things that a writer, holding, in regard to Queen Mary, such opinions as we have cited above, should look dispassionately upon the facts of her history; and we regret to say that Mr. Froude is no exception to the general rule. Not only does he exhibit a readiness to place the most unfavourable construction upon all that is questionable in her conduct, not only is he ready at all times to impute to her evil motives and intentions, even in things which seem in themselves beyond exception, but we are sorry to add, that in carrying out his preconceived theory regarding her, he is much too eager to seize upon adverse facts; to accept without reserve, and that, too, without notice to the reader, the statements of avowedly hostile authorities; to understate, and even to ignore, explanatory or favourable circumstances; and, in one word, to select, to array, and even to colour the details of the narrative with the skill and in the spirit of an advocate, rather than with the unbiassed freedom of a historian.

We shall have occasion before we close to point out many examples of this thoroughgoing partisanship. But we must begin with what is the real keystone of the entire story of Mary—her alleged criminal relations with Bothwell, and her complicity with him in the murder of Darnley. Of this passage of the history we must say, that Mr. Froude's treatment appears to us utterly indefensible, upon every principle of justice, and upon every law of historical evidence.

It is not too much to assert that the whole case of Mary Stuart, not alone as regards the Darnley murder, but as to every other detail of the charges made against her, turns upon a single point—the genuineness of the letters to Bothwell, commonly known as the “casket letters.” If these letters be genuine, there is no conceivable crime too atrocious to be credible of her, as the writer. If, on the contrary, these letters be forged, she must be regarded as the victim of a conspiracy so foul and so recklessly wicked, that we may justly look with distrust, and almost with disbelief, upon every allegation of her enemies, even in matters entirely unconnected with the direct subject of this conspiracy.

If, therefore, there be one point rather than another upon which cautious and patient investigation is indispensable, and upon which the mind of the reader as well as of the writer ought to be held free from all prepossession, assuredly it is this vital question as to the casket letters. Accordingly, all the historians of Mary have given it their most careful consideration. Those who have directly addressed themselves to the task of vindicating her, as Goodall, Whittaker, and Tytler, devote the whole or a large proportion of their space to this single subject. Those, on the contrary, who have taken the unfavourable view of her character, have all, even down to M. Mignet, felt the necessity of establishing the authenticity of the casket letters, as an indispensable preliminary to an adverse verdict.

Now Mr. Froude has taken the strange and unwarrantable course of commencing by *assuming the genuineness* of these documents, reserving the discussion regarding them to a future volume, which may possibly not be published for years to come. Meanwhile, however, his narrative, as well in its general tone as in all its minutest details, *is based upon this yet unproven evidence*: and thus the reader is made, despite of himself, to pronounce a verdict without the slightest opportunity of testing either the credibility of the witnesses, or the extent and the worth of their testimony.

Nor is this all. If Mr. Froude had confined himself honestly to a complete and unreserved *adjournment* of the

discussion, and had left the reader meanwhile to accept the contents of the unproven documents conditionally and upon trust, we should consider his course an unsatisfactory and unphilosophical one; but still we should not perhaps condemn it as absolutely unfair. But he has gone far beyond this. In introducing the letters, he does not content himself with asking from the reader a conditional or suspensive assent to their genuineness. He does his best to extort the reader's absolute adherence, by describing their historical authority in terms which no amount of caution could withstand. He assumes their genuineness, as of "documents which, without turning history into a mere creation of imaginative sympathies," he does "not feel at liberty to doubt." He declares that "they come to us after having passed the keenest scrutiny, both in England and Scotland;" and that "the handwriting was found to resemble so exactly that of the queen, that the most accomplished expert could detect no difference." The inquiry at the time "appears to him to supersede authoritatively all later conjectures;" "the English council, among whom were many friends of Mary Stuart, having had the French originals before them, while we have only translations, or translations of translations" (VIII. pp. 352-3). With this unreserved commendation, he leaves the letters to produce their own effect. Is this consistent with historical justice? Is this fair, we do not say to the memory of Mary, but to the confiding reader, who looks to his author for impartial and even-handed guidance? We cannot help thinking that it is just as if, in the outset of a property-suit, the judge were, with many professions of impartiality, to put one of the parties into beneficial possession, with a reservation to the opposite party of the right to challenge the justice of the award, but at some indefinite and distant period, and *perhaps after he should have sustained irreparable injury*.

In reviewing several years ago M. Mignet's "History of Mary Stuart," we discussed with great care, as in our opinion involving the whole pith and marrow of her case, the very question which Mr. Froude thus indefinitely postpones; and our first thought was to refer the reader to that review* of M. Mignet for a digest of what appeared to us to be the sum of all the evidence now attainable upon the subject, or to the excellent essay of M. Wiesener,† which we have named at the head of this paper. Had Mr. Froude simply reserved the point, we should have been spared all further

* DUBLIN REVIEW, vol. XXXII. pp. 135 and following.

† Especially ch. v. pp. 156-228.

trouble. But in postponing the discussion of the genuineness of the letters, he has, as we conceive, most unfairly sought to gain the reader's ear beforehand, not merely by declaring his own unhesitating acceptance of the letters as genuine, but by urging, as an argument in favour of his view, what he calls the "keen scrutiny" which they passed at the time of their first production as evidence against Mary.

It is impossible, therefore, to abstain from acquiescing in Mr. Froude's view of Mary's history, without at once challenging both his opinion of the authenticity of the letters and the argument which he founds on the rigorous examination of them which he alleges to have been made at the time of their first discovery. Indeed the discussion may further serve the general object which we propose to ourselves in these pages, of illustrating the reckless and extravagant disregard of facts into which Mr. Froude's eager partisanship too frequently betrays him.

Let us see, therefore, what was this "keen scrutiny" which the letters passed, and which, in Mr. Froude's opinion, "must supersede all later conjectures."

A "scrutiny," it need hardly be said, means a careful and searching inquiry, in which every fair and legitimate test is rigorously applied.

How far was this done in the case of the casket letters?

Here is the story of their alleged discovery, and of the proceedings subsequently founded upon them, whether in Scotland or in England.

The letters alleged to have been written by Mary, and to have been addressed to Bothwell, are eight in number, of which four purport to be written from Glasgow in January, 1567, a short time before Darnley's murder, three seem to date from Stirling in the following April, immediately before the queen's abduction by Bothwell, and the last is without any intrinsic evidence of date. Without going into details, it is enough to state that the Glasgow letters distinctly imply the existence of criminal relations between the corresponding parties, and a pre-arranged plot for the destruction of Darnley. These letters are neither signed with Mary's name, nor superscribed with Bothwell's address; but they were alleged to have been found in a silver-gilt casket, from which was also produced at intervals other damnable evidence against the Queen, viz., two contracts of marriage between her and Bothwell, and twelve sonnets of a highly amorous character addressed to him. It was stated that the casket containing all these damnable pieces was forgotten by Bothwell in the Castle of Edinburgh; that on his flight after the disaster of

Carberry Hill he sent his servant, George Dalgleish, to secure and carry away these dangerous papers; that the captain of the castle, Sir James Balfour, a creature of Bothwell's in the day of his prosperity, now found it his interest to make his peace with the new powers, and that he gave such information to the Earl of Morton as enabled him to seize Dalgleish and get possession of the casket, January 20th, 1567. By Morton the casket was put into the hands of the Regent Murray.

The reader who recollects Mr. Froude's "keen scrutiny" will conclude that papers of such importance were at once subjected to a careful examination. The papers themselves did not bear any signature or superscription. The first step, therefore, of the scrutiny ought to have been to ascertain whence they came, and thus trace them, if possible, to the writer or to the recipient.

They had been seized, it was said, in the hands of Dalgleish, Bothwell's servant. Now this Dalgleish was examined before the Scottish council six days after his arrest. Of course, the reader will conclude he was closely questioned as to the casket, as to Bothwell's instructions regarding its being secured, and as to his knowledge of its contents? *Not a single interrogatory was proposed to him on the subject.* He was kept a close prisoner till the following January, when he was hanged as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley; but *he was never once questioned during the whole course of his imprisonment as to the casket or its contents.*

Such was the first proceeding taken in reference to the letters, on occasion of their seizure. The "keen scrutiny" to which they were submitted, according to Mr. Froude, in Scotland, therefore, must be looked for elsewhere.

From this date nothing is heard of them until the following December, when, in the Act of the Regent's privy council, as a justification of the rising in arms against the Queen, certain "previe letters, written and subscrivit with her awn hand," are appealed to, as making it "most certain that she was previe, airt, and part of the actual devise of the murthour of the King." An Act of Murray's first parliament, passed on the 15th of the same month, repeats this allegation; and this is all that is known to have taken place in Scotland in reference to the letters.

But surely no one will say that there is here anything which can be called a keen, or even an impartial scrutiny.

First, as to the Act of the privy council. The members of this council were all declared rebels against Mary. They stood, by the very nature of the case, in the position of accusers of the Queen. Their object was to justify the revolt against her.

The greater number of them, moreover, were the mere creatures and dependents of the regent Murray, and were even prepared to sustain him at every hazard.* Nothing whatever is known as to the manner in which the alleged original letters were submitted to them, but it may be presumed from what we shall see as to the English scrutiny, that their examination of the letters can have been little better than a sham. The single fact that, although Dalgleish, in whose possession the casket was said to have been found, was lying in the city prison at the very time the letters are said to have been produced, *he was never once questioned by the council regarding them*—as to where he got the casket, as to its condition and contents at the time of its coming into his hands, whether locked or open; as to the instructions of Bothwell regarding it; as to the person to whom he gave it up, and its contents or condition at the time;—this single fact sufficiently proves that the Scottish Privy Council took no pains to examine the genuineness of the documents; that they were prepared to receive, without the smallest inquiry, any evidence, however improbable, by which the Queen could be incriminated; and that they accepted these letters *simply on the authority of Morton and Murray*.

As to the act passed by Murray's parliament on the 25th of December, Mr. Froude ought to have seen in the history of it an evidence of the highly suspicious character of the documents; he ought to have known that, before that act was passed, the friends of the Queen, in this parliament, far from admitting the letters to be genuine, actually "tuik instruments and protestatiouns;" and especially, that they not only denied the letters to be the Queen's "awin handwrit," but openly charged them upon her accusers as "devysit by thamesalfis."†

And this is the sum of what is known as to the scrutiny which took place in Scotland.

If such be the suspicions which hang over the letters in Scotland, it is hardly too much to say of the proceedings regarding them in England, that so sinister a course would almost of itself suffice to show, not only that they were not genuine, but that Murray himself was conscious of their spuriousness.

The letters appear thrice in England in connection with the charges against Mary; at the conference held at York, at the adjourned conference at Westminster, and finally in the English Privy Council.

* See all these details in DUBLIN REVIEW, XXXII. 150.
VOL. III.—NO. V. [*New Series.*]

† Ibid.
I

First, as to the conference held at York, between the commissioners appointed by Mary, six in number, and those of Elizabeth, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler. We will freely admit that if the letters had really been fairly examined by a tribunal so constituted, its verdict might well bear all the weight that Mr. Froude seeks to give it. But what are the real facts?

In the first place, Mary's commissioners were not afforded an opportunity of testing the authenticity of the documents; they were not invited to be present at the inquiry; they were not even apprised that the papers were presented to their English colleagues.

Secondly, even when the papers were shown to the English commissioners, it was with an express understanding that this was done for them, not in their capacity of commissioners, but merely in their private capacity.

Thirdly, the originals* were not left in the hands of the English commissioners for inspection and comparison. They were merely produced, and, after a comparison with other letters of Mary, *which latter also were produced by Murray*, were taken back by Murray into his own keeping.

Fourthly, Mary being made aware of the intended production of these criminating letters, had instructed her commissioners to declare them "false and feingit, forgit and inventit," and to "desyre that the principallis should be productit," in order that she herself should "have inspection thairrof, and mak answer thairto;" and her commissioners accordingly made this demand in her name, alleging, moreover, that there were many in Scotland, "baith men and women," who could counterfeit her writing;—an allegation confirmed by many well-known examples of forgery in that corrupt and flagitious time. This inspection was denied to the Queen herself. It was refused to her commissioners. They were even excluded, as we saw, from the meeting at which the alleged "principallis" were shown to the English commissioners, and at which their presence might have imposed some restraint upon the proceedings. Nay, incredible as it may appear, they were even refused *copies* of these important documents, upon which the whole case of their mistress might truly be said to hinge.

The same mockery of scrutiny was repeated when the letters were produced again at the conference in Westminster, with

* In all this we abstract from the difficult and disputed questions as to the original language of the letters. The subject is discussed at some length in the paper upon Mignet's *Mary Stuart*.

this additional element of suspicion, that the Duke of Norfolk, who alone could be supposed friendly to Mary, was now removed from the commission. Again, the demand on Mary's part for an inspection of the "*principallis*," whether by herself or by her commissioners, was refused.

The opportunity of inspection, in fine, was denied again, when, in the same cursory and suspicious manner, the papers were exhibited for the third time to the English council. And, after this crowning "*scrutiny*," they were at once taken back into Scotland, never again to appear in the cause to which they were of so vital importance.

This is literally the sum of the inquiry which Mr. Froude has the hardihood to say "*supersedes all later conjectures*"!

But suspicion does not end here. We saw that Murray abstained from producing before the Scottish Privy Council Bothwell's servant Dalgleish, in whose possession the letters were said to have been seized. When the conferences at York and Westminster began, Dalgleish was no longer living, having been executed in the previous January. But meanwhile a still more vital witness had come within reach of Mary's accusers; namely, the very person who was alleged to have been the medium of communication between her and Bothwell, and who is named in the letters themselves as the actual bearer of these guilty missives to her paramour. This man, Bothwell's confidential servant, Nicholas Hubert, surnamed Paris, had fled with his master to Denmark; but in February, 1568, he had been given up by the King of Denmark, and was actually a prisoner in the Regent's hands long before the conferences began. A word from this man's lips would have established with damning certainty every detail in connection as well with the authenticity of the letters as with the circumstances and the intent of their transmission. And yet, during several months through which the conferences were protracted, Murray never ventured to produce Paris (Hubert); but having gone through the mockery of proof described above, obtained the leave of Elizabeth to return "*with his companie*," the Queen's accusers, to Scotland. Mary, who, as we saw, had retorted their charge upon themselves, at once remonstrated against their not "*abiding the tryall and proof that was offered to prove them guilty of the same crime*," and was told, in answer, that Murray "*had promisit, for himself and his companie, to return again*" when called on by Elizabeth. And yet, with Mary's charge of forgery flung in his teeth, which Paris could at once fatally disprove, Murray never returned to pursue the inquiry which Mary had challenged. He took no step, even still, to send

Paris to England for examination; he did not even venture to produce him before the Scottish council, before the High Court of Justiciary, or before any of the regular authorities of the royal courts of Scotland. And when at length, at the end of July, 1569, Elizabeth, on being apprised of the existence of so important a witness, wrote to require that Paris should be produced for examination, it turned out *that he had been suddenly and secretly removed from the royal prison at Edinburgh to Murray's own private jurisdiction at St. Andrew's*; that he had there been secretly examined on two successive days; that on the first, though he incriminated Bothwell, he had persistently asserted the innocence of Queen Mary; and that it was only on his second examination, *which was made under torture*, that he had been induced to confirm the allegations of Mary's accusers as to the letters to Bothwell, and the incidents to which those letters refer! This desired confirmation of the charge once extorted, the wretched man was hurriedly executed; and it is unhesitatingly asserted by the Bishop of Ross that he retracted upon the scaffold the false charge which he had been tortured into preferring against the Queen, and declared "that he never carried such letters, nor that the Queene was participant nor of counsayle in the cause."*

There was yet another witness who, if the letters to Bothwell were genuine, must have been cognisant of all the infamous details of the guilt charged upon Mary, and whose production, therefore, would at once have tested beyond the possibility of question the genuineness of the correspondence. We mean, of course, Lady Reres, who is described in the letters as the confidant of both parties in their guilty intercourse and even more guilty design. Yet neither Murray, nor any other of those who sought to substantiate the letters, ventured to cite this lady, or to subject her to any sort of examination.

Lastly, as bearing upon the alleged discovery of the casket, the suspicion created by the non-production of Dalgleish, in whose hands the letters were said to have been seized, is still further deepened by the fact that neither the party who arrested Dalgleish, nor the Earl of Morton, by whose order he was seized and from whose hands the casket was said to have come into the possession of Murray, nor even Balfour, the captain of Edinburgh Castle, from whom Dalgleish was alleged to have received it by Bothwell's orders, was ever subjected to

* Mr. Tytler's *Inquiry into the Evidence against Queen Mary*, vol. I. p. 297.

examination, public or private, as to any circumstance connected with the alleged discovery.

Briefly, the history of Mr. Froude's "keen scrutiny" stands thus :—

A mass of papers, neither subscribed by Queen Mary, nor superscribed to Bothwell—highly disgraceful to Mary to have written, eminently perilous to Bothwell to have preserved—is alleged to have been seized by the emissaries of the Earl of Morton on the person of Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell, who had been sent by his master to the Castle of Edinburgh to secure these important documents; the allegation as to the seizure resting entirely on a private statement made to the Regent Murray by Morton, the avowed enemy of Mary and of Bothwell.

No judicial inquiry is ever made into the truth of this allegation. Dalgleish, on whom the papers are seized, is not interrogated regarding them, although examined by the Privy Council six days after their alleged seizure.

The parties who seized Dalgleish are not interrogated as to the seizure of the papers.

Morton, by whom the papers are produced, is not interrogated as to any of the circumstances of their alleged seizure.

The letters make frequent allusion to a servant surnamed Paris, who is, moreover, named in the letters as the bearer of several of the number. This Paris, although in the hands of Mary's accusers at the very time when the authenticity of the letters is under trial, is never produced by these accusers for examination. Even when examined secretly, after having been removed into the private jurisdiction of Murray, he persistently denies the criminality of the Queen and the carrying of any letters to Bothwell; and although, on a second examination *under torture*, he is betrayed into accusing her, he retracts this accusation on the scaffold itself.

The letters also name Lady Reres as cognisant of the facts to which they relate. The accusers do not venture to interrogate this lady.

The only scrutiny of the letters, in a word, attempted from first to last, is of the handwriting, and the scrutiny of the handwriting is made in this wise :—

The letters, it is said, were declared to be in Mary's "awin handwrit," by the Privy Council of Scotland. How they examined the letters we know not; but we do know that they were all avowed enemies of Mary, and in actual rebellion against her.

They are referred to by an Act of the Scottish Parlia-

ment of the same period, but a protest was taken against this Act by the minority, who allege as their ground that the letters are not Mary's, but "devysit by her accusers thamesalfis."

When submitted afterwards to the conference of the English and Scottish commissioners, the Scottish commissioners (who alone represented Mary) are excluded from the "scrutiny."

Even to the English commissioners they are shown only for the purpose of being compared with other alleged letters of Mary, and immediately taken back into Murray's own keeping.

The same suspicious process is repeated in the case of the English Privy Council. And this, although Mary indignantly repudiates the letters, accuses the accusers themselves of having forged them, and appeals to examples of similar forgery before practised against her. Her repeated demands, and those of the commissioners, for an opportunity of examining the letters, in order to expose the forgery, are put aside. She is refused even a copy of the letters!

And these are the documents which Mr. Froude feels himself justified in assuming as the basis of his narrative! This is the "keen scrutiny" which "must supersede all later conjectures"!

The reader who is at all familiar with the controversies about Mary Stuart will know that there are numerous other reasons, intrinsic as well as extrinsic, for doubting and disbelieving the genuineness of the casket letters, which we have not touched at all.* We have confined ourselves strictly to the single assertion of Mr. Froude, that the original scrutiny was conclusive as to their genuineness. The facts which we have brought together must have been known to him. They have almost all been urged over and over again by Mary's defenders. To withhold from his readers an opportunity of judging of their weight, and to override them all by his own arrogant assertion—the more imposing by its very arrogance—appears to us so monstrous an abuse of the privilege of a historian, as utterly to preclude all possibility of placing confidence in any unsupported statement of a writer who thus proves himself to be either a superficial word-painter, or a reckless partisan.

Another authority, which he uses quite as freely and as constantly in his narrative of the conspiracy for the murder of

* For these we must be content to refer to the former article in this REVIEW, to M. Wiesener's interesting memoir, or to the works of Goodall, Whittaker, or Tytler.

Darnley, is the examination of Bothwell's French servant, Paris, already alluded to. Of the credibility of this examination, he neither suggests a doubt on his own part, nor allows the reader to suppose that any doubt had ever been suggested by others. We can but refer to the review of M. Mignet's work* for a brief summary of the elaborate arguments (in our judgment entirely conclusive) of W. Tytler and Whittaker, against the credibility, if not even against the genuineness, of this deposition. Mr. Froude seeks to give it weight by describing it (VIII. p. 352), in common with the others given by Anderson and Pitcairn, as "taken on the steps of the scaffold." But he omits to add, what we have already passingly observed, that when Paris was really "on the steps of the scaffold," he retracted the accusation which he had made against Mary, and which, even supposing the present instrument to be genuine, was certainly extorted by the rack.

We are sorry to have to add that Mr. Froude, in his prepossession against Mary, is not content with the facts supplied by these documents, but constantly permits himself to interweave in the narrative, without notice to the reader, his own commentaries and glosses. We can but notice a few as a sample of the temper of his whole narrative. Some of these may seem trifles; but they all indicate that biassed mind and that jaundiced vision which are the most dangerous vices that could corrupt the impartiality of the historian.

In the deposition of this Paris, of whom we have been speaking, it is stated, that immediately after the Queen left Darnley, on the night of his murder, to walk back to Holyrood, he (Paris) returned "to fetch a fur wrapper, which the Queen had left." There might be a thousand reasons for this. Mr. Froude, however, could not forego the opportunity of adding one other dark touch to the hateful portrait which he has prepared for his readers; and he subjoins, as Mary's reason for having the wrapper carried away from the scene of the approaching tragedy, that she "thought it too pretty to be spoiled" (VIII. p. 369).

Without absolutely telling it in words, he leaves the same to be inferred as to her desiring that "the handsome bed, with new hangings of black velvet," which had been set up for the king, should "be taken down and changed" (VIII. p. 364). Now Mr. Froude, if he had taken the pains to consult even so accessible a book as Miss Strickland's "*Lives of the Queens of Scotland*," would have seen that the vile and paltry insinuation as to Mary's motive in the change is utterly

* DUBLIN REVIEW, XXXII. pp. 168-171.

disproved by the clearest evidence. Miss Strickland has shewn (vol. V. p. 137), not alone by the Royal Wardrobe Inventories, but by a most interesting original paper, first discovered in the Register House, Edinburgh, in 1854, that if the black velvet bed (a gloomy object, it must be said, for an invalid chamber) was removed by Mary's order, it was only that it might be replaced by a far more costly, but at the same time gayer and more cheerful "bed of violet velvet, with double vallances, passamented with gold and silver," &c. &c., which costly bed is marked as "tint (lost) in the king's lodgings," a regular quittance for the loss accompanying the paper. Now, either Mr. Froude knew of this discovery of Miss Strickland, or he did not. If he did not, what shall we think of his accuracy and research? If he did (which we cannot believe), what shall we say of his honesty?

But this is not the whole of the Darnley case. Those who regard Mary as cognisant of the plot for the murder of Darnley, attribute the choice of Craigmillar, and afterwards of Kirk-a-field, as his temporary residence, to the design of withdrawing from observation the machinations against his life. Several contemporary authorities, on the contrary, ascribe it to the desire of saving the infant prince at Holyrood from the risk of contagion of the small-pox, from which Darnley was just recovering. Mr. Froude, while he brings out the former motive most pointedly, in an account of a conversation of Darnley with Crawford (VIII. p. 357), never once alludes to the latter motive, which might at least be consistent with the innocence of Mary.

So again, in relating the earlier career of Bothwell, Knox, speaking of Bothwell's escape from the Castle of Edinburgh, alludes to the prevailing surmises regarding it. "Some say," he writes, "that he brake a stancheon of the window; others whispered, that he got easy passage at the gates. One thing," he adds, "is certain, that the Queen was little offended at his escaping." Knox, we need hardly say, was little likely to understate the case against Mary; but Mr. Froude is not satisfied with even Knox's bitter text, and he exaggerates it into a round assertion, that "the escape was supposed to have been *not without Mary's connivance*" (VIII. p. 74).

In his account of the affair of Châtellar, he is not content with assuming that all the familiar intercourse which Mary permitted to him was on the footing "of a lover, sighing for months at her feet" (VII. p. 493), which might possibly be defended as but a gloss on his authorities, Knox and Randolph (both, it need hardly be said, Mary's bitterest calumniators); but after telling us, on their authority, "that Châtellar con-

cealed himself at night in her bedroom," he adds, without the slightest warrant from his text, "interpreting her behaviour, and *perhaps her words*, too favourably." And in relating the second attempt of Châtellar, he ascribes it to Mary's "pardoning easily the faults of those she liked;" and adds, that "Châtellar was forgiven, and misconstruing her kindness, four nights later repeated his rash adventure." For the statement of Mary's pardoning Châtellar there is not the shadow of an authority. She had indeed spared his life, but she peremptorily banished him from the court, and she never recalled the sentence.

But there is in what follows a suppression, which strikes us as even more unworthy a fair-minded historian. When Châtellar was discovered the second time, the Queen's cries having drawn her brother Murray to her chamber, she called to him in coarse words—which nothing but the consciousness of outraged innocence could have drawn from one whom all admit, in ordinary circumstances, to have been gentleness itself—"to put his dagger in the villain." Mr. Froude *omits this exclamation*.

After Châtellar was condemned to death, a great effort was made to induce Mary to remit the sentence. She firmly refused. *This also Mr. Froude suppresses*; and the whole effect of his narrative is to ascribe all that was done—in the way of punishment—to Murray, and nothing to the Queen herself (VII. p. 494).

Another minute detail—one of the incidents of Mr. Froude's very graphic narrative of Rizzio's murder—illustrates, in a small way, the effect of the same all-pervading bias. The contemporary accounts of this terrible tragedy differ as to the position occupied by Rizzio in the Queen's apartment, and his occupation at the time of Darnley's entering. According to one account, he was "standing at the sideboard, eating something which had been sent to him from the Queen's table." But this does not fall in with Mr. Froude's preconceptions as to the familiarity with which Mary must have treated him, and without any allusion to the conflicting account, he tells us that Rizzio was seated opposite to the Queen, upon a chair (VIII. p. 251). Nor can we help ascribing to the same preconception Mr. Froude's omission, from his highly dramatic narrative, of the touching exclamation which Mary uttered when the last sound of Rizzio's death-struggle reached her, and which would almost in itself suffice to prove the guiltlessness of the lips from which it fell, in so fearful an hour:—"Ah, poor Davit, my good and faithful servant! may the Lord have mercy on thy soul!"

Some of these strictures (which it would be easy to multiply almost indefinitely) may appear to be overstrained; but it seems to us impossible not to be struck by the constant selection of the criminatory, and the too frequent suppression of the exculpatory, incidents of Mary's sad history. And this becomes even more apparent upon contrasting the mode in which Mr. Froude deals with her, and that in which he treats a more favoured personage in circumstances exactly similar. We had carefully noted the manner in which he deals with every incident in the history of Mary, tending even indirectly to connect her criminally with a knowledge of the designs of Bothwell against the life of Darnley, for the purpose of contrasting it with his narrative of the parallel case of Elizabeth's possible cognisance of Leicester's murder of Amy Robsart, or of Sussex's proposal for the assassination of O'Neil. But the length to which our strictures have already run, makes such a detailed examination impossible for the present. We shall therefore content ourselves with a single case, in which Mr. Froude has to deal, on the one hand with Mary, on the other with one of his heroes, Murray, but in reference to the very same transaction, and in circumstances not merely parallel, but identically the same. It relates to the well-known "Craigmillar Bond," the parties to which agreed—

That for sae meikle as it was thought expedient and profitable for the commonweal, by the nobility and lords underwritten, that sic an young fool and proud tyran (as the King) should not bear rule of them—for divers causes therefore they all had concluded that he should be put forth by one way or other—and whosoever should take the deed in hand or do it, they should defend and fortify it, for it should be by every one of them reckoned and holden done by themselves (VIII. pp. 347, 348).

This bond was signed by Argyle, Huntly, Maitland, Bothwell, and Sir James Balfour, a cousin of Bothwell, after an interview with the Queen, of which the following account is given by Mr. Froude:—

The lords and gentlemen who had been concerned in Rizzio's murder had by this time most of them received their pardon; but the Queen had still found herself unable to forgive Morton, who—with Lindsay, young Ruthven, and Ker—was still in exile in England. Their friends had never ceased to intercede for them. One morning while Argyle was still in bed, Murray and Maitland came to his room; and Maitland beginning upon the subject, said that "the best way to obtain Morton's pardon was to promise the Queen to find means to divorce her from her husband."

Argyle said he did not know how it could be done.

"My Lord," said Maitland, "care you not for that, we shall find the means to make her quit of him well enough if you and Lord Huntly will look on and not take offence."

Scotland was still entangled in the Canon Law, and some trick could be made available if the nobles agreed to allow it. Huntly entered as the others were talking. They offered him the restoration of the Gordon estates if he would consent to Morton's return : he took the price, and agreed with the rest to forward the divorce.

The four noblemen then went together to Bothwell, who professed equal readiness : he accompanied them to the Queen ; and Maitland in the name of the rest undertook to deliver her from Darnley on condition that she pardoned Morton and his companions.

Mary Stuart was craving for release : she said generally that she would do what they required ; but embarrassed as she was by her connection with Rome she was unable to understand how a divorce could be managed, or how if they succeeded they could save the legitimacy of her child. So obvious a difficulty could not have been unforeseen. Under the old law of the Church the dissolution of marriage was so frequent and facile, that by a kind of tacit agreement children born from connexions assumed at the time to be lawful, were, like Mary and Elizabeth of England, allowed to pass as legitimate, and to succeed to their fathers' estates. The Earl of Angus and Queen Margaret were divorced, yet the English Council had tried in vain to fix a stigma on the birth of Lady Lennox. Archbishop Parker more recently had divorced Hertford and Lady Catherine Grey, yet their son was still the favourite, for the succession, of the English Protestants. Bothwell was ready with an instance from his own experience. The marriage between his own father and mother had been declared invalid, yet he had inherited the earldom without challenge.

The interests which depended on the young Prince of Scotland however were too vast to be lightly put in hazard ; there was another and a shorter road out of the difficulty.

"Madam," said Maitland, "we are here the chief of your grace's council and nobility ; we shall find the means that your Majesty shall be quit of your husband without prejudice of your son, and albeit that my Lord of Murray here present be little less scrupulous for a Protestant than your grace is for a Papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings, saying nothing to the same."

The words were scarcely ambiguous, yet Murray said nothing. Such subjects are not usually discussed in too loud a tone, and he may not have heard them distinctly. He himself swore afterwards "that if any man said he was present when purposes were held in his audience tending to any unlawful or dishonourable end he spoke wickedly and untruly."

But Mary herself—how did she receive the dark suggestion ? This part of the story rests on the evidence of her own friends, and was drawn up in her excuse and defence. According to Argyle and Huntly she said she "would do nothing to touch her honour and conscience ;" "they had better leave it alone ;" "meaning to do her good it might turn to her hurt and displeasure."

She may be credited with having refused her consent to the proposals then made to her ; and yet that such a conversation should have passed in her presence (of the truth of the main features of it there is no room for doubt) was serious and significant (VIII. pp. 344-347).

Now, perhaps, if the mere letter of this passage be considered, it cannot be said that it directly charges either the Queen or Murray with having understood and given approval to what was subsequently undertaken by the conspirators ; but no one, we think, in reading it over, can resist the impression that its effect is to suggest an exculpation of Murray, and to leave the Queen under the suspicion of complicity. On Murray's side, although it is confessed that "*he said nothing*," is volunteered the conjecture that "he may not have heard the words distinctly," with the gratuitous suggestion that "such subjects are not usually discussed in a loud tone." But on Mary's side, while we are informed that two of those present declared expressly, that "she said she would do nothing to touch her honour and conscience," and that she distinctly told them "they had better leave it alone," we have the scarcely ambiguous insinuation that, whatever credit may be given to the statement of her having refused her consent, "yet that such a conversation should have passed in her presence was serious and significant."

But, in truth, this is only one of almost numberless examples of Mr. Froude's extravagant partiality towards the Regent. He has suppressed (VII. pp. 446-449) the entire story of his cruel and treacherous conduct in the affair of the Gordon family, the baseness of which Miss Strickland has fully unravelled.* He represents him in all his relations to Mary as the very impersonation of disinterested loyalty. He finds no words too enthusiastic to convey his admiration of "the noble stainless Murray" (VIII. p. 266). "Murray was not a person to trample on the wretched, or stoop to ignoble game" (VIII. p. 298) ; "Murray had a free and generous nature" (VIII. p. 260). Now, it is not of Mr. Froude's estimate of Murray in itself that we complain ; although we believe it to be a gross and extravagant travesty of the facts of the history. What we do complain of here as elsewhere, is the persistent suppression by him of the doubts and controversies which have surrounded that estimate, from the days of Buchanan's *Detectio* down to those of Mary's latest biographer. Every one who has given a thought to the history of the time, knows that the two questions of Murray's honour and of Mary's shame hang inseparably together ; that every historian who exculpates Mary, has by the very process of her vindication condemned Murray as a black and perjured traitor and calumniator ; and we regard Mr. Froude's concealment of the adverse testimonies with respect to Murray, as little, if at all,

* *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, III. 341, 342.

less criminal in a historian, than his misrepresentation of the facts with respect to the scrutiny of the "casket letters."

Nor is it simply in the heat of composition, and in the excitement and flow of the narrative, that Mr. Froude is led away by the warmth of his prejudices. We regret to have to say that even in what ought to be the sober moments of critical discussion, he is equally reckless in his assertions, and equally unphilosophical—we are unwilling to say unfair—in his deductions. A very remarkable instance has occurred even since the publication of these volumes, to which we cannot help referring as a further illustration of what we have said as to the utter unreliableness of Mr. Froude's judgment where his prejudices are concerned.

In the course of a newspaper controversy which arose between Mr. Froude and Miss Strickland, Mary Stuart's biographer, as to some details of his account of Darnley's last night, Miss Strickland, as an evidence of Mary's innocence, incidentally alluded to a letter written to Mary by Margaret, countess of Lennox, Darnley's mother, "confidential, full of reverence and affection"—"such as it was impossible for any mother to have written to the murderess of her son." Mr. Froude (*Times*, Thursday, February 4, 1864) replied:—

As to Lady Lennox's opinion of the guilt or innocence of the Queen of Scots, Miss Strickland has produced a letter written by that lady, from which she infers that Lady Lennox could not have believed the Queen of Scots to have been culpable. Let me draw Miss Strickland's attention to another letter, written also by Lady Lennox, which, though no evidence against the Queen of Scots, shows with sufficient conclusiveness what Lady Lennox thought about the matter. It is addressed to Sir W. Cecil. The date is September 8, 1570, and it was written at a time when Elizabeth affected to intend Mary Stuart's restoration to Scotland:—

"Good Mr. Secretary,—Ye shall understand that I have heard of some Commissioners that shall go to the Queen of Scots to treat with her of matters tending to her liberty to go thither, of which she herself doth already make an assured account, the knowledge whereof being to me no small discomfort, considering that, notwithstanding the grievous murder which by her means only upon my dear son her husband was executed, divers persons in this realm doth yet doubt, and a number doth credit, that she since her coming hither is found clear and not to be culpable of that fact, because, as they say that since all the conventions and conferences had between the nobility touching that matter, it hath not been published and made known that the said Queen was found any way guilty therein; much more when they, already deceived, shall see her released to go home at her pleasure, though upon some devised conditions to serve the present, their former conceits shall be verified, and therein they being satisfied it may appear that she hath sustained insufferable wrongs to be for no offence so long restrained within this realm. The rest thereof I refer to your wisdom. . . .

"From Somerset Place, September 8.

"Your assured friend,

"MARGARET LENNOX."

Now, assuredly the writer of this letter does most unequivocally declare her belief that Mary was instrumental in procuring the murder of Darnley: and if the question had been what was the opinion of Margaret Lennox *in September, 1570*, Mr. Froude's reply to Miss Strickland would have been triumphant. But it is hardly credible that any one with the slightest pretension to the character of a historian could overlook the fact that Miss Strickland speaks, not of 1570, but of *five years later, 1575*. She had stated this distinctly in her letter in the *Times* of January 2, 1864, to which Mr. Froude is replying; and had she never alluded to the date, Mr. Froude ought to have known it from her history of Mary Stuart. To what Miss Strickland really asserts, Mr. Froude ought to have known that a letter written in 1570 is no reply whatever.

What then are the facts? It is perfectly true that Lady Lennox *had believed* Mary guilty; but it is equally true that she had afterwards come to learn that she *had been deceived, and had recalled and renounced that belief*; and this, at a time when she had no interest to serve in the change, her unhappy mistress having already been for years a hopeless captive in England. Lady Lennox had written repeated letters to Mary in her prison, to assure the Queen of her regret for the injury which she had done her. One of these letters, no doubt, is that which Miss Strickland prints, and it has a touching interest, from the fact that it never reached the unhappy lady for whom it was destined, having been intercepted by Walsingham, among whose papers in the State-paper Office it still remains.

But even though Miss Strickland had not supplied the date, 1575, Mr. Froude would still have been inexcusable for the attempt to impose upon the reader the conclusion which he seeks to draw from the letter of 1570. It is hardly conceivable that any man venturing to write a critical history of Mary Stuart, would have omitted to make himself acquainted with so common and yet so classical an authority on the subject as Tytler's *Inquiry*. Now Tytler has given a most prominent place in his appendix—printing it as well in the original French as in an English translation—to a letter of the Queen herself to her ambassador at Paris, written in 1578, immediately after the death of Margaret Lennox, which would have shown Mr. Froude that his argument from the letter which he parades so arrogantly, is as false in fact as it is shallow and unphilosophical in method.

The Countess of Lennox, my mother-in-law, died about a month ago; and the Queen of England has taken into her care the Countess's grand-

daughter.* I have written to those who are about my son to enter a claim in his name for this succession : not for any desire that I have that he should actually succeed unto it, but rather to testify, that neither he nor I ought to be reputed nor treated as foreigners in England, who are born within the same isle. This good lady was, thanks to God, *in very good correspondence with me these five or six years bygone*, and has confessed to me by sundry letters under her hand, which I carefully preserve, *the injury she did me by the unjust pursuits which she allowed to go out against me in her name* through bad information, but principally, she said, through the express orders of the Queen of England, and the persuasion of her council : who also took much solicitude that she and I might never come to good understanding together. But *how soon she came to know of my innocence*, she desisted from any further pursuit against me ; nay, went so far as to refuse her consent to any thing they should act against me in her name.—*Tytler's Inquiry*, II. p. 403.

And observe how curiously Mr. Froude's letter of crimination tallies with and confirms the unhappy Queen's own statement to her ambassador. Writing in 1578, eight years after the criminatory letter of 1570, Mary states, that "for five or six years bygone," Lady Lennox, before at enmity with her, had been "in good correspondence with her," that is to say, from about 1572. Thus, we learn from Mary herself, that in 1570 the Countess was engaged "in unjust pursuits" against her ; and thus, that if she were to write at all at that period on the subject of the murder, it would be in the spirit of the letter on which Mr. Froude is weak enough to rely. But we learn equally from the same simple letter, that the weight of Lady Lennox's testimony to Mary's innocence in 1578, is but strengthened and enhanced by the hostile prepossessions evinced in the letter which Mr. Froude seeks to make the stronghold of the evidence of Mary's guilt.

This must be our last specimen of his treatment of Mary. We are uncertain whether to place it to the account of reckless partisanship, or of shallow precipitancy. There is quite enough in what we have already seen of his injustice to Mary to warrant the former alternative ; but, on the other hand, there is no blunder too gross, and hardly any shallowness too superficial for the man who could write the following paragraph :—

Cobham was tried for piracy the next year at the indignant requisition of Spain ; he was found guilty, but he escaped punishment ; and there was some insincere shuffling in connexion with his prosecution, for the Spanish ambassador was assured that a sentence had been passed upon him, the

* The Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Earl of Lennox, who died in 1576.

description of which might have been borrowed from the torture chamber of the Inquisition, but which assuredly was never pronounced in an English court of justice.

"Thomas Cobham," wrote de Silva, "being asked at his trial, according to the usual form in England, if he had anything to say in arrest of judgment, and answering nothing, was condemned to be taken to the Tower, to be stripped naked to the skin, and then to be placed with his shoulders resting on a sharp stone, his legs and arms extended, and on his stomach a gun, too heavy for him to bear, yet not large enough immediately to crush him. There he is to be left till he die. They will give him a few grains of corn to eat, and for drink the foulest water in the Tower." "His relations," de Silva added, "are doing all in their power to prevent the execution of the sentence." Had any such sentence been pronounced, it would not have been left to be discovered in the letter of a stranger: the ambassador may perhaps in this instance have been purposely deceived, and his demand for justice satisfied by a fiction of imaginary horror (VIII. p. 449).

We pass over Mr. Froude's arrogant sneer at the credulity of the Spanish ambassador, and his ill-natured allusion to "the torture chamber of the Inquisition;" but we cannot conceal our astonishment that any one with the most ordinary pretension to scholarship could be in doubt for a moment, whether as to the meaning or as to the accuracy of the ambassador's information. Cobham suffered the well-known but most revolting *peine forte et dure* of English judicature, which is described by every writer on English law, from Coke to Stephen, and which remained in the statute-book till the 12th Geo. III. It was not, as Mr. Froude imagines, the sentence passed for the crime of piracy, but the punishment, as the ambassador most correctly writes, of "answering nothing," that is to say, of refusing to plead. Even an authority so very far from abstruse or recondite as Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, in his *History of Jack Sheppard*, would have informed Mr. Froude of the procedure in all its horrors, as detailed in the case of Blueskin. But in the moment of referring him to that veracious history, we are reminded, by his own allusion to the Inquisition, of what would have supplied a painfully accurate illustration of the literal truth of De Silva's narrative—the interesting memoir of the Abbé Destombes, named at the head of these pages, *La Persécution Religieuse en Angleterre sous le Règne d'Elisabeth*. Among the victims of that persecution whose fate the Abbé records, is a lady of gentle birth, Dame Margaret Clitherow of York, who being arraigned in 1585, upon the charge of harbouring priests, and refusing, lest she might involve others in the same penalty, to plead to the indictment, was subjected to the very torture the possibility of

which in an English Court of justice Mr. Froude treats as "a fiction of imaginary horror."

M. Destombes has given, at page 363, a sufficiently interesting account of the case of Dame Clitherow; but we prefer to reproduce the exact details of the original contemporary memoir, drawn up by Father Mush, the priest who prepared her for her hour of trial, as the best commentary on Mr. Froude's "fiction of imaginary horror," and the clearest illustration of the truism that "truth is often stranger than fiction." We can only find room, however, for the closing horrors of the scene:—

Then Fawcett commanded her to put off her apparel; "for you must die naked," said he, "according as judgment was pronounced against you."

The martyr with other women requested him, *on their knees*, that she might die in her shift, and that for the honour of womanhood they would not see her naked; but they would not grant it. Then she requested them that the women might unapparel her, and that they would turn their faces from her during that time.

The women took off her clothes, and put upon her the long linen habit. Then very quietly she laid her down upon the ground, her face covered with a handkerchief, the linen habit being placed over her as far as it would reach, all the rest of her body being naked. The door was laid upon her, her hands she joined towards her face. Then the sheriff said, "Nay, you must have your hands bound." The martyr put forth her hands, still joined over the door. Then two serjeants parted them, and with the inkle-strings which she had prepared for the purpose, bound them to two posts. So that her body and hands made a perfect cross. They willed her again to ask the Queen's majesty's forgiveness, and to pray for her. The martyr said she had prayed for her. They willed also to ask her husband's forgiveness. The martyr said, "If ever I have offended him, but for my conscience, I ask him forgiveness."

After this they laid weight upon her, which, when she first felt, she said, "Jesu! Jesu! Jesu; have mercy upon me!" which were the last words she was heard to speak.

She was in dying *about one quarter of an hour*. A sharp stone, as much as a man's fist, put under her back; upon her was laid to the quantity of *seven or eight hundred weight at the least*; which, breaking her ribs, caused them to burst forth of the skin.

Thus most victoriously this gracious martyr overcame all her enemies, passing from this mortal life with rare and marvellous triumph into the peaceable City of God, there to receive a worthy crown of endless immortality and joy.

This was at nine of the clock, and she continued in the press till three afternoon.*

If the "grains of corn" and "foul water" which De Silva,

* *Life and Death of Margaret Clitherow, the Martyr of York.* Edited from the original MS. by William Nicholson, pp. 194-5.

in Mr. Froude's extract, most correctly gives as part of the ordinary *peine forte et dure*, do not appear in the punishment of the Martyr of York, it is simply because, she having died under the first infliction, the occasion did not arise in her case for offering that mockery of nourishment which formed part of this cruel and revolting torture, in cases in which the life of the sufferer was prolonged beyond the opening ordeal.

And here we take our leave of Mr. Froude. There is one portion of his work—the chapters devoted to Irish affairs—on which we have hitherto kept resolutely silent. These chapters may more fitly be discussed in connection with the later history of Ireland under Elizabeth; but we cannot dismiss the volumes now before us without an earnest and indignant protest against the spirit in which the subject of Ireland is discussed therein. We do not hesitate to say that Mr. Froude has shown himself quite incapable of comprehending the realities of that painful but deeply interesting subject; and we regret to add that he has betrayed, in dealing with it, an utter ignorance or a reckless disregard of the very first principles of historical criticism. His sketches of the Irish leaders are a tissue of mistakes and misrepresentations. His picture of the social condition of Ireland is a pointless caricature, for which his sole authority (which he parades with all the pretensions of "original materials") is the blundering but malignant report of one of Cecil's salaried spies, of whom the most favourable criticism would be, that he did not possess ability or knowledge sufficient to render his malevolence intelligible.

And through Mr. Froude's whole narrative there runs that vein of contempt for Ireland, and that offensive assumption of its social and moral inferiority, which form the traditional characteristic of the bigotry of the vulgar Englishman, so severely scourged by Mr. Goldwin Smith, and deplored by every true Englishman as at once the origin and the daily aliment of international jealousy and disunion. For Mr. Froude's exhibition of this contemptible feeling we have no mercy. In his case there is not—or at least, there ought not to be—the excuse which may be pleaded on the score of ignorance. We shall give one example, and have done with Mr. Froude.

He prints at full length, and without any reserve, Sussex's infamous letter to Elizabeth, in which Sussex details to the Queen all the particulars of his plan for the assassination of O'Neil, and of his actual negotiation with the intended assassin.

August 24, 1561.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"After conference had with Shan O'Neil's seneschal I entered talk with Neil Grey; and perceiving by him that he had little hope of Shan's conformity in anything, and that he therefore desired that he might be received to serve your Highness, for that he would no longer abide with him, and that if I would promise to receive him to your service he would do anything that I would command him, I swore him upon the Bible to keep secret that I should say unto him, and assured him if it were ever known during the time I had the government there, that besides the breach of his oath it should cost him his life. I used long circumstance in persuading him to serve you to benefit his country, and to procure assurance of living to him and his for ever, by doing of that which he might easily do. He promised to do what I would. In fine I brake with him to kill Shan; and bound myself by my oath to see him have a hundred marks of land by the year to him and to his heirs for his reward. He seemed desirous to serve your Highness, and to have the land; but fearful to do it, doubting his own escape after with safety, which he confessed and promised to do by any means he might, escaping with his life. What he will do I know not, but I assure your Highness he may do it without danger if he will. And if he will not do that he may in your service, then will be done to him what others may. God send your Highness a good end.

"Your Highness's most humble and faithful Subject and Servant,

"T. SUSSEX.

"From Ardrachan."

On this infamous letter Mr. Froude's simple commentary is, that "*English honour, like English coin, lost something of its purity in the sister island*"! (VIII. 29). Might it not have occurred to Mr. Froude, before he ventured upon this impertinent sarcasm, that this base and treacherous letter was addressed by Sussex to the very source and fountain of English honour—the Queen herself—still in England, untouched by the polluting influences of the sister island; that the dishonouring proposal was renewed some time later; that it passed unrebuked; and that, notwithstanding these repeated suggestions, Sussex was continued in his command?

ART. V.—GARIBALDI IN ENGLAND.

The Life of Garibaldi. By O. J. VICTOR. London : Beadle & Co.

La Garibaldina. London : Creamer, Wood, & Co.

GARIBALDI was born at Nice in 1807, and, after spending a considerable time at sea, met Mazzini at Marseilles in 1833, when he was about twenty-five years of age ; from that time he has been nothing else but the willing tool of that revolutionist. Under the direction of his master, he was made to “enlist in the Sardinian navy service ;” and of the results of this enlistment Garibaldi gives the following account :—

I entered the service as a first-class sailor, on the frigate *L'Eurydice*. *My duty was to make proselytes among the crew for the revolution, and I succeeded in the best manner possible.* Should all things prosper on the land, I and my fellows were to seize upon the frigate, and thus place at the disposal of the republicans a good vessel of war.—*Life*, p. 14.

Here is the treacherous pirate ready formed, the incipient filibuster, and the dishonoured felon. Mazzini was bent on the ruin of Charles Albert, and in this way was the work to be done. Garibaldi enters the navy—not to serve the king, but to serve Mazzini ; and, perfectly careless of the honour of a sailor, conspires against his sovereign and corrupts the crew of the frigate. The dagger given to Gallenga by the hands of Sciandra is but the complement of the perfidy that sent Garibaldi into the naval service of Charles Albert for so foul a purpose.

The revolution failed at this time ; Garibaldi and Mazzini ran for their lives, and, under feigned names, escaped from justice. The former was detected in a public-house near Geneva, and the innkeeper, apparently, resolved to hand him over to the police. Garibaldi, however, won over the fellows who were drinking with him by singing one of Beranger's songs ; and, for the instruction of Mr. Gladstone, we will quote three lines of that abominable composition :—

Moi, qui ne crois qu'à des dieux indulgents,
Le verre en main, gaïement je me confie
Au Dieu des bonnes gens.

Obliged to run as far as he could from Savoy after this infamous rebellion, this unprincipled adventurer took refuge in the service of the Bey of Tunis. His admiring biographer gives

no details of this engagement, and we are left to the conjectures of common sense. The Bey of Tunis is not generally considered to be fond of Christians, and it is not likely that "a commission was offered" to Garibaldi upon other than the usual conditions; but whether the rule was relaxed in his favour, or whether he formally renounced the faith of Christ, is a matter on which we have no information. He seems, however, to have deserted the Bey; or, if he did not, his biographer must be held responsible for such inference through the vagueness with which he relates this passage in his hero's life.

After this, Garibaldi is found in South America,* apparently in the service of a rebel of the Mazzini stamp, who was then a prisoner, but who from out his prison, where he was awaiting judgment—if we understand the story right—"authorized" Garibaldi to act as a privateer, *alias* pirate, in Brazilian waters. With the help of men like himself, Garibaldi stole a fishing-boat, called it the "Mazzini," and before long surprised and captured a small trading-vessel, into which he removed his own crew, and scuttled the fishing-boat. Garibaldi was now on the broad sea, and gave vent to the following effusion, if we are to believe his biographer:—

I stretched out my arms with proud and happy emotions, and my lips burst forth into an eagle's cry from his highest eyrie. The boundless ocean was my empire, and I then took possession of it.—P. 19.

This piece of melodramatic rapture is probably an after-thought; but the fact of his being a pirate seems to be unquestionable, unless we doubt the assertions of his admiring friends. In the southern seas Garibaldi did what he pleased: he was under no restraints, owned no law, and was altogether beyond the pale of civilized life.

The biographer labours under a disease not uncommon among liberals of his stamp—that of mistiness and vagueness disguising itself under bombastic phraseology. We cannot therefore understand all we read. It seems, however, that Garibaldi once fought against the Portuguese, who lodged a bullet in his neck; that he and his companions were nearly falling into their hands, and were in great dread that the Portuguese

* The following extract from the *Quarterly Review* of June, 1849, supplies a startling incident, which the biographer either was ignorant of, or saw reason to ignore:—"His [Garibaldi's] first appearance in public life was as a sort of Guy Faux: he had planned a scheme for blowing up the opera-house at Genoa, while the king and his court were attending the performance. Escaping from justice, the culprit took refuge in South America."—No. CLXIX. p. 237.

"would treat them as pirates" (p. 23). By some means he got away, but fell into the power of Rosas, dictator of Buenos Ayres, by whom the stolen vessel was "confiscated." Garibaldi seems at this time to have been a prisoner on parole; for he was not in actual confinement; if so, he broke his word and ran away; but he was caught, brought back, and very sharply bound, so that he could not run away again. After two months of great suffering—so, at least, we are told—he was released; but on condition of quitting the country. He made his way to Monte Video, and there resumed his old piratical trade in behalf of the new republic of Rio Grande, then in rebellion against the Emperor of the Brazils. It is difficult to trace his history, but we find him stealing "three vessels of war on the lagoon of S. Catherine's," and receiving instructions from General Canabarro, a rebel who had made himself formidable in that part of the empire. At this time he is said to have married a Brazilian lady, who, however, seems to have had little of the woman about her; for we find her on board Garibaldi's piratical ship, behaving more like a marine virago than anything else. Let us hear the biographer once more:—

The republican rule at S. Catherine's had been marked by such excesses, that the people of the whole province were ready to repudiate their once welcome presence [*i. e.*, Garibaldi and his people, together with those who employed them]. One town, Imbrui, at the head of the lake, had revolted [*i. e.*, had returned to its allegiance], and Garibaldi was ordered by General Canabarro to "chastise" the city and surrounding country *with fire and the sword*. This cruel mandate awakened in the patriot's heart extreme disgust, *but he resolved to go*, believing he could stay excesses better than others. The result was such a scene of carnage, pillage, and debauchery, as harrowed Garibaldi's soul deeply.

As for the "disgust" and the "harrowed soul" of Garibaldi, we must take it solely on the trust of the writer's assertion; he gives us no proof of it. Garibaldi was not a rebel, nor a revolted subject: he was in the Brazils as a volunteer, a willing accomplice, following his vocation of brigand, apparently with much satisfaction. He was under no sort of obligation to mix himself up with the rebels of the South; and if he hated blood, he might have declined the service—but he did not: he gave up the town of Imbrui to carnage, pillage, and rapine; and, when he had so done, prepared for more murders, more pillage, and more infamy in the service he had chosen. In fact, he was a lawless and an unscrupulous desperado, fighting against the Emperor of the Brazils, who had never injured him, and with whom he had nothing to do. The man was a

man of blood from his youth ; and, whatever his occasional qualms of humanity, he was at home in the midst of these gratuitous slaughterings, utterly indifferent to the justice of the cause which he readily lent his hand to oppress and to crush.

Garibaldi seems to have spent many years in these congenial occupations, and to have returned to Europe on the breaking out of the revolutionary movement in 1848, when his services were again put at the disposal of Mazzini, who employed him in Rome, but who could not succeed in his nefarious schemes against the Holy See and the Catholic faith. Victor Emmanuel and the Emperor of the French made use of him afterwards in the war with Austria, but under a sort of protest, and carefully abstaining from soiling themselves more than was necessary by contact with their disreputable ally. We all know how he finally rebelled against the former, and received a shot in the leg for his pains ; but the enemies of the Church only took him up with the more fervent zeal, sent him money, lavished pity on him, and tried to persuade themselves that he was a great man, noble, heroic, and good. He profited by the delusion to accept the sweet homage paid to him under this new and imaginary character ; and his masters having sent for him into this country, of course he came, to play the part assigned to him—perhaps, a little to overplay it—before the English people, whom the revolutionary gang is glad to use for its purposes, but whom it despises in its heart, because they are not as yet, at least, thank God ! thoroughly initiated in the iniquities of the masonic conspiracy.

Some people have said that he was brought over in the interest of the ministry of Lord Palmerston, compromised by the conduct of Mr. Stansfeld, Lord of the Admiralty, whom the police of the Emperor of the French had detected as the medium by which certain conspirators communicated with their chief. Be that as it may, the rebel whom Victor Emmanuel had wounded and let loose again, came to see the English with whom he had corresponded, and from whom he had received help both in men and money.*

* Mr. Attwood, who attended a lecture, read by Holyoake, "the living prince of English secularists," says, "The evening of this lecture was September 30, 1860. A thousand volunteers had recently left England to join Garibaldi. Holyoake concluded with advocating the fund raised for their support, so as to exempt them from the imputation of being mercenaries. He seemed by what he said to have had a chief share in kindling English sympathy, and promoting English concurrence with the 'hero of the age.' How far, I inquired, for I did not know then, are Garibaldi's sentiments the same as

From his prison at Varignano, the crippled brigand wrote a long letter to the British nation, and the British nation is now, we should hope, a little ashamed of its shameless correspondent. That letter has acquired another sort of notoriety,* and as it is in itself not altogether to be disregarded, we think we shall do our readers a pleasure if we insert it here. It was probably the composition, not of Garibaldi, but of the conspirators who make use of him. It may have been written in London; for it is worthy of observation that the letter is dated September 28th—that is, Sunday—and that it was professedly conveyed to London, translated, and printed before six o'clock on Thursday morning. We give it as we find it in the *Times* of Friday, October 3rd, 1862:—

“Suffering under repeated blows, both moral and physical, a man can more exquisitely feel both good and ill, hurl a malediction at the authors of evil, and consecrate to his benefactors unlimited gratitude and affection.

“And I owe you gratitude, O English nation! and I feel it as much as my soul is capable of feeling it. You were my friend in my good fortune, and you will continue your precious friendship to me in my adversity. May God bless you! My gratitude is all the more intense, O kind nation! that it rises high above all individual feeling, and becomes sublime in the universal sentiment towards nations of which you represent the progress. Yes, you deserve the gratitude of the world, because you offer a safe shelter to the unfortunate from whatever side they may come, and you identify yourself with the misfortunes of others you pity and help. The French or Neapolitan exile finds refuge in your bosom against tyranny. He finds sympathy and aid because he is an exile, because he is unfortunate. The Haynaus, the iron executioners of autocrats, will not be supported by the soil of your free country; they will fly from the tyrannicidal anger of your generous sons.

“And what should we be in Europe without your dignified behaviour!

Holyoake's, anti-Christian, not merely revolutionary?”—*Stromata Pro-Catholica*, p. 138.

* On Trinity Sunday, His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop referred in a pastoral to this letter, and, in particular, to that part of it which relates to the “Goddess Reason.” The very newspapers which had published that letter in October, 1862, had the effrontery to charge the Cardinal Archbishop with forgery! The *Daily News* said, “He,” that is, the Cardinal, “has furnished bigoted Protestants with another striking instance of that dogmatic weakness of garbling texts, and falsifying evidence, and dressing up odious inventions. . . . We cannot find the words, ‘the Goddess Reason,’ or ‘the ruins of the Temple of Reason,’ in any part of the address.” The *Times* also wrote thus: “Having hit upon an unlucky paragraph addressed by the General two years ago, he,” that is, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, “inserts a word or two to make it suit his purpose, and then feigns a transport of pious horror at our impiety in doing honour to such a reprobate.” The *Daily News* and the *Times* have since been compelled to confess their error. The latter expressed regret: but the former does not seem to have perceived the necessity of this act of common justice.

Autocracy can strike her exiled ones in other countries where only a bastard freedom is enjoyed—where freedom is but a lie. But let one seek for it on the sacred ground of Albion. I, like so many others, seeing the cause of justice oppressed in so many parts of the world, despair of all human progress. But when I turn my thoughts to you, I find tranquillity from your steady and fearless advancement towards that end to which the human race seems to be called by Providence.

“Follow your path undisturbed, O unconquered nation! and be not backward in calling sister nations on the road of human progress. Call the French nation to co-operate with you. You are both worthy to walk hand in hand in the front rank of human improvement. But call her! In all your meetings let the words of concord of the two great sisters resound. Call her! Call her in every way with your own voice, and with that of her great exiles—with that of her Victor Hugo, the hierophant of sacred brotherhood. Tell her that conquests are to-day an aberration, the emanation of insane minds. And why should we conquer foreign lands when we must all be brothers! Call her, and do not care if she is for the moment under the dominion of the Spirit of Evil. She will answer in due time, if not to-day, to-morrow, and, if not to-morrow, she will later answer to the sound of your generous and regenerating words. Call, and at once, Helvetia's strong sons and clasp them for ever to your heart. The warrior sons of the Alps—the Vestals of the sacred fire of freedom in the European Continent, they will be yours! And what allies! Call the great American Republic. She is, after all, your daughter, risen from your bosom; and, however she may go to work, she is struggling to-day for the abolition of slavery so generously proclaimed by you. Aid her to come out from the terrible struggle in which she is involved by the traffickers in human flesh. Help her, and then make her sit by your side, in the great assembly of nations, the final work of human reason. Call unto you such nations as possess free will, and do not delay a day. The initiative that to-day belongs to you might not be yours to-morrow. May God avert this! Who more bravely took the initiative than France in '89? She, who in that solemn moment gave to the world the Goddess Reason, levelled tyranny to the dust, and consecrated free brotherhood between nations. After almost a century she is reduced to combat the liberty of nations, to protect tyranny, and to direct her efforts to steady, on the ruins of the temple of Reason, that hideous, immoral monstrosity—the Papacy. Rise, therefore, O Britannia! and lose no time. Rise with uplifted brow and point out to other nations the road to follow. War would no longer be possible where a world's Congress would judge of the differences arisen between nations. No more standing armies, with which freedom is incompatible! Away with shells and iron plating! Let spades and reaping machines come forth; let the millions spent in destructive implements be employed to encourage industry and to diminish the sum of human misery. Begin, O English people! for the love of God begin the great era of the human compact, and benefit present generations with so great a gift.

“Besides Switzerland, Belgium, and others that will rise at your call, you will see other nations, urged on by the good sense of their populations, rush to your embrace and unite in one. Let London be at the present time the

seat of the Congress, in due course to be chosen by mutual understanding and general consent. I repeat to you, may God bless you, and may He amply repay you for the benefits you have showered upon me.

“With gratitude and affection, yours,

“Varignano, Sept. 28.

“G. GARIBALDI.”

On Sunday the 3rd of April of this present year, that portion of the British nation which assumes to be the whole of it, went out of its ordinary course of folly into an extravagant and hideous act of lunacy. On that memorable day, this man of violence and blood, this notorious pirate and filibuster, traitor and rebel, whose life was forfeit to the justice he had outraged, set his foot on English soil in the town of Southampton. He made his way by sea into this country from the island of Caprera, but for what purpose, and for whose benefit, nobody will clearly explain. There is as much mystery about the causes of his coming as there is about many portions of his life; and his own utterances are so ambiguous that no certain meaning can be extracted from them, even if it were worth while to study the language of a man who has none that is self-prompted, because he is nothing but an instrument and a tool—a wind instrument and an edge tool—in the hands of others, who, having brains of their own, congratulate themselves on the evident fact that he has none.

But before the pirate quitted the ship that carried him, two factions were disputing for the possession of his person, so as to have the exclusive right of keeping him, or rather of showing him to a wondering and excited crowd. On board the *Ripon*, poor Garibaldi was the sport of two contending factions, unable to decide between them. At one time he resigned himself to one party, and when that party left him to himself, he was seized upon by the other; and his last promise was recalled to make way for a fresh one, according to the desires of those who extorted it.

The two rival powers contending for the person of Garibaldi were, apparently, the extreme Liberals and the respectable Whigs; the former claimed him as a brother, the latter would seize upon him in order to keep him within the restraints of civilized life. The Liberals were the more energetic, for they boarded the *Ripon* out at sea, and at once secured the man for themselves. But as the vessel drew near Southampton, the Duke of Sutherland rushed on board, and making his way through the frantic liberals, effected an entrance, not without a struggle, into the cabin of the great filibuster. The duke probably represented the ministers of the Queen, and was therefore more than a match for the obscure fanatics, who

had appropriated the idol when there were none present to resist their claims. Garibaldi yielded to the duke, and there was a storm on board: he withdrew his promise, and fell back on his previous contract with the revolutionary horde that had come for him as for its own. The duke plied him again, and while the vessel was making its way into port, Garibaldi, bereft of his guides, was tossed to and fro utterly helpless and incapable of making a choice. At last the Whigs triumphed, or rather the vessel came to an anchor at the moment when the solicitations of the Duke of Sutherland had prevailed.

The mayor of Southampton now claimed the honoured rebel for his prize, and conveyed him to his private residence; from which, on Monday, April 4th, he drove him to the town hall, and there in a speech of most extravagant and offensive character "introduced him to the people." The mayor said that "in the cottage, as in the mansion and the palace, the conduct of Garibaldi was the theme of universal admiration;" that he looked upon him "as a king among men, a king uncrowned;" and then, turning to Garibaldi, who professes no religion, and who is a devout worshipper of the Goddess Reason, expressed his belief that the bandit before him would one day "wear a crown that is imperishable, and one that will never fade." The mayor in his own person was silly, but in conjunction with the corporation he was something more. The town council of Southampton had, on the 25th of March, signed and sealed an address to the hero, for whose "public and private character" they had "a profound respect." This address was presented to a man who was a notorious rebel, whose whole life had been one of savage resistance to lawful authority, and of whose deeds in the southern seas few would venture to speak. But all this time the defeated Liberals were not idle. In their rage and disappointment they never lost sight of their object. They held meetings in London, hurried deputations to and fro, and denounced "the sinister influences" which had carried their idol into isolation: Garibaldi was "in trammels," and it was their business to remove him out of the dangerous society into which he had been deluded. They were successful; for as soon as Garibaldi was let loose in the Isle of Wight, with his friend Mr. Seely, M.P. for Lincoln, he returned at once to his proper senses, and acknowledged the authority of his lawful masters. Mazzini, therefore, went down to see his agent, and from that day forward Garibaldi was safe against all the blandishments of the respectable Whigs: he was in the hands of his proper keeper. In the Isle of Wight he remained till Monday, April 11th; on that day he made his triumphant entry into London, preceded and followed by

the emblems of sedition ; he himself in his red shirt, an unmistakeable token of the spirit in which he came, and of the meaning of those who brought him into this country. It is no secret, and, if it were, it would be of service to none to conceal it, that Garibaldi was invited hither to serve political purposes of some kind or other ; and that he was, as he always has been, a passive instrument played upon by men who are cleverer than he.

The revolutionary committee, which was for a moment beaten by the higher attractions of the Duke of Sutherland fraternizing with the red republicans, was now in clear possession of the field, and the address of the working men, which was presented to the buccaneer at the Nine Elms station, proclaimed the victory so hardly won. The British workmen—or rather, certain turbulent spirits who claim to speak for them—gave Garibaldi “the first place in their heart,” and the second, we suppose, to “the illustrious Joseph Mazzini.” This name of ill-omen was received with enthusiasm, as it well might be ; for it would have been the height of inconsistency and injustice to admire Garibaldi without recognizing the merits of the master who owns him.

The triumphal procession that escorted the pirate, in his red shirt, from the railway station to Stafford House, was a serious failure, artistically viewed. It was at once grotesque and absurd : there was neither grace nor dignity about it ; it was neither grave nor joyous, but something like the uneasy reeling of a man half-drunk, who will not admit the absence of his reason. It was the procession that preludes a revolution. Those who allowed themselves the gratification of an improper curiosity, admitted that they were not serious, and that they considered the whole affair to be in the highest degree ridiculous : nevertheless they had not the decency to stay at home, but by swelling the crowd in the streets, contributed to the spread of a delusion which is one of the most dishonouring that has for a long time possessed the people of this country. It was night when the bird of prey entered the portals of Stafford House, where the Duke of Sutherland, without shame, received him with that outward show of reverence with which he might have received—had she gone to his house—the Queen of England herself.

The next day, Tuesday, showed a depth of abjection at which simple men looked aghast : the Duchess Dowager of Sutherland, for many years the friend of the widowed Queen, received the filibuster at Cliswick, and treated him as if he were a sovereign prince. At her request “he planted a cedar on the lawn, in front of the house, to commemorate his visit.”

He had done as much for the Poet Laureate, in the Isle of Wight. If Garibaldi were not too dull to appreciate a jest, this humiliation of the duchess and her family must have given him some consolation: the nobles of England were at his feet: they had sunk to a lower depth than even the nobles of Piedmont, or Victor Emmanuel himself.

The masters and owners of Garibaldi having tolerated this visit to Chiswick, where but one or two of them were allowed to appear, now took their revenge, and began to show to the respectable Whigs what they had determined themselves to do. On his way back to town from Chiswick, the great filibuster was driven in the carriage of the Duke of Sutherland to Thurloe Square, Brompton, where he paid a formal and ceremonious visit to Mr. Stansfeld, whose house had been for years the place at which Mazzini and the Mazzinians found their letters. Mr. Stansfeld was under a cloud, having been compelled to resign his place in the government; for, after much blustering, and even shuffling, Lord Palmerston had found himself unable to protect him; and all Mr. Gladstone's sophistry had failed to obscure a plain question of common decency and honour, notwithstanding the deep interest the government had in shielding one of its members from the penal consequences of what his friends call imprudence, but to which others have given a different name.

However, it was not the policy of the revolutionary faction to break altogether with the respectable Whigs, but only to exhibit its power; and so, having shown them what they could do, they left Garibaldi at Stafford House, where he comported himself—no doubt, according to instructions received—with the independence of a bailiff's man in possession. On Tuesday he had called upon Lord Palmerston, and the prime minister of the Queen right graciously received him. On the Wednesday he called upon Lord Russell, her Majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs. These two trusted servants of the Crown were not ashamed to welcome the rebel who had made war upon his own sovereign, with whom England is at peace, and whose life had been spared but a few months before from the halter which he had deserved by sedition and by levying troops without authority.

There was another humiliation prepared for this country on that Wednesday: the Duke of Sutherland gave a dinner in solemn form to the filibuster, who was then and there to receive the respectful homage of the great English notables. The Whig peers were present, of course; for they were compelled to eat the dirt which they had provided for themselves. The Conservative party was in no way bound to fear or to honour

Garibaldi, and some men hoped that none belonging to it would disgrace themselves by any act of mean condescension. But, unhappily, the disappointment was keen and bitter: to his great shame, and to the shame, undeserved, of his party, Lord Derby's name is found among the Whigs and Liberals who bowed in pitiable abjection before this disciple of Mazzini. It was a grievous and a terrible blow, and one that his party feels and will feel for years to come, because it reveals a want of earnestness and a misconception of principle so deplorable, as to make people distrust Lord Derby for the future, and even to suspect the men who regard him as their leader. His presence at the feast in honour of the Italian buccaneer, added nothing to the value of that demonstration, in itself, but it ministered a deep and secret joy to the Whigs, for they had succeeded in dragging their formidable opponent down to the abyss of degradation into which, by their own folly or worse, they had themselves so disreputably fallen.

On Thursday morning, April 14th, Garibaldi made a formal protest against the theory of respectability which had been so studiously invented for him, but which is unsuitable alike to his nature and his ends. He paid a visit to Mazzini; but the scribes in the interest of the government, influenced, perhaps, by some little feeling of shame, concealed the fact by giving Mazzini the name of France; as if a fact so significantly important could be long hidden from the world. In the evening a fresh insult was offered to the Queen, for her representative in Ireland, the lord-lieutenant—none other than the Earl of Carlisle—was one of the guests at Stafford House, and sat at table with the red republican. On Friday, Mr. Panizzi, as was natural, entertained the rebel at the British Museum.

Saturday, the 16th, had been set apart for a grand festival at the Crystal Palace, and preparations had been made for an enormous crowd, which never came—for, in truth, the mass of the people cared nothing for Garibaldi, except as a lion, and the lion had been seen already, and seen cost free. But the filibuster, early that morning, had gone first to Barclay's brewery in Southwark, to thank the workmen of that establishment for the cowardly insult once offered to an Austrian general. The crafty men who had the management of Garibaldi, were very careful to omit nothing on their part; and it must be admitted that they did their work well. In the afternoon Garibaldi arrived at Sydenham, accompanied in the carriage by the Duke of Sutherland and Lord Shaftesbury, the two noblemen who have most disgraced themselves by the regularity of their attendance upon this man. "It had been raining almost throughout his journey to the Palace, but the general

refused to have the carriage closed, and enjoyed his cigar the whole way." This indifference to the comfort of his two noble companions may have been nothing more than a proof of ill-breeding on his part; but it must have given a grim pleasure—that comfortless drive in the pelting rain—to any one who had the slightest sense of the humorous and the absurd.

In the Crystal Palace, the Italian committee—as the revolutionists call themselves—presented their puppet with an address, and received an answer which did not give very great satisfaction to those respectable people who thought they had Garibaldi safe in their own hands. The answer, no doubt, was framed by the persons who drew up the address, and it would be unjust to Garibaldi to accuse him of indiscretion. In fact, at that moment he was not free to commit any; the indiscretion was, no doubt, deliberate, and had a meaning, such as the authors would not disavow, though they might think it more prudent not to explain it themselves. In the answer of Garibaldi to the Italian committee, we have these words:—

The English people assisted us in our war in Southern Italy, and even now the hospitals of Naples are supplied from the abundance sent to us from this country. I speak from what I know, that the Queen and the Government of England, represented by Lord Palmerston, Lord Russell, and Mr. Gladstone, have done a wonderful deal for our native Italy. If it had not been for this country we should still have been under the yoke of the Bourbons at Naples. If it had not been for Admiral Mundy, I should never have been permitted to pass the Straits of Messina.*

In addition to this revelation of the use to which the English fleet had been put, the Queen was shamelessly insulted; for the authors of this speech contrived that Garibaldi should call the sovereign of these kingdoms the "dear Queen"—"*cara Regina*." It was bad enough that Garibaldi should be received with the acclamations of an English mob, but to all right-feeling people, and loyal subjects, this outrage is beyond endurance. The Queen's name, at least, might have been respected, for she does not deserve to be called "dear" by a man of Garibaldi's repute, habits of life, and occupation.

In the evening of this day the filibuster dined with Lord Palmerston, who is the first Lord of the Treasury, and the first servant of the Crown—the man in whose hands is the honour of England, and who is specially bound to see that no harm is done to that honour.

On Sunday morning came the dreaded crisis. Great efforts

* *The Observer*, quoted in the *Tablet* of April 23, 1864.

were made to conceal the fact ; for the respectable people were now at their last shift : Garibaldi had been made to show the contempt which his owners feel for the decent mediocrities whose horses and carriages were put at his disposal. The official announcement was made in these words—for Garibaldi had all his movements recorded daily like those of the Queen :—

At half-past ten o'clock Garibaldi left Stafford House for Teddington, returning to London at half-past two o'clock.

This mysterious excursion into the country on Sunday morning exercised the wits of many curious people, till the secret was revealed. Garibaldi, ostentatiously careless of the reverence of his English friends for the English Sunday, went down to Teddington, to the house of a Russian refugee (to use the mildest term), where he was to meet, and where he did meet, Mazzini. The dark leader of Italian patriots, and the unwearied conspirator of Europe, compromised in so many plots, but never caught, because always at a safe distance from all danger, went down also to Teddington ; and there the master and his familiar embraced ; there they drank each other's health, and otherwise comported themselves as became two such men—sworn enemies of the Christian faith. There Garibaldi, either prompted by others, or giving expression to his own thoughts, proclaimed his allegiance to Mazzini, whom he called his "guide and counsellor," his "friend and teacher," thereby tearing away the last shred of the thin mask which the Liberals had given him to wear. Yes, Mazzini, the man whom Englishmen profess to loathe, and whose practices they energetically denounce, was at Teddington publicly acknowledged as the guide and counsellor of Garibaldi, the honoured guest of Stafford House, and the idol of the noble members of her Majesty's government.

But at the very hour when Garibaldi and Mazzini were pledging each other over their wine-cups, expansive in their mirth and unreserved in their mutual confidence, a strange and unlooked-for event was at hand. The general was about to leave England. On this very day, Mr. Fergusson the surgeon, by laborious meditation on the buccaneer's habits, discovered danger to his health if he did not return forthwith to Caprera. Some people, indeed, said that the sympathetic Whigs wished to get rid of their indiscreet guest, finding that he had become too unmanageable to prove a profitable friend ; others, that the Sardinian minister was clamorous for his removal ; others, that the Emperor of the French had insisted on the English government ejecting the Italian rebel. Moreover, Mr. Shaen, a zealous Garibaldian, at a meeting of working men on Prim-

rose Hill, openly maintained that there had been "a plot," and promised future revelations. But men in whose assertions we have been used to place the most perfect reliance declared, and have persevered in declaring, that the alleged reason was the true one—the delicate state of the General's health, on which excitement and late hours were telling with dangerous effect; yet, strange to say, the General himself, the best judge in the matter, had no such apprehensions; neither had his own medical attendant, who wrote a letter to the newspapers formally to contradict the stories that were propagated against the perfect soundness, in wind and limb, of England's precious guest. But so, however, it was to be: Garibaldi was to leave England in a week; and it only remains for us to chronicle the remaining circumstances of this inauspicious visit.

A "meeting of a few friends" was held at Stafford House on the Tuesday, at which it was determined to "secure a permanent income" for Garibaldi, "and his family after him;" and on the same day the sight-seers of London were admitted into Mr. Seely's house to behold the object of their senseless admiration. Garibaldi sat in his bedroom, while the well-dressed mob defiled before him; he, however, never rose from his seat, and English gentlemen and English ladies took this want of common courtesy as a token—if not of what Lord Shaftesbury called "his simplicity of character and modesty of demeanour"—at least of the sense he entertained of his own native dignity. Any how they deserved the insult. Ladies offered him bouquets, which he threw carelessly on the bed, but which he took up again whenever a lady came in without that graceful tribute of reverence, and thrust into the empty hand by way of teaching her the proper way of coming into the presence of a man like him. However, the grand subscription so ostentatiously commenced, was probably never undertaken in earnest; for the moment it was ascertained that Garibaldi had crossed the Bay of Biscay, the committee were informed—by whom it does not appear—that the General would accept no money from them. The truth is that the subscription was a miserable failure, and the scheme, if persisted in, would have brought an additional weight of ridicule upon the heads of its promoters. Garibaldi's wants may be few, but he is not ignorant of the value of money; neither is he so disinterested as the committee represents him; for a more thorough-going liberal declares that, though he declines, or is made to decline, the money of the Stafford House Committee, he readily accepts the contributions of another committee which does not profess to be so respectable.

Garibaldi was now the guest of Mr. Seely, and from his house on Tuesday night he went to the opera, dressed, as usual, in the red shirt, horrible symbol of lawlessness. The people who were present received him with delight ; and when the singers uttered the words of profanation, in the shameless song, called *La Garibaldina*—

O Garibaldi, nostro Salvator—

“ the plaudits were so deafening ” that the preacher of the Goddess Reason “ was forced to come out of his retreat and acknowledge the compliment thus directly paid him.” The scribe who reports this fearful blasphemy, not in the slightest degree shocked at the enormity of the sacrilege, thus continues :—

The instant the refrain, “ O Garibaldi, nostro salvator,” was heard, the audience accompanied it by almost unanimous clapping of hands ; and as the melody, while bold and masterly, is simple and easy to be retained, many of them joined audibly in its delivery, adding their voices, more eager and ambitious than correct, to the vocal strength upon the stage.

Surely the audience in the theatre must have been beside itself ; but great crowds when under the influence of excitement are commonly beside themselves. We know of one mob “ the greater part of whom knew not for what cause they were come together,” but had both enthusiasm and lungs sufficient to “ cry out, all with one voice, for about two hours’ space, ‘ Great is Diana of the Ephesians ! ’ ” The greater part of mankind know not “ what they do ; ” it was the plea put up for His murderers by the true Saviour of men. In the crowd which impiously hailed Garibaldi by one of the titles of our Lord, we see renewed the spirit that gave utterance to the “ Crucify Him,” and “ Not this man, but Barabbas.” The devil and devil-prompted malignity suggest the cry, but it is most charitable to believe that in the greater part it is blind and misguided ignorance that takes it up.

On Wednesday, April 20th, the city of London, which in all ages, at least since the Conquest, has been pre-eminent for the absurdity of its extra-official acts, went out of its way to exhibit its folly in behalf of the filibuster, who was to receive the honorary freedom which it decrees to illustrious foreigners and natives. It gave Kossuth a sword ; and on this day it fell down upon its knees and worshipped Garibaldi, whom it pronounced to be “ the most brave, generous, and disinterested of patriots.” When the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and common councillors had assembled in the Guildhall, Garibaldi entered amid the plaudits of the crowd, and was addressed by the Chamberlain of the City in language which we can only characterize as that of stark insanity. “ We are well aware,”

said Mr. Scott, "that no one shrinks more sensitively than yourself from the voice of eulogy." This was addressed to the man who the night before had sat, in his red shirt, in a conspicuous seat, to hear himself praised as "Garibaldi our Saviour," and who had not manifested any disrelish for the incense offered him in that vile song. Mr. Scott—who, by the way, relieves the drudgery of his office in the City by preaching, what he calls "the gospel," in the open air, whenever the weather is fine—then proceeded to exalt the Sardinian rebel as one who has "an earnest craving for the reign of peace, brotherhood, and freedom, manifesting faith in the world's future, in humanity, and in God:" his "craving for peace" meaning, in fact, a craving for war, and his faith in humanity being a faith in a million muskets, for which humanity must pay, and in paying perish. Garibaldi's friends in this country have been singularly reticent about the past history of their idol, and it is something like an indiscretion in the Chamberlain of London, when he alludes to the piratic exploits of the new citizen. Mr. Scott, however, does not censure those exploits; on the contrary, he seems to consider "honour among thieves" to be a cloak for all transgressions. Garibaldi, he tells us, did not defraud the crew he commanded, and he lacks words wherein to express his admiration of that species of honesty. "What shall I say," he asks, addressing his hero, "of the magnanimity which distributed the spoils of war, and of prize money on the ocean, to the most needy of your companions?" We might ask Mr. Scott what he would say of the magnanimity of the burglar who shares the plunder of the night with the needy co-partners of his guilty deed? Certainly it betokens an utter loss of moral sense in its lowest form, and an equal obtuseness to the vulgarest dicta of common sense, thus to magnify pirates and freebooters in the presence of merchants, bankers, ship-owners, and substantial tradesmen.

"History," continued Mr. Scott, "usually reproduces herself at intervals, more or less frequent, but we turn her pages in vain to meet with the prototype of Giuseppe Garibaldi: none but himself can be his parallel. We find, Sir, no counterpart to your career," &c. Mr. Scott, no doubt, was literally correct when he made this pompous statement, but in any other sense it is notoriously untrue. The Taeping chiefs in China are so many varieties, or likenesses, or parallels of Garibaldi, who is a portent in our age; but other ages have not been without men of this sort.* Nei-

* Père Bougeant, "*Histoire des Guerres et Negociations qui précédèrent*

ther ought he to have forgotten General Walker, the American filibuster, whose heroic career the English government helped to cut short for fewer breaches of the law than are justly laid at the door of Garibaldi, the admired guest of the nation. But, as we have said, there is a sense in which the Chamberlain's bombastic jargon is not destitute of truth; for there are no two men exactly alike, either in their physical or their moral aspects. The countless leaves of the forest are all varieties, for no two are alike; but that is not the sense intended by Mr. Scott, who meant to say that Garibaldi was of an excellence unapproachable, and of a character without example.*

We leave Mr. Scott and the Corporation of London for the house of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, where what is called "a distinguished party" assembled in honour of the great brigand. Mr. Gladstone is a "friend of Italy," and is the statesman—with sorrow we say it—who has contributed the most towards the perversion of the public mind, with regard to the true character and aims of the revolutionary faction in that country. In early life he gave promise of better things, but the promise has not been fulfilled:—

Angelicus juvenis senibus Sathanizat in annis.

And yet the fact is an astounding one: the representative in Parliament of the University of Oxford, and the only man in the ministry upon whom the National Establishment has any claims, receives and honours the worshipper of "the Goddess Reason." But he is not alone in his degradation: he brings

le *Traité de Vestphalie*," vol. i. livr. ii. § 26, quotes from the *Mercure François* this description of Count Mansfeldt, an illegitimate son of Ernest de Mansfeldt, governor of the Low Countries:—"Chose étonnante qu'un homme qui n'a, pour ainsi dire, ni feu, ni lieu, ni argent, ni parents, ni religion—car il n'étoit ni Catholique ni Protestant déclaré—se fasse ainsi également redouter et rechercher par toutes les puissances de l'Europe." This type of Garibaldi afflicted the world in the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, and was also a favourite of the people of Venice, as well as an enemy of the house of Austria.

* There was in Flanders in the fourteenth century one Jacob Peil, who seems to have been a prototype of Garibaldi:—"Proditor callidissimus et hæreticus pessimus, qui optabat non esse nisi unum sacerdotem et illum in iere suspensum: nam et ipse tanquam incredulus ecclesiam non intrabat, et modo inaudito atque tyrannico viros ecclesiasticos persequabatur, et ipsos omnes a patria expulisset, bonis eorum primo confiscatis, nisi justo Dei judicio in Houtidota per Furnenses occisus: et postmodum, licet fatui populares eum tanquam sanctum adorarent, diabolo ipsos seducente, per judicium prælatorum omnium vicinorum et domini Morinensis diocesani episcopi, tanquam pessimus hæresiarcha igne concrematus."—*Theat. Anecd. iii. col. 429*. The mob seems to have been as silly—*fatui populares*—in Flanders as it is now in England, when it takes as its model of all that is great and noble a man like Garibaldi.

the Protestant bishops down with him to the abyss ; for among the throng brought together in honour of the filibuster—who has thrown all religion aside, who invites the nations to imitate revolutionary France, and, in effect, to abandon Christianity, and who called on the people of Stockholm to “melt down church bells and cannons into productive machinery”—were the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, the Bishops of Oxford, London, and Gloucester, with the Deans of Westminster and Wells ; the Dean of St. Paul’s had done homage elsewhere that morning. These personages were not ashamed to exhibit themselves before the world as the friends and admirers of the man who on the Sunday before had ostentatiously avoided all recognition of the holiness of the day, and had called Joseph Mazzini “his teacher and friend.”

On Thursday, April 21st, Garibaldi breakfasted at the Reform Club, and there Lord Ebury is reported to have used these words :—

It was, therefore, General, our first act, when we heard of your great deeds, to offer up thanksgiving to the great Almighty, that He had been pleased to raise up such a man to perform such deeds.

If Lord Ebury had not told us of this devotional act of the English Whigs and Radicals, we confess we should have discredited the fact of their liberalism taking so pious a turn ; but as Lord Ebury has said it of course it must be so—unless, indeed, it be after all but an official mode of speech, as meaningless as the formula, “And your petitioners will ever pray ;” said petitioners never having the slightest thought of doing anything of the kind.

In the evening of this day the filibuster dined in the city as the guest of the Company of Fishmongers, the Prime Warden of which mentioned “a circumstance to the credit” of Garibaldi “not generally known,” he believed, and which had come under his notice last year when in Naples. “The General,” he said, “when Dictator, had presented a site in that city, worth about £2,000, on which to build an English church.” Really it would seem as if some people’s sense of honesty and justice did not extend beyond the area of Great Britain ; they appear incapable of recognising and applying the commonest principles of equity when they are once off English ground, and have got beyond the reach of that which represents their conscience—English law. Garibaldi stole that land as surely as any thief in London steals another man’s watch. The land was not his, never was his, and he had no right to give it away. If this Prime Warden of the Fishmongers had been the owner of the site so given, it is not altogether unreasonable

to suppose that he would have taken a different view of that transaction, and of Garibaldi's generosity. At the same time, and in the same place, Lord Shaftesbury described Garibaldi "as a man who represented in himself all the virtues and qualities that adorned human nature, and who combined the loftiest and most disinterested patriotism with a simplicity of character and a modesty of demeanour never yet united in one single man." But it is not worth anybody's while to make any observations upon what Lord Shaftesbury may please to say.

On Friday morning, April 22nd, the buccaneer was to leave London on his way to Caprera, and people were glad to think that if some of the more conspicuous noblemen and gentlemen of England had tarnished their honour in the general madness, the royal family at least had escaped the plague. But it was not so to be; on that day the future sovereign of England paid a visit to the red republican, and the heir of kings descended to the level of the mob. As there was no propriety in the act—but very much the reverse—so was there no state-necessity (as politicians say) that the Prince of Wales should thus demean himself before the idol of democracy and the enemy of law; nothing to warrant so strange a compliment and so unprecedented an act of condescension. It may have been, we should be glad to think, only a sudden whim, a freak of youthful indiscretion; but if, in after times—which may heaven forefend—the son of our honoured Queen have to deal with treason or rebellion, he will derive scant consolation from the recollection of his visit of homage to the red shirt, whose ominous hue received its first consecration in the blood of kings and nobles. Many people heard with shame and vexation that on the roll of the freemen of London, the name of Garibaldi stands written next to that of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; but the bad taste of the Mayor and Aldermen of London need distress them no longer. The prince, unhappily, has dispensed them from any feeling of concern on his account.

Not so as respects his royal mother; *she* took no part in this mad drama, but remained in dignified separation from an exhibition in which those who were more immediately bound to her were not ashamed to figure. One crowning act of impertinence, however, has still to be recorded, and that was committed on Saturday, the day after the "private and friendly" visit of the Prince. Garibaldi was taken by two ladies—Duchesses—to the royal farm in Windsor Park. No insult, doubtless, was intended on the part of such high personages; it was but one more trait of that gross discourtesy

which is not unfrequently displayed in moments of party frenzy by the most polished and refined. Anyhow it will not hurt her Majesty; and all the disgrace attaches to the nation in which these shameless deeds were so shamelessly done.

It may be that curiosity was a more potent feeling than admiration with many of those who went to see the wounded rebel of Aspromonte. English ladies, especially, will do and suffer a great deal for the gratification of their curiosity, if the object of it be a notorious man—the more criminal he may be, the greater the interest—and they are too apt to look at such objects—of horror to all religious minds—through the lens of their own imagination. The object of their worship is not so much the actual man before them, as a creature with a character which they have invented for themselves, and who becomes to them for the time the personification of all that is chivalrous and grand. Yet even thus their ideal lacks all the elements of moral greatness, and Garibaldi is but the school-girl's corsair in a revolutionary dress.

The readers of the "Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs. Delany" will remember that some of the most estimable and religious-minded ladies of her time thought themselves honoured in being the personal friends and correspondents of Rousseau; not, as the editor remarks, that they "adopted his opinions," but that they "were impressed with the idea that he was a *superior being*."* Even Voltaire seems to have inspired them rather with a sort of alarmed and wondering curiosity than with disgust and abhorrence. He also was in their eyes "a superior being." This bad man, the enemy of all virtue, was received in Paris in the year 1778 just as Garibaldi was received in London in 1864. There was a like enthusiasm, and a like ignoring of the claims of justice and honour. There was, moreover, a like marked repugnance on the part of the sovereign to sanction in any way the honour paid to the enemy of Christ and His religion; and a like disregard on the part of an otherwise loyal and devoted court to their sovereign's feelings and wishes, and that, too, although the large majority, it may be believed, did not share the scoffing philosopher's unbelief. Men applauded Voltaire who did not approve of his opinions; and men have gone after Garibaldi who reserve to themselves a like liberty of dissent from the principles he represents; but in both cases the effect is the same, and the issue none may tell. In the Italian Opera Garibaldi was hailed as "*Nostro Salvatore*" amidst the applause of the assembled crowd; and so in Paris, one M. de la

* Vol. V., p. 272.

Dixmerie wrote a sonnet, in which he called Voltaire "Le Seigneur." Nations are seized with fits of temporary insanity or moral obliquity. They set up hideous objects for their veneration, and the end of the ceremony is too often in blood.

Garibaldi in himself is powerless, for he is but meagrely endowed with that common sense which is the general inheritance of men. But Garibaldi in the hands of those who use him is like a loaded gun. It is very rarely that he is permitted the free use of his tongue or his pen, for the letters and addresses published in his name are the work of others. If he had been permitted to speak untrammelled, the very mob which cheered him would have been soon disgusted with its idol. A deputation of the Evangelical Continental Society—whatever that may be—took him by surprise, when it had an interview with him after he left Stafford House. To that deputation he is reported to have replied, "In Italy the moral influence of the Papacy is extinct." If he had said no more, he might have obtained the cheap reputation of being a man of his age; but he added, "I do not say I am a Protestant, for if I did, the priests would raise the cry of heretic against me, and my influence would be gone." These two statements cannot both be true. If the moral influence of the Papacy were extinct, it could do him no harm to announce himself a Protestant or anything else; and, on the other hand, if the cry of heretic is still so potent, it is quite clear that Garibaldi fears the Pope—for without the Pope there is no heresy. And, by the way, strange hero this, who has not the moral courage openly to profess before the world what he believes or does not believe!

After all this talk, then, of heroism and liberty, it is the reign of brute force that is about to be inaugurated. If people give up religion, and think they can keep society together by the power of the sword in the hands of lawful authority, they will find themselves grievously mistaken. Garibaldi is the type, not of patriotism and liberty, but of violence and disorder; and in doing honour to him, men have proclaimed the principle of anarchy. The profession of a soldier would be degraded below the level of that of the common executioner, were it not for the sense of honour and fidelity which constitutes the genuine military spirit both in officers and men. All the world perceives instinctively that the degradation of the soldier is fatal, not only to the army of which he forms a part, but to the state in the service of which he is enrolled. The soldier's duty is obedience, and

his glory is in his fidelity. Well, Garibaldi, to whom England has accorded an ovation such as its greatest generals have never received, decreed honours to the memory, and rewards to the family, of a miserable soldier who fired upon the sovereign he served !

The fact is undeniable, let men try to ignore it as they may. The father of the king of the Two Sicilies was one day reviewing his troops, when a soldier, Agesilao Milano by name, took aim and fired at him with a loaded gun. Of this Milano, Garibaldi says that he performed an act of "heroism unrivalled;" and, to show his sense of that abominable deed, he ordered a pension of thirty ducats a month to be paid to his mother, and a dowry to each of his sisters.* Agesilao Milano, who was neither more nor less than a cowardly traitor and assassin, is the man singled out by Garibaldi for public admiration; and Garibaldi is the man whom English noblemen—including bishops and archbishops—delight to honour.

But so it is; and this visit of Garibaldi has brought out into clearer light the suspected corruption of public men, and the want of moral principle which disfigures too many of them. When Garibaldi came over to this country, Mr. Stansfeld, who had resigned his place in the government, feeling it hopeless to struggle further against the protest of the national conscience, recovered courage; and the public as well as the private entertainments which were furnished for the glory of the buccaneer were generally graced with the presence of the ex-lord of the Admiralty. On Whit-Tuesday something more was done: the constituents of that gentleman, who is the member for Halifax, presented him with a testimonial, apparently with a view to show that they did not share the bad impression created by the use to which he had put his house in Thurloe

* We copy the words of the decree from the *Tablet* of April 9th, 1864 :—

"Italy and Victor Emmanuel.

"The Dictator of South Italy, regarding as sacred to the country the memory of Agesilao Milano, who, with unrivalled heroism, immolated himself on the altar of his country to deliver it from the tyrant who was oppressing it,

"Decrees—

"Art. 1. A pension of 30 ducats per month is granted for her life to Maddalena Russo, mother of Milano, to date from the first of next October.

"Art. 2. To each of the sisters of the said Milano is granted a dowry of 2,000 ducats. This sum shall be paid into the public funds under the title of an inalienable endowment, and entered in the name of the said sisters during the course of next October.

"Art. 3. The Minister of Finance is charged with the execution of the present decree.

"Naples, 25th September, 1860.

(Signed)

"GARIBALDI."

Square. Mr. Stansfeld, in accepting the testimonial, made no secret of his dealings with the Italian conspirators, and told his constituents what the London newspapers had suppressed; for the public mind was not yet prepared to accept Mazzini as well as Garibaldi. He read out to them the speech of Garibaldi at Teddington in praise of Mazzini, and gloried in his friendship with a man for whose merit he could now present a great and honoured name as guarantee. Garibaldi, the impersonation of all that is noble in the eyes and dear to the hearts of Englishmen, and, in particular, of the men of Halifax, is the "fidus Achates" of Mazzini; and so the arch-conspirator deserves a share in the plaudits bestowed on his friend: there is no reason in the world why he, too, should not have a cheer from honest Englishmen; and "three cheers," accordingly, the men of Halifax gave for Mazzini, and the cheers, we are informed, were "enthusiastically given."

Well, then, it is now come to this:—The man of the dagger is no longer without the sympathy of Englishmen. Not that we would do the mass of our countrymen the injustice to believe that they have so far unlearned their old traditionary love of fair-play and open-handed dealing as to glorify the dastard who strikes in the dark, and give their enthusiastic cheers to the suborner of assassins, as such. No, he has been recommended to their sympathies as the friend and counsellor of one whom they have been taught to regard as a man of bold and determined courage, a gallant soldier, and a disinterested patriot. Garibaldi has been made to stand sponsor to Mazzini. Those manly feelings which have had their root in a noble and generous nature are still strong, we would fain believe, in the heart of our people. But we fear we cannot say as much of those who ought to be their leaders and guides. The almost total want of political probity, the absence of all hearty recognition of the true and the right as the rule of action, the grasping at every expedient, however mean, which may give access to the heights of power, the raising or taking up of any cry, however senseless, which may inflame the passions or flatter the prejudices of the multitude, so that it may but help to the attainment or secure the prolonged enjoyment of the sweets of office—such is the miserable spectacle presented to us by the politicians of our day. It is men of this stamp who degrade the public morality of a nation and precipitate it to its ruin. Corruption invariably proceeds from above: it is there that principles are formulated, and example acts most potently. How long will the unreflecting multitude continue to be actuated by good and right feelings when their rulers are doing their best to pervert and corrupt them? Already we fear that

the mischief has begun to work in the strata below, as yet, indeed, in a vague and undefined form, but none the less really. The English nation has been led to abandon its old traditions and make a hero of the marauder, and worse still, of the assassin. After all, the Italian freemason does not honour the assassin as an assassin, but as a patriot; the dagger is ennobled by the hand which wields it and the cause in which it is used. The rejected of other races have long been harboured in England, but it was as in a city of refuge to which the avenger of blood could not follow them. Now, however, it is no longer as a refugee but as an honoured guest that the man of the dagger, the shedder of blood, tarries amongst us.

This, then, is one of the ominous results of the visit of this man, Garibaldi, to our shores. It has led to one of those definite manifestations, one of those articulate expressions which fix the sentiment they record. Garibaldi's visit has brought out into open day the secret of men's thoughts, and we are not where we were before those thoughts had incorporated themselves in words. The demon of revolution has won another advanced post: what is the next step to be, and whither are we tending? Is it possible that we may yet see the knife become a domestic institution amongst us, despite the Englishman's hereditary antipathy to secret vengeance, and his attachment to the law, with all its forbearance and consideration for the accused? If things are to go on in their present course the words of the "French colonels" will not be misapplied, and we may yet see the City of London present a dagger to Mazzini. Europe has long been crying shame on this island for having become the lair of conspirators and the hiding-place of assassins, where they mature their plots for the murder of those whose life is an obstacle to the execution of their impious plans. But at least we ignored and almost apologized for their presence. Now we draw them forth from their obscurity, take them in our arms, and hold them up to general admiration. Hereafter it will be useless, in Parliament or out of Parliament, to express horror of plots or to denounce assassination. The honours paid to Garibaldi were paid really to Mazzini; and those who did homage to the freebooter are the moral accomplices of the sheik of the assassins.

ART. VI.—NEWMAN'S APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA.

A Correspondence on the Question "Whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue." London: Longman.

What, then, does Dr. Newman mean? A Reply to a Pamphlet lately published by Dr. Newman. By the Rev. C. KINGSLEY. Macmillan.

Apologia pro Vita Sua. Being a Reply to a Pamphlet entitled "What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?" By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D. Longman.

FOR the second time in his life, Dr. Newman has had to stand before the public as an accused person. To those who know him, though by his writings only, it will certainly seem a just matter for astonishment that he should have been singled out from among the public men of his generation to answer to the hard charges brought against him. If to an acquaintance with his writings has been added even the most occasional and superficial personal intercourse, the astonishment caused by the fact of which we speak will deepen into perfect amazement. No one can have lived, as Dr. Newman has lived, so much under the eyes of the world; no one can have written what he has written, or have been so much mixed up with the greatest and most important movements of contemporary thought, without giving a certain definite impression of himself and winning a certain individual character. The name of every one of the public men of this or any other generation conveys to his contemporaries a distinct idea. Lord Derby and Lord Russell, Mr. Bright and Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone and Lord Palmerston, are no more like one another in the portraits that are drawn of them mentally, than in the rough but faithful representations of their features and figures in the popular caricatures. The portrait may be in both cases inadequate or even unjust, but it is a distinct portrait still. So Dr. Newman has his own character with those who have read his works, listened to his words, or who, even to a slight degree, have known him personally. What is that character?—we are not going to attempt to draw it, for he is still among us, and long may it be before the day comes when it may have to be described in order to remind English Catholics what they have lost! But one thing we may allow ourselves to say, with reference to the matter now before us. No one even distantly acquainted with Dr. Newman could have thought it possible, either that one so uniformly fair and courteous to his opponents in controversy could ever have

been declared by a jury of Englishmen to be the author of an unfounded libel, or that one whose loyalty, truthfulness, and high sense of honour shine forth as they do from every page of his writings, could have been publicly branded, by a person calling himself, as it were *par excellence*, an English gentleman, as a liar and a defender of lying.

We need not recall to the memories of our readers the circumstances of the Achilli case. When Dr. Newman republished his "Lectures on the Position of Catholics in England," after his trial, with a blank left where the passage had occurred for which he was prosecuted, he put there the simple words, "*De illis quæ sequebantur posterorum judicium sit.*" He has not had to wait many years for a judgment as certain as that of posterity. No one doubts now as to that celebrated cause; no one but knows what to think of the plaintiff and the defendant, of the jury and the judge. But at all events it might be said for Achilli that he prosecuted Dr. Newman in self-defence: to do so was for him a necessity; and the life that he had to drag before the public gaze was his own. What shall we say of Dr. Newman's second accuser? In this case, at any rate, there was no provocation. Dr. Newman had long withdrawn himself from the notice of the world; he had never meddled with the person who became his assailant, and the charge when it was made had to be referred to a sermon preached at Oxford in 1843. The attack was as wanton as it was unfounded. At the present moment, there are many who are inclined to rejoice that Mr. Kingsley made it, on account of the effects that it has brought out. We cannot so entirely forget Dr. Newman's part in the matter as to join unreservedly in that rejoicing. However great may be the pleasure of reading that noble and touching piece of autobiography which now lies before us, and however high may be our anticipations of the good that Providence may bring about as the result of the random blow that caused its production, there is still something very humiliating in the thought of the pain that this "Apologia" must have cost its author, and in the fact that John Henry Newman in his old age should have had to lay bare to all the world the thoughts and feelings of the most trying stage of his life, merely because Charles Kingsley chose a few months ago to connect the name of the great Oratorian with one of the falsest and most reckless charges ever made in an English magazine. Surely, as English justice did not gain any credit by the result of the Achilli trial, it must also be confessed that it does not argue a very fair or healthy state of the public mind, that a clever man like Mr. Kingsley, with the re-

sponsibilities on him of an official position in the University of Cambridge, should have speculated on finding it worth his while, first to make such an attack, and afterwards virtually to repeat it. It is true that he failed, and made himself the butt of "inextinguishable laughter;" but that may have been as much on account of Dr. Newman's intellectual superiority as of the utter baselessness of the slander directed against him. Nor is it, perhaps, any great triumph that Mr. Kingsley should have so completely demolished himself. "Uno avulso non deficit alter"—and, except that his position as a Professor of History at Cambridge may have given him an importance that he could not have claimed as a private person, there are plenty more scribes as good as he to take up the work of misrepresentation, about which he must for the future be more cautious. The air is charged with prejudice, and Mr. Kingsley's case is but the evidence of a disease which infected him because it is epidemic. He caught it, it is true, when he was young as a writer, and its virulence has gone on increasing in him ever since. We say with all frankness, that we are sincerely sorry for it; not merely on general grounds, but also because Mr. Kingsley has great and undeniable gifts, and he might have added something even to the permanent treasures of our literature, but for the baneful influence under which he has laboured from the first. As a novelist and a poet, he had a vein of his own that he might have worked to the profit and delight of his age. But—to change the image—the very first growth of his genius showed that it was already doomed to dry up and wither, instead of opening out into perfect bloom. There was a canker in the very bud, and it was sure to mar the freshness and beauty of which we saw the early promise. It is one from which perhaps only a few of the very greatest English writers are free, but from which they are free in proportion as they are great. Unfortunately, ignorant hostility to Catholic doctrines and principles was from the very first a kind of predominant passion in Mr. Kingsley, and he fastened upon some of the noblest and holiest features in the Catholic system as the objects of his special aversion, abuse, and misrepresentation. But we cannot say that Mr. Kingsley has ever been a fair and manly enemy of Catholicism. He has waged war against it, more or less, in most of his works, but it has been in dramas and novels, in which it was perfectly easy to him to misrepresent and invent to his heart's content, without taking upon himself the responsibility of the historian, at the very same time that he was giving an entirely false impression of historical facts and real characters. This is only to say, that he chose the easiest

method of attack, not the most generous or the most truthful. He sailed under false colours; for the readers of a novel that professes to embody historical events and persons do ordinarily give the author credit for some kind of faithfulness to actual history. Another sort of blight that has fallen on his works we can hardly speak of here—it is the common fate of writers who rail at virginity and celibacy, and are so fond of calling on fathers and brothers to interfere between the power of a priesthood and those whom their imaginations paint as its victims. Save them, cries Mr. Kingsley, from convents and confessionals,—that they may read *Hypatia*! Such is the new denouncer of Dr. Newman, and of the Catholic priesthood in general.

Mr. Kingsley's tactics on the present occasion have not been generous. Dr. Newman has given a happy name to the course pursued by him, with the view of depriving his adversary of the chance of a fair hearing, by casting on him the imputation of dishonesty. What is the use of listening to a man whose words we do not mean to believe? What good is it to him to produce the most convincing proofs of his innocence, the most crushing refutation of the accusations we have brought against him? Any calumniator is safe if he can deprive his victim of a hearing, or secure for him, when he is allowed to speak, the reputation of a liar. This is like *poisoning the wells*. No one has pointed out more forcibly than Dr. Newman how common these tactics are with the assailants, not only of individual Catholics, but of the whole Catholic system. The last few years have witnessed thousands of instances of the use of that one grand method of Protestant controversy which consists, not in examining and answering the Catholic claims, but in shutting the eyes and turning the back upon them, and employing every means of persuasion and violence to make others do the same. The Catholic Church is ever answering the question, "Can anything of good come from Nazareth?" with the gentle invitation, "Come and see." But the inquirer always finds some kind friend at his elbow to tell him that he is lost if he does so, and at the same time to offer him the fullest information as to all that he would find if he were to go and see for himself. It is the old game, of course; for it is the only one that Protestantism can play with any hope of success; but it meets the eye more frequently at some periods than at others, and at those times most especially when the providential course of events makes the question of Catholicism more prominent and inevitable than at others. Thus in the last twenty years the Anglican

Establishment, though it has produced no theological works of any calibre in defence of its own position, has teemed with the smaller fry of controversial skirmishers. All sorts of unimportant points have been raised; questions have been mooted on which it was most difficult to correct a false impression; the tittle-tattle of *table-d'hôtes* has been noted down; and the Catholic Church made to answer for the inventions of the *laquais de place* who know how to worm an extra scudo out of an English party by some racy scandal about a priest or a cardinal. The object is always the same—to frighten people off the main question by painting Catholics and their practices in the blackest colours, and escape that fair and open argument of which Anglican writers of the present day have an instinctive dread.

One of the most odious, but, unfortunately, not the least common, of the many ways in which the public mind is continually misled for the purpose of which we have spoken, is that by which the personal character of "converts" is so frequently attacked. There is hardly a single person of any prominence among those who have given up the Anglican Establishment to submit to the Catholic Church, whose fair name has not been assailed in some way or other. Dr. Newman has described this method of controversy in his own graphic way in one of his "Lectures on the Position of Catholics in England." He himself certainly has had even more than his due share of this treatment. His present assailant has selected, in particular, the charge of insidiousness, insincerity, and lying.*

* Others, and among them many who might, we think, have known better, if they have not printed charges yet more atrocious, have, at least, been in the habit of using them when they served their purpose in controversial conversation. What were the young and timid, whose hearts had caught, for instance, the devotion to our Blessed Lady from some sweet hymn of the author of the "Lyra Innocentium," and who had been led on by that and other kindred influences to long for repose in the One True Church—what were such yearners to do, when grave and honourable men, whom no one could suspect either of falsehood or of want of charity, told them that "poor N. was quite an infidel now"? Such cases are not imaginary; and if we were inclined to draw any moral from them, it would not be so much that a kind of poisonous shadow seems to fall even on the highest natures when they set themselves to hinder, at all costs, the motions of grace that are drawing others to the Church, as that other lesson which, if we are not mistaken, is virtually taught in Dr. Newman's own "Apologia"—what a hold the Protestant tradition has upon the educated mind of England, so as to make it simply incomprehensible, even to the most candid and equitable, that a man of sense and learning could either become a Catholic conscientiously, or remain one with contentment and satisfaction. Charges like these, however, die away with time: they disprove themselves.

At first sight, Mr. Kingsley will seem to have been skilful in selecting his ground of accusation. Men of subtle mind, who are accustomed to measure and weigh their words, and who have been forced by the circumstances of their career to refine and distinguish, and to choose between difficult alternatives, are naturally suspected of meaning more than they say, and having an unexplained purpose in everything that they do. It has been said that the House of Commons will never receive a simple obvious proposition or a plain commonplace argument from Mr. Gladstone, without a suspicion that there must be something lurking underneath, which is not declared. Dr. Newman's mind is at least as subtle as that of Mr. Gladstone, though we are very far from comparing him with that statesman as to other matters which may seem in the latter legitimate grounds for the suspicion of which we speak. Dr. Newman tells us that he owes the habit of mind which has given the impression in his own case, to some extent, to intercourse with Dr. Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel (p. 61). Then again, to the world's eye, —though here Dr. Newman does not admit the charge—he has deserted his principles and gone over to the enemy. "Persistence in a given belief is no sufficient test of its truth; but departure from it is at least a slur upon the man who has felt so certain about it" (p. 120). If we may again go to the political world for an illustration, we may remember the bitter taunts and angry personal reproaches showered upon Sir Robert Peel for his abandonment of the cause of Protection, and tardy advocacy of the principles of Free Trade. Dr. Newman has maintained, since his conversion, that the Providential direction of the Tractarian movement of 1833 was towards individual submission to the Catholic Church. No one of any name has ever attempted to answer the masterly and eloquent lectures in which this view is put forward, and every one who has come to Catholicism from among the disciples of that movement will find his own principles of action, as far as they are intellectual, laid down for him in those pages. Those lectures were delivered in 1850, just at the time of the Gorham decision; and certainly it cannot be denied that the subsequent developments of the (so-called) Tractarian party, as well as the course of events in the Establishment, only add fresh force and point to the arguments of Dr. Newman. In fact, there are some passages which seem simply prophetic,* both of the violence that would be done to

* For instance, after speaking of the Gorham judgment as the expression of the will of the nation—as, in Lord John Russell's words, what would "give

the Anglican formularies in order to make room for greater latitude of opinion in the Establishment, and of the childish measures that would be taken by the residuum of the once manly and vigorous "Tractarian" party against such innovations.* But the view maintained by Dr. Newman, as well as his own career, lays him open to the certain charge that he contemplated all along the conclusion which he at last reached. Ever since the birth of "Anglo-Catholicism," in the first generation after the change of religion in England, when men who wished to think themselves Catholics without being Romanists fastened upon the shreds of old doctrine and practice which the framers of the Articles had left as baits for such minds, the school of opinion which Dr. Newman and his friends tried to revive and make practical and popular, has been branded by the larger portion of the members of the Establishment as nothing less than a modified and disguised Popery. It is not wonderful, then, that a charge that has been so often made against so staunch an Anglican as Dr. Pusey, who has declared his intention "to die in the Church of England," and who certainly has exerted himself to the utmost, in countless cases, to keep others within its pale, should be hurled by men like Mr. Kingsley against those who, after beginning with the honest intention of strengthening the Established Church by reviving the more Catholic elements in her, have ended by finding out that she is a mere imposture, a creature of the state, with no spiritual life of her own, and by forsaking her themselves, and drawing others after them.

Moreover, it is not easy to imagine a more painful and difficult position than that in which Dr. Newman found himself after the defeat of his movement by the conduct of the bishops and University authorities with regard to Tract 90. It was no question of expediency, of changing—to go back to a

general satisfaction"—Dr. Newman remarks (p. 23):—"The same popular voice which has explained away the wording of the Office for Baptism, may of course in a moment dispense with the Athanasian Creed altogether. Who can doubt that if that symbol is not similarly dealt with in course of law in years to come, it is because the present judgment will practically destroy its force as efficaciously, and with less trouble to the lawyers?" He then goes on to anticipate the arguments by which the *details* of the Creed might be shown to have been "never intended for reception by national believers," &c. Then he adds—"Nor can eternal punishment be received as an Anglican dogma, against the strong feeling of the age, with so little in its favour in the national formularies; nor original sin, considering that feeling is countenanced and defended by no less an authority of past times than Bishop Jeremy Taylor. And much less the inspiration of Scripture, and the existence of the evil spirit, doctrines which are not mentioned in the Thirty-nine Articles at all."

* See Lecture IV., p. 100.

former illustration—the policy of Protection for that of Free Trade. The voice of the Establishment spoke without any mistake against the toleration of Catholic views as to the meaning of its formularies—views even so far Catholic, and no farther, as were maintained in the Tract. A political chief may break up his party, and form another on a new basis; or he may give up political life altogether; or remain as an unit without any party connections; or, when the line between parties is scarcely more than conventional, and does not touch matters of principle, he may simply throw himself into the ranks of his former opponents. It is needless to draw out the difference between this and the case of Dr. Newman. He wished to give up all influence; but the position of an intellectual and religious leader is not so easily discarded. It has its responsibilities which cannot be thrown off,—all the more terrible on account of the interests of souls that are staked upon them. Moreover, he could not then, nor for a long time afterwards—indeed, not until the very summer in which his “*Essay on Development*” was written—submit to the Catholic Church. The English Church seemed to cast him from her. Others, who had learned Catholic principles from him, without having in their previous education that strong anti-Roman bias which prevented him from moving onward more rapidly, were eager to make the step, and his was the only hand that could hold them back. Uncertain as to his own future, unable to decline the influence and authority that he had acquired, railed against by the dignitaries of the Establishment, proscribed at the University, suspected if he did not speak, misunderstood and misrepresented if he did, unable to escape from molestation and intrusion even in his seclusion at Littlemore, watched, criticised, and maligned in every step that he took by a crowd of enemies, among whom were some of the rudest and the most narrow-minded of men, Dr. Newman had the further and more painful trial which came from the conflict in his own breast, and the anxious fears and sympathies of some of the most amiable and generous of friends. Any one who lived at Oxford during those years will understand well enough what we mean by the cowardly persecution with which he was visited. The tone of the majority of the University was fair, candid, and honourable; but there were some, whom Dr. Newman has spared in the work before us, of whom this cannot be said. And if any one has had the good fortune of knowing, even to a very imperfect extent, something of that circle of loving friends by whose sympathy and help Dr. Newman had up to that time been assisted and cheered, he will be able in some degree to measure the ex-

quisite pain of having to alarm, shock, and even to think of alienating them, as convictions gradually dawned upon him in which they had no share.

We have hinted at some few out of the many circumstances which made that period of Dr. Newman's life especially trying. To every one who, by the grace of God, has gone through the process of gradual conversion from Anglicanism to Catholicism, some features of the trial, at least, will not be unknown; but few, we think, can ever have borne *all* the pangs of that slow martyrdom so fully as Dr. Newman, or felt them at once so keenly and so patiently. It would be nothing surprising if, in a position such as his, continued for so many years, with such frequent calls on him from without which he would fain have avoided, and with responsibility for the conduct of others as well as for his own forced upon him, he should have made some false step, uttered some premature declaration, lost temper, or balance, or clearness of sight, and thus given some handle to the charge which it has been attempted to fasten upon him of disingenuousness and over-subtlety. Such a charge, in days like ours, was almost sure to be made; and that it has been made at last in so rough and, we may almost say, so brutal a way as in Mr. Kingsley's pamphlet, is only an indication that it has been long and widely current under a less offensive form. Dr. Newman, in answering Mr. Kingsley, looks far more to his countrymen in general than to the assailant of the moment, whom he might certainly well afford to despise. At the cost of a most painful effort he has put into writing the history of the various stages of religious opinion through which he has passed. We cannot doubt that in this instance, as in the former to which we alluded in the outset, the great sacrifice of feeling that Dr. Newman has made will not only set him far higher than ever in the estimation of Englishmen, but will also bring about indirectly a great advantage to the cause of Catholicism. But we cannot admit that, except as far as it was inevitable from the circumstances of the case, the feeling of suspicion embodied in Mr. Kingsley's pamphlet ever had any real or fair foundation. The more Dr. Newman is known—the more his writings and his career are studied—the more, we are sure, will be thought of his simple rectitude, his loyal honesty, his chivalrous faithfulness, his noble generosity. If these qualities do not belong to him, we know not where they are to be found in England or in the world. *Iustum deduxit Dominus per vias rectas*: would that all who have started on their journey at an equal distance from Catholic truth would follow the “kindly light” that leads

them on, with the same singleness of purpose, the same prompt and unflinching obedience, over every obstacle, through every temptation, against every danger, as he !

Dr. Newman has himself said that the work now before us is the boldest thing he has done in his life ; and, when we consider that it is to a great extent a documentary work, that the materials on which it is founded were either not at hand or in a state not fit to be used at once, and that in such compositions, even after the general line of thought has been fixed upon, many an hour is often lost in hunting up the facts on which a single line or sentence rests, we cannot help marvelling at the vigour with which so painful a task has been accomplished within nine or ten weeks, and thrown off in print as its successive parts were written. Dr. Newman wrote his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, after the appearance of Tract 90, in a single day ; and it was published on the Wednesday, he having received the message from the Bishop to write it on the Sunday (p. 241). If we remember rightly, he performed a similar feat a year or so later, when Dr. Faussett published an attack on him at the very end of the summer term. The sermon containing that attack was published on the Monday. Dr. Newman had only till the Wednesday or Thursday to answer it, as the great body of the University broke up on that day ; but he wrote a long and crushing reply, which was published in time. But in these cases he wrote on a subject of which his mind was full, and on which he was at any moment prepared to speak ; and the strain of exertion was comparatively short. There is a wide difference between them and that of the "Apologia." It ranges over the whole history of his intellectual and religious convictions, a kind of subject on which few people are ready to write at all, and none certainly without forethought and preparation. Dr. Newman tells us that he had not even the advantage of a familiar acquaintance with his own writings, most of which he had not looked at since he corrected the proofs for their publication.

The Apologia is ample and clear as to its main argument ; and after the full and unreserved revelation of mental history that it contains, no one, we should think, not even Mr. Kingsley himself, will repeat the charge which has been the occasion of its production. If we confess that the work will not entirely satisfy the loving admiration which so many feel towards Dr. Newman, it is only because it is not, in fact, what he never meant it to be. Such persons, however, cannot help longing to know all that is to be known about him from himself. They would be satisfied with nothing but a complete autobiography ; and we fear that Dr. Newman is never likely to

indulge them in such a desire. The present work, however, may fairly be said to have provoked their appetite. There must be more to tell about early days at home and at school: more about those happy and peaceful undergraduate years, which to so many souls are the spring time of their first fresh bloom, when they are brought under so many awakening, fostering, and ennobling influences, with guides endowed with every gift of nature and cultivation to open to them the treasures gathered through so many centuries by the greatest minds that the world has seen—when all is so bright and promising and fruitful, when the aim of life is taken, the character moulded and rounded off, and the friendships knit together which are to last till death, or which, if shattered by some violent blow, can never be replaced! Dr. Newman has given a few lines to Trinity, his college when an undergraduate, which show us how much there might have been that we should have delighted to hear about it. But he is answering for his life, not chatting over old days with his disciples. What we have said about his early years, and his undergraduate life, applies also to later periods, the details of which would have been most interesting, if it had fallen in with the object of his work to inform us about them. But Dr. Newman is not one of those men who have any temptation to be over-communicative on such matters.

If the "Apologia" be not an autobiography, neither is it to be considered as anything like a complete history of the Tractarian movement. That movement, indeed, was anything rather than thoroughly organized and regulated by its leaders: there was harmony, indeed, and co-operation, to a certain extent, as to its more prominent developments, but it became very soon like a principle of action floating in the air, that possessed itself of one mind after another, and set each to work in his own line and in his own way, though, of course, all in the same direction. There was an attempt, at first, by those who might be called the "red tape" men who took it up—the representative of whom was Mr. Palmer of Worcester College—to put it into the hands of a committee, and smother it under the feather-bed of deliberative and decorous propriety. Dr. Newman and Mr. Froude were not the men for this kind of work. It is probable that the former measures himself somewhat severely when he says that he was not fit to be a party leader: still, he was too easy and liberal to exercise a strong control over subordinates. There was, even then, something of S. Philip about him. Thus, the history of his own mind is rather a typical and logical representation of that of the "Anglo-Catholic" principle, than an adequate

narrative of the fortunes of the Tractarian movement, which recognised, indeed, certain leaders, but broke out freely in all kinds of ways without either taking its line from them or asking their leave. The world might hold Dr. Newman responsible for all the vagaries of men who owned no allegiance to anything but their own will, illuminated in some cases by a very faint proportion of common sense. But it is obvious that he had now no call to go into all these matters, which, however, belong naturally to the history of Tractarianism.

There is one omission further—if our readers will bear with us—that we must notice. We have already alluded to the treatment which Dr. Newman received at the hands of the authorities of the Establishment and of the University. This was keenly resented at the time by his friends—it is possible, with *some* want of consideration of what was natural to, and obligatory on, persons who had the misfortune to be, as it were, the official representatives of Anglican hatred for everything savouring of Catholicism. Dr. Newman must often have been deeply wounded. Now that, after so many years, he has come to write about those times, he seems to have made it a law to himself to say as little about it as possible. It is one of the most characteristic features of the “*Apologia*,” that, speaking of himself with the utmost freedom, and stating the truth nakedly, as if it were a matter of no importance what is thought of him in consequence, he has not said a word that can fairly be called harsh or unkind of any one. The most obscure part of the work—one which will perhaps be said to require explanation—is that in which he speaks of the Anglican bishops, with regard to their conduct at the time of the publication of No. 90. We think it is obscure because Dr. Newman has wished to spare. He seems to have thought that something not very far short of a pledge, though not amounting to a pledge, was given to him, that if the Tracts were stopped, the view he had put forward about the interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles should not be formally condemned by the bishops, though one or two of them might notice it in their charges. It does not seem at all unlikely that some of the leading bishops may have taken upon themselves to answer for the rest, who, however, would not consider themselves strictly bound by the understanding. At all events, when the clamour against the Tracts broke out in full force, they were pretty sure to be carried away by the stream—as they always are on similar occasions. Whatever the understanding was, it was not adhered to: and it is certain that Dr. Newman would have thought it right to act differently, had

he been in their place. His whole attitude towards the bishops of the Establishment was singularly noble. He put himself unreservedly in the hands—or, rather, at the feet—of his diocesan, Dr. Bagot. Unlike so many of those who have come after him in the professed maintenance of the same principles among Anglicans, he did not write up the authority and Apostolical character of the bishops in order to defy their authority when it was exerted, however informally and unfairly, against himself. It was once proposed to him to stand on the defensive, to “take the law” of his own bishop, “asking him for the canons under which he acted, and so forth” (p. 275); but for this line of conduct he was far too sincere and straightforward. It was the misery of the Anglican prelates of that time, that the only response they could make to so generous a devotion, was that which consisted in using their assumed powers to the utmost, to torment and scarify their noble victim. He calls their conduct “seething the kid in its mother’s milk.”

The “Apologia” is, therefore, simply what it professes to be—not what so many of its readers will wish it to have been. Dr. Newman confines himself severely to his allotted task of drawing out the history of the gradual development of his religious opinions from his first “conversion” at the age of 15, to his submission to the Catholic Church in the autumn of 1845; and he tells the story so concisely that we cannot venture upon the attempt to abridge or condense it. Of course the matter of chief interest, with respect to the immediate occasion of the work, is the account of his state of mind during the period of the Tractarian movement, and especially during the long interval that passed between the stopping of the Tracts and his conversion to Catholicism. Catholics will be struck with the gradual and seemingly accidental manner in which he possessed himself, one after another, of the great doctrines which the Anglican Church professes to teach, no less than the Catholic. At the time of that first great interior change, at the age of 15, from which he dates his religious life, he had received the fundamental doctrine of the Holy Trinity; but it was not till after his election as fellow at Oriel, at the close of his undergraduate life, that he caught the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration from Archbishop Sumner’s book, given to him by Dr. Hawkins; that of tradition from Dr. Hawkins himself; and that of the Apostolic succession from Mr. James of Oriel. Dr. Whately, as he says, opened his mind, and as to doctrine, taught him the existence of the Church as a corporate body; and it was not till the same stage of his life that he studied Butler’s “Analogy”—a work

which does not seem to have been made a text-book in the schools at Oxford at the time he was an undergraduate. At a much later period, intercourse with Mr. Hurrell Froude became the means of leading him to a belief in the Real Presence, and to the idea of devotion to our Blessed Lady. Mr. Froude also seems to have been the instrument used to make him admire the Catholic Church and begin to dislike Protestantism. This, however, was a feeling rather than a conviction. He tells us that at the same age of 15, when he fell in with Scott's *Essays* and Milner's *Church History*, he also read Newton on the Prophecies, and that till a very late period in his career, the notion that the Pope was Anti-Christ remained on his imagination as a stain, although he had discarded it from his reason. When the Tract movement was begun in 1833, he was confident, as he tells us, about three main points on which his position rested. These were, in brief, the principle of dogma, the doctrine of a visible Church, "with sacraments and rites which are the channels of invisible grace," and hostility to Rome as having added to the faith. The more he grew in devotion to our Blessed Lady and the Saints, the more did he chafe, as it were, at what seemed to him the exaggerated honour paid to them.

Such was Dr. Newman's state of mind when, after his visit to Italy and Sicily in 1833, of which he has told us a few striking incidents, he began the movement which made so great a noise in England and the world. His sketches of some of the principal men who became his assistants are wonderfully interesting; but we have not time to pause, even over the tribute that he has paid to Mr. Keble. He attributes a great part of the success and importance attained by the movement to the accession of Dr. Pusey about 1835. His character, learning, standing, and connections gave it a consistency and magnitude in the eyes of the world which are exemplified by the name by which the party, so to term it, has always been commonly known. In this case, too, the name has been prophetic, whether for good or for evil. The natural leader and rallying point for those who still hold by "Tractarian" principles, after so many defeats and losses, has always been and always will be Dr. Pusey.

People are apt to say that he was once nearer to the Catholic Church than he is now: I pray God that he may be one day far nearer to the Catholic Church than he was then; for I believe that in his reason and judgment, all the time that I knew him, he never was near it at all. When I became a Catholic, I was often asked, "What of Dr. Pusey?"—when I said that I did not see symptoms of his doing as I had done, I was sometimes thought uncharitable. If confidence in his position is (as it is) a first essential in the

leader of a party, Dr. Pusey had it. The most remarkable instance of this was his statement, in one of his subsequent defences of the movement, when, too, it had advanced a considerable way in the direction of Rome, that among its most hopeful peculiarities, was its "stationariness." He made it in good faith; it was his subjective view of it (p. 138).

Dr. Pusey's influence changed the hitherto light and somewhat desultory character of the publications of the movement. The Tracts now began to be longer and more solid, more like treatises on special subjects. Catenas of Anglican authorities were drawn up with regard to certain great doctrines; the Libraries of the Fathers and of Anglo-Catholic Theology were begun. Dr. Newman published his two most carefully written works as an Anglican: the "Prophetical Office of the Church with relation to Romanism and Popular Protestantism," and the "Lectures on Justification." The former of these was his attempt to establish clearly the doctrine of the *Via Media*. The strong expressions it contains against Rome represent faithfully the state of his mind at the time, when, with full confidence in the tenableness of the Anglican position, and of the full support to be found for it in antiquity, he threw himself without reserve upon the writings of the Fathers, certain that if they were found in many things to be strongly anti-Protestant, they would also be not less clear in their witness against what he considered modern corruptions of Catholicism. Mr. Froude had always protested against the strong language of his friend; and as time went on, Dr. Newman himself felt an increasing reluctance to use it, and, indeed, never used it but under a sense of duty, and in reliance upon the authority of the great Anglican writers for expressing in words what he would otherwise have been very glad to keep to himself. This same feeling against Rome was one of several reasons which led him to state the argument for her claims as fairly and candidly as possible. He felt no fear himself, and he felt also that justice was not ordinarily done to her.

The book on the "Prophetical Office of the Church," with that on "Justification," was meant also as a beginning towards the formation of a definite and positive system of Anglican theology. This was a need deeply felt by Dr. Newman, and it shows, like other things, the deep and solid foundation he was desiring to lay, and the greatness of the structure that he hoped to raise upon it. He did not disguise from himself that the *Via Media* for which he was contending had hitherto existed chiefly on paper. It was not a positive nor a popular religion, like "Romanism" and Protestantism; but he did not despair of making it such in time. The activity of the

early Tractarian movement has been to some faint extent carried on by those who since Dr. Newman's secession, have maintained the principles that withered in his grasp. But we may fairly ask them, where have they made any attempts to fill up the great outlines that he sketched for them; and, above all—putting aside the works of authors who, like him, have become Catholics—where is their Theology?

The turning-point, the crisis of the movement, was of course the publication of Tract 90. It used to be said at Oxford, that the "four Tutors," whose manifesto brought down the Hebdomadal Board upon the Tract, had stabbed Dr. Newman in the midst of his career. It has lately been the lot of one of these gentlemen to sit as judge upon another of them in her Majesty's Privy Council, and to concur in the decision which allowed him a hitherto unheard of latitude in the interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles. The occasion of the Tract was the eagerness of some of the followers of the party, who, as is so often the case, were willing to outrun their leaders. They were not kept back by the strong opinion against Rome which Dr. Newman himself had formed. Every one knows the principles maintained in the Tract, and the storm that it created. Dr. Newman met it bravely, and for a few months thought that he had done so with success. The experiment made by the Tract was a new one, which the "Church of England" had never before undergone. The Catholic interpretation of the Articles had always existed, and had been tolerated; but it had never been formally proclaimed and recognized. It was now proclaimed by Tract 90—if it was not condemned, it was recognized. When the storm arose, Dr. Newman refused to withdraw the Tract, and only made the concession of stopping the series to which it belonged. Then it was that the "understanding" to which we alluded above was made: the bishops were not to condemn the Tract. Thus Dr. Newman sacrificed his personal position, and retired, as far as such a man could retire, from the leadership of the movement; on the other hand, the principle that the Articles were to be interpreted, where the letter would allow it, in the sense of the Catholic Church, had been affirmed, and was not to be proscribed. Soon, however, it was seen that a compromise like this would not satisfy the Protestant feeling of the country, now thoroughly possessed with the alarm that the Roman was at its gates. Whatever the "understanding" had been, the bishops had, to make them break it, the clamour of half the Establishment,—and to make them keep it, nothing but a few words given, by some third party, to Dr. Newman, perhaps

ambiguously expressed, perhaps represented as worth more than they really were. So they began to "charge" against the Tracts, and especially against Tract 90. And, as if for no other purpose than to make matters worse, and to bring perversely into the strongest possible light the inherent sympathy of Anglicanism with heresy, the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian "Bishopric of Jerusalem" took place at the same time.

It was certainly a characteristic feature in Dr. Newman, that he felt the acts and declarations of the authorities of the Anglican Church so keenly and sensitively. There were and are some in that Establishment who would find means to persuade themselves that "the Church is not committed to anything," if all the bishops were to proclaim Socinianism in their charges, all the clergy in their pulpits, and every one who taught the Divinity of Jesus Christ was silenced and proscribed. Dr. Newman was not a man of this temper. He obeyed his Bishop loyally, and submitted with all cheerfulness to any decision that affected himself; and, like every man of common sense, he took the voice of the Bishops and the acts of the Primate and the Government as the voice and the acts of the Establishment of which they were the executive. Dr. Pusey has remarked on this—apparently with some surprise:—

One cannot trust oneself to think, whether his keen sensitiveness to ill was not fitted for these troubled times. What to such dulled minds as my own seemed as a matter of course, as something of necessity to be gone through and endured, was to his, as you know, "like the piercings of a sword."*

Dr. Pusey is a perfect type, and certainly a most respectable representative of the class of men to whom, in the extract just quoted, he somewhat gratuitously attributes what he calls "dulled minds." It would be curious to draw out thoroughly the contrast between them and Dr. Newman. They have certainly had plenty of need, during the last few years, for the callousness of feeling which Dr. Pusey seems to acknowledge as a misfortune. The only vital question about the matter is, whether it is compatible with any real Catholic instinct, with any true grasp of dogmatic truth and "Church" principles, in the proper sense of the term. Mgr. Manning tells us an amusing instance of the exhibition of this feeling, or rather insensibility. It has lately been the custom, after each of the successive blows that have fallen upon the High Church party from bishops or law courts, that some of

* Letter in the *English Churchman*, Oct. 16, 1845.

its leaders should assemble and make a protest. In fact, in most cases, this is the utmost that they have done. By far the most spirited protest that they have ever made was that issued after the Gorham decision. It is couched in forcible, vigorous, and even threatening language—any one can see from which of the subscribers it proceeded. It declared that the "Church of England" would be ultimately bound to the decision unless she openly and expressly rejected it; and that, being so bound, she would forfeit the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the Universal Church, become formally separated from the Catholic body, and no longer be able to assure to her members the grace of the sacraments and the remission of sins. Such was the language sent forth to the world with the signatures of about a dozen distinguished men, many of whom are now Catholics—others of whom, and among them, Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey, still remain contented Anglicans. The amusing thing is that, just after the resolutions had been signed, one of the party addressed the others in words which certainly only seem the natural corollary to statements so stringent and explicit:—"If the Church of England shall not clear herself of the Gorham judgment, we are all, I suppose, prepared to leave it?" "I remember likewise," says Mgr. Manning, "the answer of one who spoke also, I fear, for others. He said, come what might, *he had no intention to leave the Church of England.*"

In that question and that answer, the Catholic and un-Catholic constituents in the party that had so long acted together, met face to face. It is easy to criticise the mind that jumps at once to the conclusion, that a communion like the Anglican Establishment is cut off from the main body of Christendom by an act of the Privy Council,—that seems to reason as if the point of time could be decided at which she passed from being Catholic to being heretical. But those who not only signed the resolutions in question, but were ready to act on them, and give a practical effect to the determination which they certainly implied, had already come to feel that the Anglican Establishment had no claim at all on their allegiance, unless she were a part of the Catholic Church, and to see that her action or inaction, when heresy was forced upon her, would show whether she were a part or not. They were ready to admit the question. They were already in heart children of the True Mother, and they were willing to be taught by Providence whether Anglicanism was her representative and delegate. The "Church of *their* Baptism"—to

* "The Crown in Council," p. 6.

use a phrase often employed in a thoroughly un-Catholic sense—was the One Universal Church to which all the baptized belong by right, whether the Sacrament be administered by Catholics, heretics, or schismatics. On the other hand, those who signed the protest with the already fixed determination never in any case to act upon it, must have had the conviction latent in their minds—if they had really any “Church” principles at all—that the Anglican Church was for them the only possible channel of union with Christ. They certainly could not believe her infallible, nor would they pay her so much deference as to accept from her the doctrine, the heretical character of which they were denouncing. But they could afford to talk loud and threaten—on the understanding with themselves, that one thing at least was certain and fixed as an axiomatic truth, underlying all reasoning, rather than as a conclusion adopted after consideration,—that they could not go to Rome.

A careful analysis of such a state of mind might perhaps lead to the conclusion, that these persons did not practically believe in any One Visible Church at all—that they believed, in point of fact, that the promises of Christ to His Church have failed. That is, they had given up one article of the Creed themselves, and now they were angry with the “Church of England” for giving up another. It is also obvious that the class of persons represented by those of whom Mgr. Manning speaks, have no real positive devotion to the Establishment. Their opinions and feelings as to the Catholic Church prevent them from submitting to her, and so they are glad to put up with any resting-place outside her pale, however uninviting and dreary it may be in itself. We speak, of course, of the higher set of motives that keep such persons away from Catholicism. There may be another set, whose influence, very palpable and undisguised in some cases, may still be real and great with others, though it be subtle and unsuspected. Setting aside the natural feeling of dutiful love which attaches all persons at first to the religious system in which they have been brought up, as well as the halo of sentiment that the “Christian Year” has thrown over the Establishment, adorning it with beauties that are not its own, and casting a decent veil over its manifold deformities, we do not think that the “Tractarians,” past or present, had or have any more real love for that which is distinctively Anglican in it, than the members of the Broad Church who find in it a convenient communion for those who have no definite doctrines at all. If we take up the “*Lyra Apostolica*,” and pick out the poems that make the hardest

complaints against the Church of England, we shall find among them none of Dr. Newman's, but many signed by the letter which is understood to indicate the authorship of Mr. Keble. If we wish to see the defects of the Establishment exposed in the most pungent and unsparing manner, we must turn to the pages, not of Catholic publications, but of High Church periodicals. Men of this class, in short, accept the communion which they are bound to reverence as the Immaculate Bride of Christ, adorned with every supernatural gift and prerogative, not on account of her own intrinsic excellence and beauty, but really as a *pis-aller*. Strange, that they should be able to think that our Lord has made no better provision for the souls of men than that! Did they not share in those strong anti-Roman prejudices of which Dr. Newman's case exemplifies the power and tenacity, there would be nothing, humanly speaking, to keep them from Catholicism, beyond human respect and other similar motives. These are days in which people appeal to arguments of all sorts, except those which are legitimate and direct. Their uniform policy is to shrink from investigation, to avoid thinking; they recommend people to plunge into active work, or take to a line of study quite away from the point in question; at all events, to do anything rather than examine it. As far as dealing with the question goes, they have acted not a whit more reasonably than the fathers of young people inclined to "Romanizing," who have thrown them perforce into all the dissipations of a life of fashionable pleasure, to prevent them from thinking—sometimes with more success than they had bargained for. Anything rather than look the matter in the face. We have actually had the "Question of Church Communion" compared in a grave sermon to that of final perseverance. The author of the *Imitation* mentions the inspiration that came to him, when he was made anxious by doubts whether he should persevere—"What if thou didst know it? Do now what thou wouldest do then, and thou shalt be secure."* Thus, a question entirely of the future, as to which it is not the will of God that any one should be assured on earth, except by special revelation, is put on the same ground with one of present fact, as to which we are required to be certain, as to which doubt is intolerable, and as to which there is a perfectly easy and divinely appointed way of solution. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. Mr. Keble's application of the passage of the *Imitation* to his case is about as reasonable as if he were speaking to a person who smelt smoke and thought his house

* Keble's Sermons, "Hoping against Hope," p. 326.

was on fire. "What would you do if you knew it wasn't? Do that now, and you shall be safe!"

The latter part of Dr. Newman's "Apologia," though written, like all the rest, with the object of showing, by a perfectly simple statement of the various stages of opinion and conviction through which he passed during the period between the condemnation of Tract 90 and his submission to the Catholic Church, the perfect sincerity and honesty of every step that he took, every word that he spoke, in these four or five years, is no less valuable as a practical commentary on the state of mind and conscience of which we have just been speaking. No blow that fell upon him and on those who thought with him, from bishops or heads of houses, can be said to surpass, if to equal, in force and import those which the professed maintainers of Catholic principles in the Establishment have since had to undergo. He began this period of silence, suffering, and prayer, with his anti-Roman bias as strong as ever, at least upon his reason and judgment. He had had, what all persons who give an account to themselves of their own ecclesiastical position must have in some shape or other, a definite "view" and theory of the "Catholicity of the English Church." He based her position on antiquity; and to the objection that she was separated from both Rome and Greece, he answered that they, too, were separated by their practical doctrines from the Ancient Church. Unlike the vast majority of those who would give the same answer, he was a real student of the Fathers and of Church History. "The truth is this,"—he wrote at the end of 1841 about Dr. Moberly and others who were complaining of the Romeward tendency of some of the party:—"Our good friends do not read the Fathers; they assent to us from the common sense of the case; then, when the Fathers, and we, say *more* than their common sense, they are dreadfully shocked" (p. 272). His own "view" as to the support given to the Anglican position by antiquity had broken down, as he has already explained in his Lectures, before the history of the Monophysite heresy. This was even before the publication of Tract 90. After that, when he set himself again to study, with, this time, the history of S. Athanasius before him, he was met by the same phenomenon: "I saw clearly, that in the history of Arianism the pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and Rome now was what it was" (p. 243). The idea, too, of the simple and conclusive appeal, for the settlement of all difficulties, to the whole present Body of the one ever-living and indefectible Church, had dawned upon him at that earlier period with extraordinary power, from the words of S. Augus-

tine, quoted in Dr. Wiseman's article on the Donatists, "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*." He compares them to the "*Tolle lege, tolle lege*," that brought about the conversion of S. Augustine. He rested for a time on the theory of a Church cut off from the main body, the members of which were yet not obliged to leave her,—the theory of "*Samaritan*,"—which was embodied in four remarkable sermons published in the volume on "*Subjects of the Day*." This theory was specious but unsubstantial,—a halt in a reluctant retreat, showing a firm resolution to make the best of it, and yet not in itself so practically tenable as the ground which had been abandoned for it. To ourselves, Dr. Newman's history will be most instructive, as an instance how long even the most acute mind, enlightened by vast learning, and guided by true Catholic instinct, may be kept honestly away from Catholicism by an impediment that no one would suspect who does not know how great is the power of the Protestant tradition in England. His objections, in fact, to what he conceived to be corruptions in Catholic practice died away very gradually. He tells us that his notions about the exaggerated honour paid by Catholics to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, were to a great extent removed by a collection of popular Italian books of devotion sent to him by Dr. Russell of Maynooth. They are mentioned in the "*Essay on Development*." Dr. Russell also materially assisted him by the gift of S. Alfonso's Sermons, and some well known works of controversy. The objections melted away by the middle of 1844. Meanwhile, he had arrived more nearly at that true and well-adjusted view of Catholic ideas and practices which strangers are never able to understand—realizing, as it were, their perspective, and the mutual relation of different parts of the system.

Among the intellectual elements of his conversion, one alone remains to be mentioned. From the end of 1842, he began to work out the theory of development for himself. No one probably ever approached such a subject with a mind better fitted to cope with its difficulties, with a more accurate knowledge of the history of theology, or with a greater power of grouping facts, analyzing evidence, and putting forth lucidly and concisely principles and their results. How often has it been lamented that the circumstances of his career have prevented Dr. Newman from giving himself to some great work of philosophical theology or Church history! But in the "*Essay on Development*" it would be not much short of a miracle if it should show no traces of the fact that it was written outside the Church, by one who had not had the

training of a Catholic theologian.* It was not written till 1845, and Dr. Newman's convictions ripened as he proceeded. "Before I got to the end, I resolved to be received, and the book remains in the state in which it was then, unfinished" (p. 366).

Few readers of the work before us will care much to enter on the question of Mr. Kingsley's accusations in particular, except for the sake of seeing Dr. Newman dispose of them. The issue raised by the whole of the "Apologia" is a different one from that of the personal honesty of its writer, which has been so perfectly vindicated. As to that, the impression is rather one of indignation against the charge, and especially the manner in which it was made. But the whole history surely amounts to nothing less than a fresh "weighing in the scales" of the Anglican theory. Who will question that Dr. Newman has but pursued to their legitimate issue the principles with which he started, surmounting, in order to do so, the prejudices with which his English education had embarrassed him? It comes simply to this: the principles of dogma and of sacraments triumph over anti-Roman convictions, and issue in submission to the Catholic Church. The battlefield is one of the noblest intellects that Anglicanism ever produced, guided by a conscience singularly delicate, and a generous, loving, and trusting heart. A mind of this stamp is placed at the very fountain-head of thought in the country, where everything that is noble and true and venerable in England has its stronghold and citadel. Athens was called the Greece of Greece; Oxford is the England of England. This great mind guides a providential movement, which appeals to the highest and holiest principles, and enlists the enthusiasm of all that is good, pious, and devoted in the community that it influences. The movement proves its strength by a thousand fruits of bright and happy promise, and stirs the hearts of men from one end of the country to the other, "as the trees of the wood are moved by the wind." More than all, as if to show its high origin and intended issue, it rouses against itself the sleeping monster of Protestantism, as nothing else in our time has roused it, except the direct action of the Holy See,

* Dr. Newman says of it (p. 161), "That work, I believe, I have not read since I published it, and I doubt not at all that I have made many mistakes in it; partly from my ignorance of the details of doctrine, as the Church of Rome holds them, but partly from my impatience to clear as large a range for the *principle* of doctrinal development (waiving the question of historical fact) as was consistent with the strict Apostolicity and identity of the Catholic creed."

raising up again, as more than a thousand years ago, in the time of S. Gregory, a Catholic Episcopacy for England. The movement is broken and shattered, and its followers are left to shift each man for himself, like the soldiers in a disbanded army. The mind that had hitherto guided and animated others was not allowed to work out the problem before it in peace and retirement. Retirement, indeed, it sought, and the peace that the noises of the world cannot disturb it had never lost. But, while a thousand anxious personal questions had to be settled, it was forced to pick out its path from one difficulty and doubt to another, with others hanging on it for guidance all the time, suspected and even maligned by those whose authority it still faithfully recognized, and under the prying eyes of self-appointed watchers, who were ready to blame and misrepresent every step that it took. And yet it marches patiently and resolutely onwards, and finds at last its true and eternal home.

The weight of Dr. Newman's example, and the authority of his witness to the true tendencies of those Catholic instincts and principles which take such easy hold of good and devout souls, who by their baptism belong to the One Church, but who have been brought up outside her pale, would be lessened and weakened if he had started with fewer Protestant prejudices from which he had to free himself; if he had been less patient and deliberate in coming to his final decision; if he had adhered with less resolution to his severe rule of being guided only by reason and conscience, not by feeling and imagination: and if, after all, he had remained less of an Englishman than he is. As it is, what can possibly be said against the condemnation of Anglicanism that is implied in his career? The great majority of Englishmen do not profess "Church principles" at all, and with them we have at present nothing to do. But we hear much of those who still call themselves "Catholics" in the "Church of England," and who claim to be the heirs of the work that Dr. Newman began. We hear much of their success in ritual innovation, of their activity in good works, their Houses of Mercy, and Confraternities, and Sisterhoods. But where is their theory? where is their explanation of the promises of Christ, and of the doctrine of the Fathers, with regard to the Visible Church and the precept of unity, which shall harmonize with the present phenomena of the Christian world and of their own position in it? Either they have no account at all to give, and their activity is but the sport of children, building castles on the sand which the next wave will wipe away,—or they must put forth some

theory which has already been tried with the utmost faithfulness and patience by Dr. Newman, and found wanting.

We would ask such persons, for their own sake and that of others, not to turn away from the appeal made to them, forcibly though indirectly, by the later portions of the *Apologia* now before us. Dr. Newman has but seldom had an opportunity of reaching them with a word of remonstrance. It is but an accident—the outrageous insolence of one almost as much their enemy as his—that has made them listen to him now. It has required Mr. Kingsley to get a hearing for Dr. Newman. And now the once familiar voice comes to them again, as sweet and as powerful as ever, though its accents are mellowed and deepened by time and distance. In a certain sense, he does not wish for the immediate destruction of the establishment to which they cling. And yet he has felt bound, not only to declare it the merest creature of the State, without any supernatural mission or character whatever, but to protest that nothing short of a dogmatic definition by infallible authority shall persuade him that it has even the first elementary condition of a Church—the Apostolical Succession, which so many heretical and schismatical bodies have retained. This succession has been always carefully recognised by the Catholic Church wherever it exists; but to those who know what a true Priesthood and a real Sacrifice are, it seems simply an absurdity to assert their existence among Anglicans. On the other hand, in one of the grandest passages that he has ever written, Dr. Newman has painted the condition and rebellious instincts of the unregenerate world, the tameless uprisings of the human intellect, and shown how vain all expedients for the remedy of so gigantic an evil have been found—established religions, education, Scripture itself—all but that one Providential power, the Infallible Church. We believe that a deep sense of the intense difficulty of this problem in the Providence of God haunts many a mind most painfully that does not care to avow it, and that in some it tends to scepticism itself. There is one other alternative, and but one. The Atlantic itself beats in vain against the Rock: we might as well try to check it by a wall of mud as to master the presumptuous tides of human thought and passion by the feeble and ambiguous compromise which goes by the name of the “Church of England.”

Essays and Miscellaneous Papers.

HISTORICAL NOTES OF THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT.

PART IV.—*Closing Scenes of the Movement. Its Character and Effects.*

THE histories of real life, like the plots of the drama, are apt to increase in fervour of action and multiplicity of incident as they draw near the term of their appointed course. Their fifth act is generally busier than all the preceding put together. Events come thickly and almost jostle one another; partly from the natural effect of contact, partly through the operation of some hidden law of sympathy which produces a coincidence of results without any apparent concatenation of causes or community of motives.

It was thus with the history which I am engaged in illustrating. In the autumn of 1844, symptoms of what is familiarly called a "break up" began to manifest themselves; and from that period till the corresponding season of 1845, there occurred a succession of circumstances bearing on the movement, some of greater and some of less public interest, but all contributing more or less to indicate the designs of Divine Providence in this remarkable and, in some respects, unprecedented dispensation.

Yet was the process of development hardly less mysterious than the work itself whose meaning had thus to be cleared up. There was a simultaneous failing of hearts without any adequate pressure, or ostensible influence, or mutual comparison of personal impressions. There were tokens of decay and prognostics of dissolution in several quasi-religious communities which had been formed with the view of Catholicizing the English Establishment, and keeping unsettled members within its pale. These proofs of weakness within the camp were accompanied by signs of more than ordinary vigilance and determination on the part of adversaries. The policy of conciliation and forbearance seemed to have run its course, and the time for vigorous action to be at hand. The ecclesiastical and academical authorities were evidently pressed on every side to take some decisive step; and it is probably to the difficulties which they found in resisting this pressure,

rather than to any well-grounded convictions of their own, that we are to attribute the measures which they now began to adopt for the suppression of Tractarian opinions. At Oxford, especially, there were persons who hunted down the Tractarian leaders with implacable fury and unwavering pertinacity. They acted the part of jackals to the nobler beasts of prey. They had their emissaries in the suspected colleges, and their eyes were intent upon every action, and even gesture, from which the purposes of those whom they regarded as the enemies of religion could be collected or conjectured. There is the best reason for believing that the opposition to Tract 90 was fostered, if not set on foot, by one of these active subordinates; and the partial success of that effort was such as to encourage the repetition of similar attempts as the occasion for them arose.

It will readily be understood that the appearance of Mr. Ward's "*Ideal of a Christian Church*," towards the end of the year 1844, would be a signal for renewed hostilities. Though actually published in London, its author was then resident at Oxford, so that the brunt of the battle had to be sustained in the University. Had not the academical mind been at the time in a state of morbid excitability, the very bulk of this volume would surely have pleaded for an arrest of judgment. It was no impetuous flyleaf, no slashing pamphlet, no piquant article in a suspected review, but an obese octavo, extending to six hundred closely-printed pages, the writer of which must have found time to mitigate the ardour of the most infuriated spirit in the process of its composition, and the reader to work himself clear of the most inveterate prejudice in the course of its perusal. The great probability, however, is that comparatively few of the numbers who voted for its condemnation were at the pains to read it throughout, so that its size, instead of securing it a patient reception, operated simply to its disadvantage.

The impression of careful study and calm deliberation which the very form of this remarkable volume was fitted to create, would have been abundantly confirmed by an acquaintance, however superficial, with its actual contents. The titles of its chapters alone ought to have been enough to prove that in its general scope, at all events, it was directed to no other object than the amelioration of the national Church and the sanctification of individual souls. But the fact was, that the body politic of Anglicanism had reached the historian's climax of confusion, in which it was intolerant even of the remedies for its evils, and manifested that last and most fatal sign of an impenitent spirit in which no enemy is so obnoxious as he who reminds

the offender of his faults. He, therefore, who sought to disengage the Anglican communion from a share in the miserable work of the Reformation; to relieve it of many soul-destroying traditions; and to strengthen its position by seeking out points of association, and awakening hopes of re-union with the Catholic Church, was accounted, not as a devoted son, or as a valuable ally, but as an alien and a traducer. Accordingly, certain passages of the "*Ideal*," in which the author expressed with characteristic intensity his opinions against the Reformation and in favour of the Catholic Church were selected, with conspicuous unfairness, from among the vast amount of qualifying matter in which they were embedded, and exhibited in a string of startling theses to the distorted vision of Protestant critics. Two separate bills of indictment were prepared for the occasion: the one against the work; the other against the author; the one declaring the theses selected to be inconsistent with "*honest*" subscription to the Articles; the other that the author was unworthy of the degree of Master of Arts, to which he had been admitted in consequence of such subscription, and ought therefore to be deprived of it.

If the arraignment of Mr. Ward was the occasion of eliciting a more than usual amount of prejudice and unfairness, it was also, on the other hand, the means of drawing forth more than one proof of sympathy which must have been as gratifying to Mr. Ward himself as they were honourable to the quarters from which they proceeded. Among these a prominent place must be given to the pamphlets of Mr. Keble* and of Dr. Moberly,† the latter then, as at present, head master of Winchester school. These pamphlets, though differing considerably in the amount of agreement with Mr. Ward's opinions which they severally expressed, must be estimated in their respective relations to the known religious sentiments of their authors, and in this light are eminently deserving of the description just given of them. Both contain the strongest expressions of personal respect for Mr. Ward's character and for the honesty of his intentions; but Mr. Keble, especially, evinces no small degree of interest in the line of argument, and of acquiescence in the general principles of the "*Ideal*." This fact will cause no surprise to those who remember how strongly Mr. Keble has committed himself, in the preface to Mr. Froude's "*Remains*,"

* "*Heads of Consideration on the Case of Mr. Ward.*" Oxford. 1845.

† "*The proposed Degradation and Declaration considered in a Letter to the Rev. the Master of Balliol College, Oxford.*" 1845.

to an estimate of the English Reformation and Reformers not very different from that taken by Mr. Ward himself, and how honourably he is distinguished from the high-churchmen of his time in the tone which he adopts towards Catholic doctrine in parts of the "Christian Year." But however these two writers may vary from one another in their precise appreciation of Mr. Ward's argument, they are entirely agreed in condemning the intended proceedings against him as in the highest degree unjust, and fraught with mischief to the cause of religion.

But when the minds of a large body of men are occupied by a prejudice so deep as that which prevailed at the time in the University of Oxford, and still more among the country clergy who were members of the academical convocation, and possessed, therefore, the right of voting upon both of the questions affecting Mr. Ward, a temperate argument like that of the pamphlets to which I refer, has seldom any other effect than that of serving as a protest on the part of certain individuals against the acts of the majority. The suit, accordingly, was vigorously pressed in spite of such occasional remonstrances; and, for one pamphlet or flyleaf which advocated Mr. Ward's cause, there were at least a score which took part against him. It should be mentioned that, with the view of consulting that intolerance of large books from which Mr. Ward had materially suffered, it is a practice at Oxford on occasions of public excitement to put forth single sheets on either side of an academical controversy, in which the reasons *pro* and *con* are summarised with that pithy sententiousness and telling effect so easy of command to practised intellects. Between the announcement of the intention to proceed against Mr. Ward and the actual day of battle, it is historically certain, though I cannot vouch for the fact upon any producible evidence, that the common-room tables of Oxford were daily strewn with such ephemeral sallies of academical ingenuity in the form of "A Few Words to Members of Convocation," "Ten Reasons against Mr. Ward," "The Argument of the 'Ideal' briefly considered," "Queries on the proposed Vote of Convocation," while, buried under the accumulated mass, there perhaps would be found "A Plea for Mr. Ward."

The day fixed for the great trial of strength was the 13th of February, 1845; the place was the Sheldonian Theatre. For the sake of those who do not know Oxford, I may mention that the Sheldonian Theatre is not, as its name might seem to import, a place for dramatic representations; although,

on the occasion in question, it presented a scene in which the features of tragedy and comedy were singularly united. It is a large semicircular hall, devoted, by ancient usage, to the most solemn and august purposes of academical state. It is here that the heads of the university assemble annually, in dignified conclaves, to confer honorary degrees upon distinguished men of the day. It is here that, on the same occasion, the verse and prose compositions to which the University prizes have been adjudged are recited by their several authors. And although, by a custom more honoured perhaps in the breach than the observance, the junior members of the University who fill the galleries of the theatre on these occasions, are permitted to give vent to their opinions on men and things in general with a freedom which borders on licence, yet this accompaniment of the ceremonial is so evidently of the nature of a mere accident, entirely under the command of the authorities, that it has the effect rather of diversifying a solemnity of more than ordinary tediousness and dullness, than of marring its attractiveness or compromising its dignity.

How different a scene from that of this annual festival did the theatre of Oxford present on that memorable 13th of February! Instead of an imposing semicircle of placid dignitaries in rich academical costume, there appeared a forbidding phalanx of time-worn faces, flushed with excitement or wrinkled with discontent. No bevvies of elegantly-dressed visitors, the friends of happy undergraduates, gave to the graceful acclivities behind the resemblance of a bank of pinks and geraniums. Crowds of Masters of Arts did, indeed, occupy the area; but their faces also bore the unbecoming marks of sectarian bitterness or controversial anxiety, rather than the glow of festive joy and the augury of an approaching long vacation. Undergraduates, too, dotted rather than choked the galleries; but the looks of the dignitaries and the strangeness of the occasion acted as a check on their wonted enthusiasm, though it manifestly inclined towards the side of the party arraigned. The weather was raw, the building was cold, and the whole appearance of the affair in the highest degree ungenial. But of all the innovations upon a time-honoured tradition, the most extraordinary was that which met the eye in the rostrum, or pulpit, which projects from the side of the building. From this, and from the desk opposite, there had been wont from time immemorial to proceed orations of the most measured character and the most unimpeachable orthodoxy; an annual commemoration in Latin of "founders and benefactors," from which no man living ever gained any

definite idea of their peculiar merits; poems in Latin and English, classical, elegant, and melodious, but eminently uncontroversial; and essays, the general purport of which was to say in the most unexceptionable language that which upon a subject of the least possible public interest had the least tendency to excite difference of opinion. But now, on the contrary, the same spot was occupied by the champion of a most unpopular cause, unused to flatter, and unskilled in compromise; who, in the presence of his judges and of his jury, and before a tribunal which comprised a large proportion of the prejudice as well as of the intelligence of Protestant England, was to defend himself from the charge of disloyalty to the Church Established, not by denying, but by maintaining, the positions which formed the grounds of that charge. As a special privilege granted by the authorities in what they must afterwards have regarded as an evil hour, Mr. Ward pronounced his defence in the vernacular. The greater part of it he delivered in a speech without book. There was, of course, no reply. The votes of the Convocation were taken, first upon the question of condemning the book, and then upon that of the author's degradation. The book was condemned by a large majority. The sentence of degradation was passed by a considerably smaller one. A third proposal for extending the condemnation of Mr. Ward's claim to the argument of Tract 90 was defeated by the veto of the two Proctors. Many a downcast look and many a despairing word denoted the impression which the day's work had produced upon the friends of the Tractarian movement, even those of them who by no means sympathized to the full extent with Mr. Ward's opinions. Much as they might regret that the crisis had been provoked, they could not but feel its gravity and anticipate its inevitable consequences. They beheld in it the beginning of a new era in the history of the Established Church, and one which they rightly regarded as most disastrous to her supposed interests.

It is time for us to return to Mr. Newman, who had long since withdrawn from the University. One of his last ministerial acts, in his office as Vicar of St. Mary's, was to preach a course of Advent Sermons, in which, waiving for the moment the claim of Divine authority on behalf of the Anglican Church, he grounded the duty of adherence to its communion principally upon the note of personal experiences. Taking as the text of his discourses the words, "The kingdom of God is within you," he appealed to those impressions of the truth of the Anglican system which might be derived from special warnings or consolations of which it had been the medium to

individual minds and consciences. But I have now arrived at that point in my history at which the reader must be introduced to the last scene of Mr. Newman's exile, and one which, as he passed immediately from it to his home in the Church of God, must ever possess a peculiar interest in the eyes of Catholics.

About two miles from Oxford, a little off the London road, is situated the hamlet of Littlemore, then an ecclesiastical dependency of the Vicarage of St. Mary the Virgin, and consequently a part of Mr. Newman's spiritual charge as incumbent of that church. Thither he had been in the habit of retiring from the bustle and excitement of the University, more particularly since he had become, so much against his will, the object of its notice and the topic of its conversation. For several years, I believe, he had spent in its grateful seclusion the penitential seasons of the Church, and probably had long looked to it as one day to be the scene of a still more complete retirement, and a still more ascetical mode of life. Rumour soon became busy as to the probability of his carrying some such plan into effect; and the dons, who at this time were more than usually apt to take their afternoon stroll in the direction of Littlemore, remarked, in significant phrase, that what used to be a mere cluster of cottages, was assuming, under the hands of carpenters and masons, a somewhat monastic appearance. It was not long before these suspicions were fully confirmed. Mr. Newman's visits to Littlemore became less frequent only because they were more continuous; and somewhere, I think, about the end of the year 1842 he took up his abode, with several young men who had attached themselves to his person and to his fortunes, in the building which was not long in vindicating to itself the name of the Littlemore Monastery. Up to the summer of 1843, Mr. Newman continued to officiate in the church which had been erected in the forementioned village under his skilful eye. But somewhere about that period, as well as I can remember, he took his final leave of the Protestant pulpit in a sermon* of singular beauty and memorable interest to all his friends, who wept audibly, as they felt only too surely convinced that the voice so familiar to them was about to be hushed. From that period Mr. Newman took no prominent part in the church services, although, till within a few days of his conversion, he and his little band of faithful friends were constant attendants upon them. These friends, with the exception of one who had the start of the rest in reaching the

* Included in the "Sermons on Subjects of the Day."

goal of their common destiny, remained in the Establishment till about the time when Mr. Newman left it, and entered the Catholic Church simultaneously with him. It is needless to add, because the fact is generally known, that the life at Littlemore was founded upon the rule of the strictest religious orders. Over and above Mr. Newman's object in choosing for himself and his companions so austere a mode of preparing for any change which might await them, he may perhaps have intended to try a kind of crucial experiment upon the powers of the system of which he was resolved to hope even against hope. "If" (we may fancy him saying) "our lot be still cast in a portion of the True Church, the fact will best be proved by our finding ourselves able to live securely the life which from the earliest ages has been distinctive of that Church; whereas if God have any other will in our regard, it is by a life like this that we shall most certainly learn His purpose, and may most confidently depend upon His illuminating grace."

It may possibly have been with somewhat of the same intention that Mr. Newman authorised, about the same time, the publication of a series of biographies of English saints, though he did not take any personal part in the work, or make himself responsible for the opinions of individual writers. I well recollect the disappointment he expressed when this final experiment proved a failure, and the "Lives of the English Saints" had to be dropped in deference to the threatened opposition of authority long before their subject had been exhausted.

We have now once more brought up our history to the year 1845, in the summer of which a blow was struck at Margaret Chapel, and its dissolution added to the other notes by which Tractarianism was to be discredited as a permanent work. The minister who had for some time committed himself to Mr. Ward's view of subscription to the articles, and who felt that in the recent vote of the Oxford Convocation a wound had been inflicted upon himself which rendered his position extremely difficult in conscience, resolved upon bringing matters to an issue by drawing attention to his own published statements, and offering to stand by them if impugned. His challenge was taken up, not where he had given it, at Oxford, but where he did not think that it would be noticed, in London. Had he allowed matters to rest as they were, no prosecution could probably have been sustained against him, because the words complained of were published out of the limits of the London diocese. But his good angel prompted him to write a defence of his challenge, and to publish it in London, which at once gave his vigilant diocesan a handle against him. A

suit was accordingly instituted, on behalf of the bishop, in the Court of Arches. Fearful of being a party to the profane discussion of doctrines which he had already begun to regard with somewhat of Catholic reverence, and weary of a strife which he looked upon as unbecoming in itself, and hopeless in its result, he voluntarily tendered the resignation of his licence. The bishop, however, was not to be propitiated, and refused to accept his resignation. The suit was actively followed up, and, as the defendant absolutely declined to put in any plea on his own behalf, judgment went by default. The judge, however, unwilling to lose so good an opportunity of entering the protest of the highest ecclesiastical court against what were called "Romanizing opinions," pronounced a condemnation of Catholic doctrines *seriatim*. The court gave sentence to the effect that the minister should be perpetually suspended, except in the event of his retracting the alleged errors in terms satisfactory to the bishop. It is a significant circumstance that, while an interpretation of the Anglican formularies on the Catholic side was punished by perpetual inhibition from clerical duty, the construction of them which favours the doctrines of "Essays and Reviews" has been recently visited by a far milder penalty—that of suspension for a single year. In the latter case, too, the sentence does not give any opportunity for withdrawing the obnoxious doctrines; and the reason assigned is curious. It is founded on the relative positions of the two defendants; the unbeneficed minister being supposed to want those inducements to an hypocritical retraction by which the wealthy rector is thought likely to be influenced.* The conclusion is inevitable. A clergyman who publicly denies the truth of parts of the Scripture history, the miraculous character of the Christian dispensation, and the eternity of future punishments, is allowed to resume his ministry, without retraction, after a twelvemonth; while one who claims to "hold, but not to teach," Roman doctrine is perpetually suspended. I am far from quarrelling with either decision, least of all with the anti-Roman one; but the con-

* "There was a distinction to be drawn between the case of Mr. Oakeley referred to by the Queen's Advocate, and the present one. In the former case the defendant (who professed to hold all Roman doctrine, and) held only a curacy, the sentence was that his licence was to be suspended until he had retracted the erroneous doctrines he had avowed. That was the only case he was aware of where such a punishment had been inflicted. His lordship thought it would be wrong to suspend the defendant until he had retracted, as that judgment might cause a retraction which did not come from the heart."—Judgment of Dr. Lushington. See *Times* of Dec. 16, 1862.

trast is eminently illustrative of the real character of the Anglican Church.*

Mr. Newman's conversion, though incomparably the most momentous, was not the first in point of time, of those by which the year '45 was signalized. Mr. Ward preceded him by several weeks; Mr. Grant, Mr. Tickell, and Mr. Bridges, all now Fathers of the Society of Jesus, by a considerably longer interval. Till the very day of Mr. Newman's reception into the Church, hopes were entertained by his Anglican friends that he might still repent of his intention; nor was the fact of his conversion believed even after it had occurred. This was owing in part to the obscurity which hung over it, and of which the circumstances attending it will furnish a sufficient explanation.

It was a memorable day that 9th of October, 1845. The rain came down in torrents, bringing with it the first heavy instalment of autumn's "sere and yellow" leaves. The wind, like a spent giant, howled forth the expiring notes of its equinoctial fury. The superstitious might have said that the very elements were on the side of Anglicanism; so copiously did they weep, so piteously bemoan, the approaching departure of its great representative. The bell which swung visibly in the turret of the little gothic church at Littlemore gave that day the usual notice of morning and afternoon prayers; but it came to the ear in that buoyant, bouncing tone which is usual in a high wind, and sounded like a knell rather than a summons. The monastery was more than usually sombre and still. Egress and ingress there were none that day; for it had been given out among friends accustomed to visit there that Mr. Newman "wished to remain quiet." One of these friends who resided in the neighbourhood had been used to attend the evening office in the Oratory of the house, but he was forbidden to come "for two or three days, for reasons which would be explained later." The 9th of the month passed off without producing any satisfaction to the general curiosity. All which transpired was that a remarkable-looking man, evidently a foreigner, and shabbily dressed in black, had asked his way to Mr. Newman's on the day but one before; and the rumour was that he was a Catholic priest. In the course of a day or two, the friend before mentioned was re-admitted to the evening office, and found that a change had come over it. The Latin was pronounced for the first time in the Italian way, and

* Since the above was written, the contrast between the two results has been made infinitely stronger by the reversal of Dr. Lushington's sentence, on the appeal to the Privy Council.

the antiphons of our Lady, which up to that time had been always omitted, came out in their proper place. The friend in question would have asked the reason of these changes, but it was forbidden to speak to any of the community after night prayers. Very soon the mystery was cleared up by Mr. Newman and his companions appearing at mass in the public chapel at Oxford. He had been received into the Church on the 9th by Father Dominic, of the Congregation of the Passion. Thus noiselessly and unobtrusively did the event come to pass which, whether we consider its importance as an insulated fact, or its undoubted influence upon the succeeding conversions, must be pronounced to have been, if not the providential end of the Tractarian movement, at any rate the symbol and measure of its true significance. Three weeks after Mr. Newman's conversion, he and his companions, with another clergyman who had been received into the Church in the interval, were kneeling before the altar of St. Mary's, Oscott, to receive the gift of the Holy Ghost in the Sacrament of Confirmation. This was on the Feast of All Saints, Saturday, November 1st, 1845. The words in the Gospel of the Festival were felt by some of those who were present to derive a startling force from their coincidence with the circumstances which had preceded them: "*Nolite nocere terræ . . . quoadusque signemus servos Dei nostri in frontibus eorum.*"

Having now brought this historical sketch to its natural termination, all which remains is to give a brief analysis of the character of the religious movement which I have undertaken to describe, and a summary of its principal effects. For a reason which will afterwards appear, it will be convenient to give the precedence to the last of these subjects of inquiry. What then have been the effects of Tractarianism? and, first, upon the religious system out of which it sprang?

This inquiry is more or less difficult; some may think it to be even presumptuous in the hands of a Catholic, who must necessarily take his point of view from an external position, and who will be considered a partial, if not prejudiced, witness in the cause. Yet, on the other hand, there are certain public facts bearing upon the argument, which it requires no ingenuity to interpret, and involves no departure from my proper province to criticise. These facts lead to the conclusion that, whatever the Established Church may have gained by the Tractarian movement in freedom of action, it has lost that which no gain can compensate where the claim of a Church is the matter in dispute—sensitiveness to doctrinal truth. I do not speak merely of those legal decisions whereby, first, the Sacrament of Baptism, and, eventually, the Inspiration of

Holy Scripture and the Eternity of Future Punishments are pronounced to be questions upon which Christians are at liberty to differ; but of other phenomena of the Established Church, tending, if possible, even more significantly in the same direction of latitudinarian indifference. Where is now the bias in favour of dogmatic theology in which such works as Mr. Newman's "*S. Athanasius*" had their origin? Where is Mr. Keble, once the leader of protests against the latitudinarianism of the Church and the Erastianism of the State? His voice, it would seem, is all but hushed, while Rationalism is vigorous, and Infidelity on its march. Quiescence appears to be the order of the day in what, a quarter of a century ago, was the great party of action; and anti-Christian opinions are taking advantage of the supineness which is fostered by the dread of conversions to that Church who is, and has ever been, the only consistent witness to dogmatic truth. So long as there be any grounds for these apprehensions, the spirit of Tractarianism has vanished, and its object in aiming at the elevation of the National Church as a teacher, has been entirely and conspicuously defeated. Nor is it of any avail to answer that Anglican clergymen can do with impunity what years ago was found to be impracticable; that they can burn candles by daylight, wear chasubles, start confraternities, order processions, and the like. For surely these things, apart from the doctrine which gives them meaning, and indulged as the hobbies of individuals, not as the natural adjuncts of an authoritative system, are the very husks and shreds of religion, far more senseless than the accompaniments of the barest Protestantism, which, at any rate, are not discredited by the note of inconsistency, and more dangerous, inasmuch as they serve to create a false atmosphere around the minds of those who trust in them.

One feature there is of actual Anglicanism which deserves a more respectful treatment at the hands of a Catholic—I mean the quasi-religious sisterhoods which have been undoubtedly multiplied during the last few years, and which appear to have assumed the rank of something like an institution of the National Establishment. Rumours reach us, apparently on good authority, concerning these communities, which, if true, would seem to betoken a very insufficient notion of the obligations of the Religious State. But I have no predisposition to believe anything but what is good of such establishments. The more highly, however, we rate them, the more fully we are satisfied that they imply the true spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, the more surely may we reckon upon their fulfilling their destination as training-schools for the

Catholic Church. So far, therefore, as they are fruits of the Tractarian movement, they bear out the view which has here been taken of its appointed end.

On the other hand, it is certain that the conversions to the Church which have directly followed upon the movement, have served to bring out a portion of the mass left behind in an unsatisfactory point of view. Few, comparatively, of those partisans of the movement who have not become Catholics, have continued altogether upon their ancient level. Those who have not advanced have receded; and it is sad to think that more than one who took a part in the more extreme developments of the work, have since been conspicuous on the rationalistic side of more recent controversies. Others, who once almost touched the threshold of the Church, have since settled down in contented or at any rate acquiescent Protestantism.*

The demeanour, again, adopted towards converts by those who have not seen it right to follow them, has been often unamiable, ungenerous, and inconsistent with former professions. I do not deny that there have been cases in which this behaviour has been provoked by the bearing of converts themselves, who, to a cordial detestation of the heresy they have renounced, are surely bound to add a large amount of forbearance and sympathy towards those with whom they were so recently associated in their errors. But the pages of the *Christian Remembrancer*, and the columns of the *Guardian*, have often betrayed tokens of signal unfairness towards those among the converts who have been even distinguished for their generosity and tenderness in their judgment of their former co-religionists.†

* Anglicans, who have remained such, are apt to observe, as a set-off against these unquestionable facts, that some of their body who have become Catholics, have, as they are pleased to say, "deteriorated." If so it be, I am heartily grieved for the result, and am quite sure that the Church, at any rate, is not responsible for it. But again, where those who have been clergymen before have taken to professions incongruous with their former one, may not this prove that they had "mistaken their vocation" before, rather than that they are acting inconsistently with it now? And what more probable, considering the absence of any sufficient preparation for the ecclesiastical calling in the Established Church, and of any clear line of separation between it and the world? Another explanation of the difference sometimes observed in the same converts before and after conversion, is that the peace of mind and freedom from official responsibility which follow upon conversion, are apt to produce a certain joyousness, or, as it would be called, "jauntiness," of manner very likely to be mistaken for levity or heartlessness.

† A prominent instance of this unfairness, amounting to a clear case of literary dishonesty, occurs in the conduct of the *Christian Remembrancer* towards Mr. Ward, and is noticed by that gentleman in "Three Letters to

The effect of the Tractarian movement upon the Catholic Church is a subject upon which we can speak with much greater confidence and certainty. Its merely numerical additions to the ranks of our little army are by no means inconsiderable, and far outstrip the calculations of our Protestant fellow-countrymen. They have been measured, very naturally, by the names of those more distinguished converts who happen to have figured in the public journals and otherwise. But these records take no account of the multitudes of the middle and poorer classes who are flowing into the Church in an uninterrupted stream. In London alone, if we are to judge by the statistics of our churches and chapels, the number of converts must annually amount to more than a thousand; and to this sum we have to add the converts made, in due proportion, in the large provincial towns. Doubtless there are drawbacks upon this computation: occasional relapses among converts, and losses, especially in the younger part of our population, through the effects of a proselytism as unscrupulous in its means as it is indefatigable in its vigilance. Yet the fact remains, with whatever deductions, that during the last twenty years several hundreds of the Established clergy, many of them learned and highly educated, and many more thousands of the laity, have entered the fold of the Church—a number far greater than that of all the converts united whom the Church gained in the century and a half preceding.

But it is not by the mere numerical addition to our ranks that the real weight of these conversions is to be estimated. Each single convert, and, eminently, each clerical convert, represents an accession of influence to the Church greatly beyond the fact of his individual adhesion. Over and above the actual souls which he brings directly with him, there is the weight of his example, the testimony of his consistency, and in many cases, as we may hope, the illustration which his conduct gives to the principles which he has embraced, often

the Editor of the *Guardian*," published in 1852. The *Christian Remembrancer* had stated that Dr. Newman's account of "the origin of the existing dogmatic theology" is "substantially identical" with that of Mr. Ierson, who considers our Lord to have been a "mere preacher of natural religion." Mr. Ward proved by an extract from the work of Dr. Newman thus referred to, that his statement, so far from being "identical" with that of Mr. Ierson, was in direct opposition to it. Mr. Ward drew the attention of the editor of the *Christian Remembrancer* once and again to the unfounded nature of his imputation upon Dr. Newman, in the full belief that upon the universally acknowledged principles of literary justice, to say nothing of generosity, he would have retracted his assertion. Will it be believed that from that hour to this no notice whatever, either private or public, has been taken of Mr. Ward's communication?

at much sacrifice, with the consequent diminution of prejudice and removal of misunderstanding in quarters to which before the Church had no access. It is to this cause among others that we are to attribute the manifest impression which Catholicity has produced upon the public mind during the last few years as intimated, no less by the hostility than by the sympathy of the press. Even in England the Church is too great, too powerful, too mysterious, to be any longer ignored. A barrier, as I have found occasion in a former part of this sketch to observe, was heretofore placed between English Catholics and their fellow-countrymen, which, by cutting off all communication, helped to augment the natural opposition which must ever subsist between heresy and Truth. This opposition is so strong as to require no addition from personal misconceptions. Now the converts have acted as a link of union between the two bodies, which without, it is to be hoped, a compromise of essential and material truth, has subserved the interests of peace by aiding those of charity and justice.

These conversions, once more, have acted as a new evidence of the divine character of the Church. A writer in the DUBLIN REVIEW, as far back as the year 1846, ventured to anticipate that such would be one of their manifold effects, and so it has proved. It may safely be said that no religious body, of merely human origin, could have sustained, as the Church has done, this remarkable crisis. With some exceptions, of which it is not necessary to investigate the causes, the converts, as a body, have settled down into the Church with a facility, a quietness, a naturalness, which, if it be some proof on their side of a spirit of obedience and accommodation which the graces of the Church could alone have guaranteed, is no less a proof on hers of an elasticity and expansiveness which are singularly *not* the attributes of human, especially of human religious societies. Here are some thousands of persons of infinitely various antecedents—many of them men of great experience, and of cultivated intellect—taken up, as it were, at once into solution by the Church, as easily and as naturally as if they had always been in some sort her own, the sharers of a congenial element, the natives of an homogeneous soil. Why, there is no religious body in the world, I will make bold to assert, but that whose capacities of good are indefinite and whose powers of adjustment are inexhaustible, which would not have split up into ten thousand fragments upon the introduction of an agent so powerful and so explosive.

A brief examination, in the last place, of the character of

the movement itself will tend still further to exhibit it in the light of a marvellous attestation to the Divine authority of Catholic Truth, and in some respects an attestation of a new and original character. Never was there a religious work which bore more evidently on its surface the marks of conscientiousness, disinterestedness, and unworldliness. Those in whose conversion it has resulted, speaking generally, had nothing which is of this world to gain, but everything to lose, by becoming Catholics. Their sympathies, prepossessions, interests, prospects, the fond memories of early years, the anxious anticipations of years to come—all were enlisted on the side of the religious system in which they had been reared. Every step which they took in their progress towards their present convictions was thwarted by natural impediments, and haunted by dispiriting visions. If young, the longer was the train of bright hopes and attractive prospects which they must quit; if of mature age, the deeper were the roots which they had struck into their ancient soil, the greater the difficulty of becoming acclimatized to their new country. Hardly one of them was so wholly isolated as to act independently of such embarrassing trammels or such fascinating attractions, while most of them found themselves actually entangled in meshes successively woven at an earlier period of their lives, when nothing was less present to their thoughts than the probability of grave religious differences intervening to complicate and damage such associations.

The Tractarian movement, whatever might have been the case in particular instances, was unquestionably, on the whole, a serious, painstaking, deliberate, and eminently religious work—undertaken with entire singleness of aim, and conducted with a remarkable absence of passion and prejudice. The spirit of Mr. Newman, its great chieftain, was diffused, more or less, through its whole range; and no one who associated with him during its progress can ever forget the cautious wisdom with which he proceeded in every step; repressing indiscreet zeal, sustaining the weak-minded, steadying the irresolute, softening the over-severe, and ever interposing the sage counsel and the charitable construction in aid of the erring judgment or in arrest of the hasty censure.

Once more. The movement took its rise from the very centre of intelligence and education, and has thus helped to set for ever at rest the theory of an essential opposition between Catholic truth and processes of intellectual inquiry, conducted in the spirit of Christian simplicity and reliance on Divine aid. Here were men who had everything which this world holds valuable to keep them within their original boundaries, enter-

ing upon a course of theological study with no other object than that of confirming themselves in their actual belief, yet in no long time we find them impelled by it, in spite of themselves, in a totally opposite direction. What is most remarkable of all is that this effect is produced, not by the study of especially Roman divines, but of the earlier Fathers, whose writings were read by Dr. Newman, as he somewhere tells us, over and over again, and each time with an ever-increasing bias towards the same point. Other courses of study, meanwhile, followed up by other persons according to the bent of their tastes, or the requirements of their particular occupation, converged by different paths to the same centre.

This brings me, in conclusion, to the last note of the Tractarian movement of which I am to speak in connection with the result in which that movement has issued; I mean its essentially independent and external character as a witness to Catholic truth. I do not forget the impulse for good which it received from within the Catholic Church through the unwavering interest and learned efforts of one eminent person. For this advantage, indeed, I have made allowance in a former paper; but this aid was certainly no less exceptional than it was valuable. It is no discredit to the generality of Catholics both at home and abroad, though it is all the more to the honour of the individual in question, that, as a general rule, the movement was very long before it excited any sufficient interest among them, and even when at length it did excite that interest, was but partially understood and imperfectly appreciated. Moreover, the remarkable fact is, not that it should have attracted the attention of one, and been furthered by his aid, but that it should have proceeded as far as it had when it first received that notice, by the mere force of an intrinsic and self-acting power, and have attained, at any rate, a capacity of being affected with such marvellous results by that external agency. I am not aware, though I speak under correction, that there is any precedent in the history of the Church for so mighty an effect being produced upon her state and destiny, in a purely spiritual point of view, by influences which, in their origin, early history, and general character, were so extrinsic to her system and so independent of her direct teaching. I am here speaking of the movement antecedently to Mr. Newman's conversion, for since that time the case has been far otherwise. Many of those who have more recently come over to us have owed their convictions, under God, to the direct influence of Catholic teaching far oftener sought out by them than pressed upon them. But up to the year 1845, which was a critical epoch in the history of

Tractarianism, it was not so. Mr. Newman, as I have heard, had only the barest acquaintance with one or two Catholic priests, and was supposed rather to avoid than to court their society. I ought, however, to say, once for all, that whenever in these papers I have ventured to speak of Mr. Newman—or of others who were connected with this movement, but in departments of it which were more or less foreign to my own—I have done so by an historical licence only, according to the best means of information at my command, but under correction of those with whose names I have taken this liberty. With regard, however, to myself (so far as what relates to me individually can have any claim to public interest), as well as to others of whom I can speak with the same confidence as of myself, I can state positively that many of us had no personal knowledge of any Catholic priest till within a short time of our conversion; that I myself was never in a Catholic church in these islands but once, when I made a speedy retreat out of it under a panic of conscience; and that I was, moreover, all but entirely ignorant of the structure and ceremonies of the Mass before I became a Catholic, as was almost ludicrously evidenced when I did so.

On the whole, the more accurately we examine the character of this great movement in connection with its results, both actual and probable, the more we are thrown back from the uncertainty of our own conjectures upon the mystery of the Divine operations. “*A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris.*” Twice before in these latter centuries has the Catholic Church seemed in the way to regain her hold upon the English nation: in the reign of the First Mary and that of the Second James. But the cup of promise was dashed away from her lips before it had neared them, and the hope which for the moment had been awakened had its reaction in periods of a still deeper depression. May it have been that her Lord reserved for her some better destiny; that He would have the work of restoration to begin, not from above, but from below—its instruments to be, not the princes and nobles of this world, but the missionaries of the poor; that He would lay its foundations deep in the spirit of obedience, conscientiousness, and self-sacrifice, instead of suffering it to be hurried into a premature and evanescent luxuriance, under the baneful action of influences which might have accelerated its growth without insuring its stability?

FREDERICK OAKELEY.

P.S.—Since these papers had gone too far to admit either of withdrawal or material change, Dr. Newman, to the universal

joy of Catholics, has been led, by an entirely unforeseen circumstance, to give to the world the best of all possible histories of the Tractarian Movement, and thus to supply the want in a sense of which the present imperfect sketch had its origin. The review of my own work by the light of Dr. Newman's most beautiful and affecting narrative, leads me to feel most sensibly how much reason I have to ask pardon of him for the free and merely conjectural use which I have made of his name, and of the public for having unintentionally intruded upon a ground which should have been reserved exclusively for him. As my work is now a *fait accompli*, which I can neither undo nor qualify, both parties must kindly accept this apology in the place of any better reparation; and of the public, more especially, I would ask that it would simply accept Dr. Newman's work as the test by which the accuracy or inaccuracy of all I have said concerning himself, his acts, words, and opinions, is to be tried, as well as of my general account of the movement itself, with the exception, of course, of such parts of my narrative as relate to what happened to myself at a distance from the scene of Dr. Newman's labours, and the sphere of his personal observation. In one respect, the publication of these papers may be even serviceable to Dr. Newman's object, in the way, namely, of accidental corroboration. That any coincidence between his statements and mine is "undesigned," will be evident, when I mention that I have had no personal communication whatever with him on the subject of the present series, and that I have no reason to know that he has even seen it.

Foreign Periodical Literature.

DR. DÖLLINGER AND THE MUNICH CONGRESS.

Civiltà Cattolica, February 20—March 5, 1864.

THE Malines Congress was a Congress of Catholics, or a Catholic Congress. Its scope was therefore general, as regards both matters and men. The Munich Congress was confined to the learned Catholics of Germany; and, in fact, while no less than four thousand persons attended the Belgian Congress, that of Munich did not number above eighty-four. The learned and select character of this assembly, however, gives to its acts a higher scientific character; while, at the same time, it is not to be denied that this increase of dignity brought with it a corresponding peril, by opening the door to the introduction of disputable and even dangerous theories. Under such circumstances the learned, not of Germany only, but of all other nations, have a right to examine the theories propounded, to pronounce their own opinion upon them, and, in particular, to inquire how far they are agreeable to the spirit, practice, and doctrines of the Church. The reviewers by no means intend to bring all the subjects discussed at the Munich meeting to this test; indeed they are glad to be able to express a sincere approbation of much that is contained in the acts of the Congress. Nevertheless, it is with pain that they feel themselves bound to state that they have also met with not a little that seems to them to be seriously reprehensible; and they are the freer to notice such passages with all frankness, because it appears that not a single bishop sat in the assembly; probably from a natural unwillingness to render ecclesiastical authority in any way responsible for its proceedings. In fact, this very motive is alleged by a bishop in a letter, wherein he courteously excuses himself from taking any personal share in the meeting. They have no disposition to make the Congress a party to any opinions which it did not formally endorse; but certainly the longest and most important discourse pronounced was not such as to correspond to the fame enjoyed by its illustrious author; and in perusing it, they were reminded of the regretful feelings recently awakened in their minds by another discourse upon a different subject delivered at Malines, which has cast a shade over a brilliant and honoured name. In the one case, as was to be expected in a large assembly, and that chiefly consisting of individuals, if not of the French nation, yet of the French language, practical subjects, such as that of civil liberty, preoccupied men's minds; in the other, as was no less natural in a restricted circle of German professors—men singularly given to scientific speculation—sacred sciences and theology, in particular, became the engross-

ing topic. But in both cases we meet with the same deplorable example of an assault upon brethren instead of a combined attack on the common foe, each, it may be, undertaken with the latent hope of conciliating adversaries by abandoning friends to censure, without due consideration as to the invincible futility of such concessions, which in reality are made at the expense of truth and justice. The noble French orator, as the champion of the so-called "modern liberties," assailed what men please to call the ultra or Roman school (a common artifice of speech to disguise the boldness of an attack upon what is purely and simply Catholic), which condemns these liberties in the abstract; and the learned Dr. Döllinger, who takes up the gauntlet for "the liberties of the sacred sciences," seizes the occasion to disparage scholastic theology, and, as a consequence, that philosophy which is so intimately connected, not to say identified, therewith. The old edifice raised by scholasticism has fallen into ruin, he tells us; it is not susceptible of repair; we want a new building, as the former in no way meets the requirements of the living generation.

The opinion maintained by the writers of the *Civiltà Cattolica* as to the unimpaired solidity of the theological edifice, as well as that of scholastic philosophy, in all substantial respects, is matter of notoriety; of course there is nothing to hinder the perfecting of the structure and the adding thereto; many such contributions were made in the sixteenth century. For more than two centuries, however, the sciences have been drifting away from theology, to their own great detriment and degradation—a result sure to follow, owing to the intimate connection which binds facts and ideas together. So patent became this evil at the beginning of the present century, that numbers of learned men throughout Catholic Europe, for these many years past, have been resorting anew to that majestic building under whose hospitable roof our fathers in the faith found shelter. Now the writers in the *Civiltà Cattolica* have been long actively promoting this return. Imagine, then, their feelings at hearing that the building is declared to be a hopeless ruin! It may well be supposed that they are not prepared to accept this sentence unexamined, particularly as the same author adds that the new edifice (which is to replace the old one) is not yet ready, though the stones have been got together and many eager labourers are busy at work hewing and fashioning them. We need for a habitation a house—not stone blocks; and even supposing that the building were finished, some slight distrust might reasonably be felt if it were one of very recent construction. How much more when it is not so much as begun; and this, too, in Germany!

Our writers might have foregone their right of examination, particularly as Dr. Döllinger's speech is not likely to attract much notice in Italy; but it so happens that while making a bitter attack on scholasticism, he unintentionally proves the direct contrary to what he would wish to establish; and from this very discourse it may be deduced, as a necessary conclusion, that in a return to the old scholastic theology alone can a true scientific restoration be expected. The "Discourse upon the Past and Present of Catholic Theology" is really an undesigned apology for scholasticism. They desire, therefore, to make Italy acquainted with this splendid confirmation of the doctrines they maintain.

The reviewers are far from wishing to ignore Dr. Döllinger's well-merited reputation ; still less do they desire to impugn his orthodoxy. In this very discourse there are many admirable passages—as, for instance, where he shows how the liberty of the Catholic theologian is not in the slightest degree impaired by his submission to the Church, but, on the contrary, is in perfect harmony therewith ; and yet in treating of the vicissitudes which theological science has undergone, he has broached many erroneous opinions. That they should judge these opinions severely can scarcely be made matter of objection by one who has judged all and everything, not only severely, but unjustly ; who, for example, asserts that it would be easy to collect a series of propositions from the *Summa* of S. Thomas, which, when pressed by close logic to their final consequences, would lead to “pernicious errors.” The like process, at any rate—and it need not be very close or pressing—they may be allowed to apply to the propositions of a German professor.

1.—*What, according to Dr. Döllinger, is Theological Science? and what is its authoritative value in the Church?*

Although the Professor entertains so mean an opinion of scholastic theology, yet to the position occupied by theology itself he attributes a kind of importance and authority which has surely never been conceded to it. There is much vagueness and confusion in his definition, but thus much may be stated in his own words :—“The scientific self-consciousness which the Church possesses of her past, present, and future, of the complexion of her doctrines, and of her ordering and rule of life, this it is which we call theology.” Well may he say, “which *we* call theology,” for the plural pronoun must be taken to represent himself : certainly no Catholic theologian ever thought of thus describing it, particularly as the precise meaning of the passage (in which the expression “scientific” might appear to introduce a certain qualification) is fixed by what follows, viz., that the Church existed in the world long before theology, and without it ; just as a human being passes a certain portion of his existence before his self-consciousness develops itself. This, Dr. Döllinger tells us, is self-evident.

But what does he here understand by the Church ? Does he mean its pastors, with the Sovereign Pontiff at their head, who have received from Christ the commission to rule and instruct the flock ? But the theology of the schools does not emanate from them : they propound dogmas and teach morals as they have traditionally received them ; confirm, declare, develop, as need arises ; and, above all, proscribe errors opposed to faith, according to the supernatural guidance of the Holy Spirit. In so doing, the Church of course gives utterance to theological statements ; but this is quite a different thing from composing scientific systems of theology. On scientific theology the Church undoubtedly sets a very high value, and she has made large use of it in her definitions ; but as a system it is not constructed by her. Does he mean the Church as consisting of the body of the faithful ? But these, taken as a whole, neither do nor can make theology : to them appertains the simplicity of belief, not the subtlety of argument. Putting aside, then, all these high-sounding phrases, which, soaring into the regions

of mist, become at once indistinct and inexact, it may be stated simply that the Church has always possessed the full and rational intelligence of the dogma she has promulgated, and this before scholastic theology existed ; and that she would still possess it, were this theology (by an impossible supposition) entirely to disappear. The acts of Councils, the works of the Fathers, the Scriptures themselves, contain numerous and sublime disquisitions on dogma and morals. If, at any given time, the genius of man succeeds in combining these ideas into a body or synthesis, more or less comprehensive, according to true scientific principles, a theology is formed, which is therefore, as considered apart from its subject-matter, a natural science, and may be reckoned amongst the many helps in the natural order which God so prodigally bestows upon His Church in her state of pilgrimage. It is a noble and a precious help ; yet the Church, speaking absolutely, needs it not, in order either to live or to act. It is offensive to Christian ears to hear the Church of the first ages spoken of as an unconscious, unreasoning infant when, on the contrary, during no period was a greater number of dogmatic definitions or moral and disciplinary rules promulgated. The Church of those days had to provide all that concerned her internal and external life ; everything was new, and she had to contend, at the same time, with a dominating Paganism and with rising heresies. The Church, in short, was created perfect, as was the first man in Paradise, who passed through no state of infancy. This, of course, does not preclude the addition of fresh developments, by the deduction of consequences which those principles she has ever consciously held fruitfully contain ; just as occurs with the faculties of the grown man.

From the confusion which Dr. Döllinger makes between scientific theology and the Church herself, he is led to attribute to the former a position parallel to that which public opinion is held by the liberals to occupy with reference to politics, viz., that of dominant rule. It is to theology he attributes the formation and growth of that sound, healthy public opinion " before which all ultimately bow, even the heads of the Church, and the depositaries of authority." And he compares this condition of things to that which obtained amongst the Hebrew people, where, side by side with the ordinary sacerdotal office, existed an extraordinary power — that of prophecy. Theology, in fine, he reckons amongst what have been called the three pillars of the Church ; the other two being the Papacy and the Empire. Moreover, he seems to approve the distribution which, while awarding the Papacy to the Italians, gives the Empire to the Germans, and Scientific Theology to the French. He thinks this holds good as respects past ages ; the third, the theological pillar, we presume is about to be constructed anew on German soil.

Every Catholic must at once see the impropriety, to say no worse, of these comparisons. The first gives up the Church, to become what civil society has become, abandoned to the sway of uncertain and changeable opinion. The second proves the direct contrary to what it is adduced to illustrate. The prophets under the old law were inspired, not so the priesthood ; whereas under the Gospel, the sacerdotal order is supernaturally assisted, and the theologians are not so assisted. How, then, shall theologians have a power, not only equal, but superior, to that of the rulers of the Church, so

that the latter must actually come and bow before them, so soon as they have succeeded in giving existence and force to a "public opinion"? Who ever heard of this new hierarchy? Certainly we find no mention made either of theologians or of public opinion in the definitions of Ecumenical Councils, which give no other reason for their decisions than what is contained in the declaration of the Apostles at the first Council of Jerusalem: "*Vicium est Spiritui Sancto et nobis.*" The writers, of course, are far from denying the high esteem in which the Church has always held the counsel of theologians, and how largely she has availed herself of their help as of other natural and rational means. But who would therefore assign to theologians a positive power, or would venture to make the true power of the Church dependent on public opinion?

On the other hand, if no theology, strictly speaking, existed before the thirteenth century; if none existed in the eighteenth; if there be none at the present time—all which we understand Dr. Döllinger to maintain—we are led to ask what construction we are to put upon this theory of "the three pillars;" which has the vice, moreover, of placing the Papacy, a supernatural institution essential to the Church, on a level with the Empire and Theology. If you say that Science is, and that the Empire also was, at one time, a powerful arm, receiving life and direction from the head of the Church, you say true. Perhaps in this sense the University of Paris may be considered to have been pre-eminent in the middle ages; but, so far from the Church following its lead—an assertion which Dr. Döllinger cannot have meant to make, although it is certainly the obvious signification of the words he uses—it was continually directed, watched, and occasionally corrected, and even censured, by the Apostolic See. Great, then, as is the value which the Church sets on theological science—and this value can hardly be overrated—the power of forming and regulating Christian belief and morality cannot be conceded to it. Whether, therefore, the Church consult a theological faculty of the Sorbonne or a modern Roman Congregation, it is not the heads of the Church which bow to public opinion, formed and accredited by theology; but it is opinion, be it theological or public, which bows, or at least ought to bow, to the teaching of the heads of the Church. Otherwise, faith would not be supernatural; neither could it be one.

2.—*Formation of Theological Science in the 13th Century. Its Foundation and Universality.*

Leaving the question of Dr. Döllinger's opinion of theology and its authority, let us come to the question of the time and manner in which it was constituted in a scientific form. After rapidly glancing at the state of sacred studies previous to the latter half of the 13th century, from Clement of Alexandria to S. Anselm, he tells us that with the latter commenced the grand development of the new theology, the realization of the problem which was to cause what was held by faith and embraced by the will to pass into an intellectual conviction; thus converting belief into understanding, and forming a well organized and comprehensive system out of the collection of revealed truths. An early attempt had been made at Alexandria to connect

philosophy with the doctrines of the Church ; this new union of philosophy (now Aristotelian) with the dogma of the Church created the theology which henceforward was to be dominant until the 16th century. Morality was also now for the first time elevated by S. Thomas to the dignity of a science, albeit (*wenn' auch*) based on Aristotelian foundations. By-and-by the faults and defects which the Professor attributes to this theology will be noted ; for the present the writers observe that Dr. Döllinger positively asserts that during the eleven centuries which preceded the formation of this system, as also during the seven which followed, no analogous phenomenon presented itself. It must, however, be remembered that immense treasures of sacred doctrine had been accumulated in the writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, who, now interpreting Scripture, now combating Paganism, now exhorting Christians to the practice of virtue, now propounding dogma against heresy, had given utterance, in the shape of argument and exhortation, to what has not been and perhaps could not be surpassed. Still scientific theology, as we now understand the term, was not yet constituted, although during a thousand years, fertile in sanctity and wisdom, abundant and precious elements had been collected. To construct the edifice God sent that angel of sanctity and wisdom, Thomas Aquinas, who in twenty years completed the great work which S. Anselm and Peter Lombard had begun. The stones were indeed at that time all ready prepared for the wonderful building, and skilful workmen abounded, so that that was a reality then which now is but a modest fancy of Dr. Döllinger's, who ingenuously imagines that his own Germany of to-day possesses the materials for raising a still more magnificent edifice.

The writers notice the slight which the author casts on the Aristotelian philosophy when speaking of the science of morals which S. Thomas built upon it. Not only, they observe, was this true of his system of morals, but even dogma, so far as regards the rational element necessarily involved in it, was, save in a few points which needed correction in order to bring them into harmony with faith, alike based upon the Aristotelian philosophy. Our writers are of opinion that this philosophy, as a system or method, has received from the Church a measure of approbation and a kind of Christian consecration of which neither the scoffs of the ignorant nor the assaults of the learned will ever be able to rob it. Dr. Döllinger himself must be aware that in his own Germany there are not wanting eminent minds, who, wearied of the ever varying systems and monstrous figments put forth under the name of philosophy, have turned again to the study of the Stagyrte.

Another point to be specially noticed is the character of universality which the great theological science constituted in the 13th century speedily acquired, a mark of its true Catholicity. Dr. Döllinger bears witness to this *supernational* character, resembling that of the Church, which distinguished the scholastic theology. Each nation furnished its contingent of doctors to complete the gigantic work—we do not know why Abelard figures amongst them, except it be from the peculiar attraction which heterodoxical tendencies appear to impart in Dr. Döllinger's estimation—and "Paris was the great emporium and laboratory of theological and philosophical science." When we reflect that to this unity of method was added the unity of language,

from the universal employment of the Latin tongue, we can form some idea how potent and salutary an instrument this science must have proved, and how susceptible it was of enlargement and development.

We shall presently allude to its partial declension in the two following centuries, its vigorous revival in the 16th and its subsequent decline in the second half of the 17th, and down to the commencement of the present, when it seemed well-nigh forgotten. All human things are subject to vicissitude. But never before the rise of the scholastic theology, and never since its formation, has any other theological science, properly so called, existed in the Church, a fact which Dr. Döllinger presupposes and tacitly admits throughout his discourse. But this avowal only renders more reprehensible his bitter censures of a theological science which it is only not possible to call the most splendid which has arisen in the Church, because it has ever stood alone.

3.—*Whether and in what Degree it be true that Scholastic Theology has been barren in the matter of Biblical and Historical Studies ?*

Scholasticism, according to Dr. Döllinger, had but one point of view, and never got beyond it. From the analytical character of its method it was incapable of raising a scientific edifice, harmoniously constructed and really corresponding with and commensurate to the depth of the riches contained in revealed truth. Moreover, he considers that those two elements of theology, biblical and historical exegesis, were completely stifled. Men were deficient in those prerequisites for historical research, linguistic studies and critical capacity. They lived in the present ; they had no conception of anything but what was accomplished or about to be so. The laws which preside over historical development, even in the province of religion, were quite unknown. Theology had but one eye, the speculative ; she lacked the other, the historical.

Ere long, Dr. Döllinger will complacently give us the agreeable information that the Germans are destined to become the teachers of divinity to all other lands, as (he observes) they already are masters in philosophy and history ; and the irrefragable proof he alleges is their aptitude to learn foreign languages. Our writers think it would be well to abstain from the expression of these national preferences. They are imprudent, to say no more ; and they adduce an instance near home. Italy has become the jest of sects and the fable of nations ever since she was declared to possess a "moral and civil primacy" by one who, conspicuous in his day, would be forgotten now, if Dr. Döllinger had not rescued him from oblivion, to extol him as the only great man of science (with the exception of Ventura and Rosmini) of whom modern Italy can boast. But this by the way ; it seems a little strange to accord scientific supremacy to the Germans on the ground of their aptitude for acquiring foreign languages ; one would rather have thought that the doctrinal sceptre should be awarded to the people with whose tongue other nations show the greatest disposition to become acquainted ; and if so, France would have a better claim to be the teacher of the human race. Our writers add, that if Germany is to exercise this function, it would be well that our Teutonic masters should cultivate a greater clearness and perspicuity

of style, and talk a little more like other people. To the natural difficulties of the language the modern Germans add a misty and intricate way of expressing the simplest ideas, which makes them eminently unfit to communicate their thoughts to others. They are led the more to make this remark by the pretentious manner in which the Professor has conveyed, or rather obscured, a very simple assertion. It amounts in plain terms to this:—Scholastic theology, confining itself to speculation in matters of dogma, neglected to fortify its conclusions by biblical and historical study; it paid little attention either to the Greek or the Oriental languages, or to what now goes by the name of criticism. If the Professor had used these plain terms, we should have recognised what has been long ago and often said; but his cloudy language and stilted phraseology impose upon us, and make us think we have some formidable objection to answer, if indeed answered it can be. Our writers, who do not aim at novelty or effect, but only at truth, and who desire to be understood even by the unscientific, are contented to give old replies to old difficulties.

First, then, the author has himself affirmed that all that was aimed at at the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, was a vast speculative science, embracing both dogma and morals; and a "*gigantic*" edifice—the epithet is his own—was reared by the wise and holy men amongst whom (as we have noticed) Abelard is placed, or rather misplaced. Now to accomplish this object, the superabundant materials accumulated by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church sufficed; and it is hard to see what need there was of oriental languages, or so-called historical criticism. For a man to wonder that he does not find Biblical exegesis and historical criticism in the "*Summa*" of S. Thomas, is just as if he were to expect to meet with astronomical and hydraulic applications in a treatise on pure mathematics. As regards dogma, the introduction of these sciences would have been out of place; as respects morals, impracticable. How, for instance, apply historical criticism in a treatise on "*human acts*," or bring linguistic studies to bear on the subject of "*conscience*"? Yet more than half of S. Thomas's "*Summa*," and that which forms the most complete portion of that admirable work, is occupied with morals. Nevertheless, it is for want of these elements that Dr. Döllinger declares that it would be utterly impossible to revive scholastic theology in any of its parts (*in keinem seiner Theile*).

However, in the second place, is it true that biblical and historical studies were neglected by the scholastics? The assertion might have a measure of truth as applied to the later theologians, and in particular to those who lived during the second half of the fourteenth and the following century; and we find Melchior Cano deploring the circumstance, adding *quod sine lacrymis dicere nequeo*. But it should be observed that this was in a period of declension, and at a time, moreover, when no special cause existed, such as arose later, to direct men's minds with any special force to historical or biblical study. However, whether regarded as a general proposition, or as applied in particular to the first scholastics, the assertion is most untrue. When we consider that the great institutors of scholastic theology did not make it their object to *demonstrate dogma in order to its belief*, or to trace its development in successive ages, but to *speculate upon dogma believed*, with the view of pene-

trating its depths and discovering the manifold relations which subsist between it and the principles of reason and natural philosophy, we shall perceive that historical disquisition could not possibly find much place. There was as much as the time and occasion demanded; and no instance, it is believed, can be adduced in which the scholastics were checked, still less led astray, in their speculative inquiry by deficient historical acquirements.

As respects the Bible, there can be no question. It was diligently studied by them, although in a manner differing somewhat from the modern. Peter Lombard, Hugh and Richard of S. Victor, Denis the Carthusian, Midas of Lyra, and Tostato in his twenty-seven tomes, have left behind them results of biblical labours which need not fear a comparison with those of succeeding centuries. The Commentaries of S. Thomas alone suffice to refute the sweeping assertion that "all Scripture science had vanished." Even German Protestants have testified to their merit, not to speak of the high esteem in which learned Catholics have always held them. These works certainly do not make the brilliant display of exegesis and linguistic study for which the moderns are distinguished; and this may serve to show that such helps, although in themselves very valuable, as the example of S. Jerome proves, are not so necessary to a deep and full understanding of the Bible as some would have them to be; nay, that in the peculiarly exaggerated form in which they have been exhibited by some German scholars, they are not at all necessary for the ultimate end for which God gave the Scriptures to the Church. This end was the edification and salvation of souls; not a study for humanists and critical grammarians, who, having lost the intelligence of the spirit, which is the marrow, weary themselves in the examination of the material envelope, the bark—just as if it were an ode of Pindar or a passage in Herodotus or Demosthenes.

Scholasticism was, so to say, the rational quintessence of the teaching of Scripture, of Councils, Popes, Fathers, and Doctors; hence the great esteem in which it has ever been held in the Church. When we recal to mind the unprecedented homage paid to it by the Council of Trent, which placed the "Summa" of S. Thomas, along with the Holy Scriptures, at the foot of the Crucifix, we marvel at the rashness, not to say the proud presumption, which can strive to depreciate it. No less astonishment must be felt when we confront this attempt with the testimony paid to scholasticism by one of the greatest of modern Popes, Sixtus V., in his Bull declaring S. Bonaventura a Doctor of the Church. "The perfidy of heretics and the malice of the devil in vehemently assailing the sacred theology called scholastic, admonish us to devote our utmost care to the preservation of this same theology, *than which nothing is more advantageous to the Church*, to its illustration and its propagation. The greater the efforts made to overturn this protecting citadel, the greater ardour must we manifest in defending this bulwark of the faith, and the greater zeal in honouring the valiant champions of truth." *

* "Præsertim cum hæreticorum insidiæ et diabolicæ machinationes, quibus sacram Theologiam quæ scholastica appellatur, hoc luctuoso sæculo oppugnant vehementissime, nos magnopere admovent, ut eandem Theologiam, *quæ nihil Ecclesiæ Dei fructuosius*, omni studio retineamus, illustremus, propagemus.

The only explanation that can be given of the recent onslaught on scholasticism by a learned ecclesiastic, in the face of such imposing testimony, is to be found partly in the tainted atmosphere prevalent in some countries of Europe, partly in the low condition of rational studies; but still more, perhaps, in that spirit of short-sighted condescension to which allusion has been made. In the hope of conciliating adversaries, the men who are possessed by this spirit do not scruple to fight their own brothers—nay, to attack even their own fathers.

4.—*Scholasticism in Germany from 1300 to 1500. Its Revival in the Church on the Rise of the new Heresies.*

Scholastic theology thus established in the thirteenth century, flourished alone, though with varying degrees of vigour, for the succeeding two. In the middle of the fifteenth century arose the Protestant heresies, which gave occasion to the display of all its powers and to their renewal and increase. Dr. Döllinger tells us that the Germans never cultivated scholastic theology with much zeal; but this, be it observed, is not, as it might seem to be, a candid admission of a deficiency; on the contrary, it is made the ground of an encomium on the sagacity of his countrymen. The Germans had the penetration to discern the defects of scholastic theology, and addicted themselves in preference to mysticism; while there were not wanting minds already aspiring to a new theological science, better suited alike to Christianity and the human intellect than scholasticism. These aspirations certainly produced no result in the next four centuries; and our writers doubt whether, as inherited by Dr. Döllinger, they are likely to have any greater effect now. Be this as it may, certainly no theology other than the scholastic ever existed in Germany; and even mystical theology, which was no less cultivated elsewhere, had its roots in the scholastic. Echart himself, who is selected amongst others for notice by Dr. Döllinger, and who is remembered chiefly for the errors he advanced, but retracted on their condemnation by the Church, might be numbered more appropriately amongst the scholastics than amongst the mystics. The censure, however, of scholasticism attributed to the Germans is purely gratuitous. If from the time of Albertus Magnus, who aided in its establishment, Germany contributed little, as compared with other nations, to its cultivation, the cause must be sought in something altogether different from a supposed aversion of the German mind to the amusement of the intellect with barren mental abstractions. Two reasons may be assigned: the prevalence in Germany of the nominalism of Occam and the deplorable ignorance of the clergy, who, so far from having despised scholasticism, because they were in search of something better, had neglected all study to give themselves up to lives, not merely of ease and luxury, but of licentiousness. These are recognized facts; and so

Quanto igitur magis illi hanc munitissimam scholasticæ Theologiæ arcem oppugnare et evertere conantur, tanto magis nos decet hoc invictum fidei propugnaculum defendere, et hæreditatem patrum nostrorum conservare et tueri, et acerrimos veritatis defensores meritis honoribus quantum possumus decorare."

good an historian as Dr. Döllinger must be well aware that in this moral and intellectual degradation of the clergy, the so-called Reform found one of its most potent auxiliaries in its wide and rapid spread in those countries.

The learned Professor proceeds to tell us that the weapons of scholasticism were powerless as so many fragile reeds against the irruption of doctrinal error in the sixteenth century. This science, he by and bye tells us, if not illustrated and revived by history, threatened to become a mere sepulchre filled with the skeletons of the dead. He then cites a long array of celebrated names (amongst which he gives that of Erasmus a foremost place), and affirms that they displayed a scientific superiority in coping with the heterodox commentators which in later times was not maintained. Moreover, while the other European nations, and especially Spain and Italy, furnished valiant champions to the great cause, Germany, whose most powerful intellects were lending their aid to Protestantism, cannot, he admits, cite names of equal value. Would it not be natural to conclude from all this, that if on the one hand scholasticism was the effete weapon he describes, and if on the other the great doctors of the day not only equalled but overcame the dissidents in argument, they must have entered the arena provided with some other theological and philosophical arms? Yet nothing is more untrue—one and all they were scholastics, and eminent scholastics. It is sufficient to recall such names as those of Gaetano, Soto, Salmeron, Bellarmine, Maldonatus, Giustiniano, Toledo, who all figure in the list; and for Germany's honour the writers add Canisius and Cochläus. True, having to combat a heresy which did not merely deny this or that dogma, but struck at the foundation of all dogmas, the authority of the Church which propounds them, and appealed to the Bible for their demonstration, it was necessary to recur to primitive sources and to devote especial study to Scripture, Councils, Papal acts, the works of the Fathers, and history, which embraces all these venerable monuments; but this was not even to modify the old theology and philosophy, still less to re-construct them. It was but to make a noble addition, not to scholasticism, as a system of speculative theology, but to theology itself, considered as a religious science, furnishing the means of demonstrating by positive arguments those dogmas which speculative theology does not demonstrate, but presupposes, as perspective presupposes geometry, and music numbers. Dogmas are principles, which in their turn may be demonstrated, and that of course by the sole possible method, that of authority. Scholasticism logically follows this positive study, and begins where the other ends. It is easy to see, therefore, how great an assistance it must furnish, when in the chronological order it has preceded. With what security, boldness, and felicitous results, the mind penetrates the sense of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, when imbued with that intimate intelligence of dogmas and their mutual interrelationship, as well as their connection with the whole natural, rational order, which speculative science can alone impart. This explains the superiority of the Catholic doctors over the most learned of the heretics, and illustrates the meaning of that saying of Pius V., that the "Summa" of S. Thomas contained by anticipation the refutation of all heresies. Thus, also, it will be readily understood how Catholic doctors were peculiarly prepared for the emergency; so that, while adhering to the old methods, they,

so to say, founded fresh departments of scientific teaching. Salmeron, Maldonatus, and Estius did this for Holy Scripture; Bellarmine and Cano for controversy; Baronius for ecclesiastical history; and each, in that marvellous century, had a host of followers. By the united science and sanctity of this phalanx of doctors, perhaps a third portion of Germany was saved or won back from heresy; and the triumph would have been far more complete but for the tergiversations of Charles V., the perfidy of the Elector of Saxony, and, later, the sword of Gustavus Adolphus, supported by the unworthy policy of Richelieu. The heretics, feeling themselves worsted in the contest, naturally hated the science which overcame them; hence dates the bitter prejudice, along with many more, which arose in Germany against the scholastic theology, and which has been poisoning the general mind in that country for three centuries, and from the evil taint of which it is sad to find even some learned Catholic ecclesiastics not free. But if hated by heretics, it is no wonder how much scholasticism was valued by those in whose hands it was so triumphantly successful. Melchior Cano and S. Charles Borromeo, a noble pair, who may be said to sum up in themselves the science and sanctity of the period of revival, may be taken and may be cited as representatives of the common opinion. Cano has been represented as opposed to scholasticism, but see, in disproof of this assertion, his decisive opinion in its favour (*De Locis Theologicis*, lib. viii., cap. ii.). We all know the connection of the holy archbishop with the Council of Trent, and that in expressing his own high esteem of scholasticism, he was in perfect accordance with the Fathers of that Council. Now perpetual reference was made by them to the works of the great scholastics; and in all the prescriptions directed to the purpose of reform, not a syllable was uttered of any required modification of theological studies; and, what is more, when invited by a Benedictine abbot to express certain censures analogous to those to which Dr. Dollinger now gives utterance, the synod indignantly rejected the proposition, and adhered with marvellous unanimity to Dominic Soto's magnificent discourse in defence of scholasticism.

See, then, what foundation there is for Dr. Dollinger's comparison of the "weak reeds" and the "lifeless bones." We had rather, we must own, abide by the opinion of the holy and learned men who actually wielded the weapons and proved their temper, than defer to the judgment of one, learned as he may be, but certainly most prejudiced, discoursing theoretically upon the matter three centuries after the event; we had rather, in short, abide by the judgment of a Sixtus V., who styled the scholastic science, "*munitissimam arcem*," and "*invictum fidei propugnaculum*."

But Dr. Dollinger has eyes for nothing but historical criticism and Biblical exegesis, failing to observe that these studies, valuable as they are in themselves, hardly constitute a science, when deprived of the support afforded by rational science; while they expose their adepts to the danger of falling into grave errors, and, at any rate, fail to produce those strong intellectual convictions which act so powerfully on the minds of dissidents.

So far, however, does Dr. Dollinger carry his predilection, that for the sake of these sciences he almost consoles himself for the religious divisions which distract his country; wherein, we think, he may be compared to some

doctor who should consider a deadly plague which has swept away half his fellow-citizens as a signal advantage, on account of the scientific progress resulting therefrom. Undoubtedly, he tells us, the ancient unity of theological science was lost; we have now Catholic thought and Protestant thought, a Catholic theology and a Protestant theology. But the former, he also tells us, has learned from the latter, has been purified by it, and by its means has found out its true bearings; so that, on the whole, and taking the interests of science as the rule of our judgment, we must pronounce the division of Christendom as a gain, rather than an injury.

Passing by this strange notion of the purifying, enlarging, and rectifying influence of Protestantism on Catholic theology, what are we to say of the conclusion? Shall Italy or Spain, for the love of science, envy Germany her schism and heresy? That heresy should indirectly lead to the placing of revealed truth in fuller light, we do not deny: the observation was made long ago by S. Augustine; but this does not prevent its being a sin, and a great sin, and, when it produces wide and abiding results, a great public calamity. Taking, not the interests of science, but the interests of immortal souls—which are the Church's true interests—as our rule, Spain and Italy, which have retained Catholic unity, are happier and worthier than Germany, which has lost it, and, along with it, souls innumerable. Granted, there has been less of argumentative talk issuing from professorial chairs, and less occupation given to the printing press, we have learned, not from scholastics but from our Catechism, that the end for which man was placed in the world is to save his soul, not to cultivate linguistic science, historical criticism, or Biblical exegesis.

Let us sum up the assertions and admissions that have been made. If the conclusions which we may reasonably deduce from them sound strange in Dr. Döllinger's ears, this may perchance only serve to prove that he is not so good a dialectician as he is reckoned to be. Scholasticism was little studied in Germany in the times preceding the Reformation. It flourished, meanwhile, in other countries. These produced able defenders of the truth, who overcame its adversaries on all points, while Germany produced none who could cope with them, and was forced to seek help from foreigners in the contest with heresy. Now, if we have not here the highest encomium of scholastic theology which could be put forth, we know not what we have; at any rate, we can deduce no more and no less from Dr. Döllinger's propositions. Will the good professor of Munich repeat his comparisons of "fragile reeds" and "dead skeletons"? The admissions he makes are more eloquent than his injurious imputations: the former bespeak the truly candid man relating things as they are; the latter are but the manifest indications of a prejudiced mind.

5.—*If, and in what measure, it be true, that Sacred Science declined in Spain and Italy, and flourished in France, in the Seventeenth Century.*

After its first brilliant period in the thirteenth century, scholasticism waned, in a measure, in the two next. In the sixteenth, upon the occasion of the pretended Reform, and as the effect of the real Tridentine reforms, it renewed its youth and its strength, which in the following century underwent

a certain abatement, not amounting to what could be called a declension. Taking, not the two entire centuries, but the period included between 1545 and 1648—the first date marking the Council of Trent, the second the Treaty of Westphalia—as representing the sixteenth, and the period between 1648 and 1750 as representing the seventeenth, we may perhaps refer the partial enfeeblement of scholasticism during the latter portion, in a considerable degree, to that very treaty, which, by giving to heterodoxy a legal existence in Germany, robbed the Catholic doctors of all hopes of saving the religious unity of Europe. Dr. Döllinger, in his account of the matter, greatly exaggerates the declension of sacred studies in Spain and Italy, to impute to them a most marvellous renovation in France. Would you know why? In order, on the one hand, to attribute the declension in Spain and Italy to the influence of the Inquisition, and, on the other, to favour certain men and certain doctrines which created much disturbance in France in that century, and gave not a little trouble to the Holy See. This was natural in a discourse of which the object was, to proclaim the “liberty of science.” To speak plain, his assertions and accusations are partly untrue, partly unjust, while the reason he assigns for the great pretended declension, not only is unjust, but would go to prove the direct contrary of what he maintains. Let us see first, the amount of what he does maintain. Spain, which had in part kept out, in part driven out, Protestantism, again renounced all exegetical, historical, and Patristic studies, to return to scholasticism, disconnected from history and criticism. Bannez, Suarez, and Vasquez had constructed a metaphysical and dogmatic system on eclectic principles, pervaded, nevertheless, by Aristotle and S. Thomas; it was the last flash of an expiring lamp: night and darkness followed, and science (thanks to the Inquisition) was extinguished in Spain, never, to the present day, to revive. In a note, the Professor refers us, for proof, to the “*Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgandorum pro Hispaniarum regnis*,” published by the Grand Inquisition at Madrid, in 1667, in a folio of 992 pages. Under such restrictions, Dr. Döllinger is of opinion that it would have been as impossible for a man to acquire any science, as for a bird to live under a glass bell with the air exhausted. The same intellectual degradation, he says, manifested itself in Italy at this period, especially in theological studies; and alongside of Galileo, Sarpi, and Campanella, no contemporaneous theologian of considerable merit can be placed. True, the scholastic De Lugo and Allazio lived in Rome at that time, but the one was a Spaniard, the other a Greek. At most, Cardinals Pallavicino and Sfrondati can be named, and, with better right, Bona and Noris; but what are four individuals amongst the numerous clergy of all Italy during so long a period? France meanwhile, and, in close proximity, Belgium, in its two excellent universities of Louvain and Douay, maintained their ancient reputation. From the beginning of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth, the French nation wielded the sceptre of theological science in the Catholic world.

Fully to meet this long series of arbitrary assertions, erroneous judgments, and gratuitous insults offered to whole nations—with a presumption which would be intolerable even were the future Teutonic magisterial predominance

already firmly established—we should have to reproduce the literary history of the two peninsulas during the 17th century. As this is clearly impossible, we prefer taking a few observations of the strange region in which Dr. Döllinger lands them. This suffocation of science by the Inquisition, this theological sceptre wielded by France in the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries, these excellent Universities of Louvain and Douai, may serve as so many clues to the discovery of the faulty principles and prejudices which lie at the root of his erroneous and offensive conclusions.

To begin with Spain. Dr. Döllinger is a little puzzled what to do with that great luminary of theology, De Lugo. As that era in Spain has been consigned to darkness, he cannot be allowed to shine there; and, in fact, as Dr. Döllinger observes, he lived in Rome, but to this he alludes only in order to show that Italy could claim no honour on his account. So De Lugo seems condemned to illuminate no country whatever,—neither the land of his birth nor the land of his adoption. But could Spain boast of no other theologian in the 17th century? One is almost ashamed at having to refresh the learned Professor's memory and set down names familiar to the most ordinary theologian; as those of Diego Ruyz de Montoya, with his vast Patristic erudition, the theologians of Salamanca, Hurtado de Mendoza, Medina, De Ripalda, Arriaga, Esparza. These, even if it be granted that they did not equal in merit the men who had preceded them, would have done honour to any age or country.

As respects Italy, confining ourselves strictly to the 17th century, and excluding celebrities already registered as belonging to the 16th, might it not seem almost a jest to defy anyone to adduce, with the exception of the four named by Dr. Döllinger, a single theologian to compare with Galileo, Sarpi, and Campanella? Passing by the two first, each enjoying a celebrity of its own measure and kind, when was Campanella renowned in Italy for anything beside the wild conceits of his restless brain, and the condemnation of the Church which he incurred thereby? It is sad to have to note the sympathy which men of this character excite in Dr. Döllinger, beginning with Scotus Erigena and ending with an unhappy priest whom we are surprised to hear named in an assembly of honourable men of science, the majority most worthy ecclesiastics. If, however, to redeem the honour of Italy from the charge of utter decadence in the 17th century, it be sufficient to name men equal to Campanello, the task is not an arduous one. Has the Munich professor never heard of a Raynaldi or a Battaglini, the one the worthy continuator of Baronius, the other the annalist of the Church and the Empire? or of Cardinal Gotti, the learned author of a "Treatise on Dogmas?" or of Silvestro Mauro, who wrote the fullest and most accurate commentary known upon the works of Aristotle? or of Paulo Segneri, or Daniello Bartoli, the one a master of sacred eloquence and of didactic, apologetic, and ascetic science, the other an historian and writer of high repute, even by the admission of enemies? or of Tolomei and Menochio of Patristic and Biblical renown? If he have never heard of them, let him consult any bibliographical or biographical dictionary and he will then be able to judge if one and all do not more than equal his Campanella, whose wretched books, with their

fanatical dreams, not one amongst a thousand of our Italian readers have seen, none perhaps have read—so much for his celebrity at home.

Dr. Döllinger hardly seems to suspect that moral theology and canon law form a most important branch of the sacred sciences. While for the casuists he has only an occasional word of contempt, he scarcely finds anything in the province of morals to please him, except in France, where he discerns a series of works which establish the title of that nation to pre-eminence in pure, moral, evangelical teaching. But we have our own opinion as to the nature of the phrase "pure evangelical morality" in the mouth of one who numbers amongst the great theologians of the 17th century the school of Port Royal, Arnauld, Nicole, and even the furious Jansenist, Launoy. It is more to our immediate purpose to notice that when the dispute with the heretics was, so to say, exhausted, or rather when the legal establishment of heresy had put an end to all hope of preserving religious unity, the doctors in the two Peninsulas which remained uninfected turned with much zeal to the cultivation of morals and canon law for the edification and spiritual government of the faithful. And when we say morals, we speak of scientific, speculative morality, than which no study is more sublime, and of which S. Thomas treats in the second part of the "Summa." As the 16th was the great century of Dogmatic Theology, so the 17th was the great century of Moral Theology; and he who should contemptuously cast aside as so many casuists men like Sanchez, Bonacina, Castropalao, Amici, and Diana, would only prove that he had not bestowed on them even a cursory glance. But why should the casuists themselves inspire such repugnance, after the example of a certain school who make use of the term casuistry to depreciate the morality and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church? These vast sciences, besides their speculative aspect, have their daily practical application: is anything, therefore, more natural than that manuals should be composed to meet special cases? Why should not the like be done for "cases of conscience" as is done for medicine and jurisprudence? But theologians far above the class of casuists were numerous in the Italy and Spain of the 17th century, and even the slight allusion to them made by Dr. Döllinger is sufficient to disprove his assertion as to the complete degradation of the sacred sciences. If these doctors did not handle exegesis in the modern German fashion, it is only fair to remember that they wrote in countries where there was no corresponding need, not for the future appreciation of a Munich professor.

As regards the "theological sceptre" of the France of those times, the writers, while declaring that none admire more than themselves all that is truly glorious in the age of Louis XIV., nevertheless cannot but fear that if Gallican doctrines had not taken their rise, or Jansenism flourished in that age and country, the dithyrambic of Dr. Döllinger in honour of France and her neighbour, Belgium, would have been more moderate in its tone. For when we see him commemorating authors and works of much inferior merit, only, it would appear, because they belong to these schools, and, notwithstanding his passion for history and Biblical exegesis, passing by such men as the Bollandists and Cornelius à Lapide, only, as we cannot but infer, because they belong to a school which did not share the Professor's fears of the

"suffocating" effects of the Inquisition, we can hardly feel that we are expressing a rash judgment. All that was truly great and Catholic in France at that time had no other foundation than the scholastic theology of S. Thomas, as any one may convince himself by a thorough study of Bossuet's works, and still more, those of Petavius. We may name, in addition, the three most celebrated Sorbonne doctors of that century, Duval, Gamache, and Isambert. True, about this time the philosophy of Descartes began to exercise the seduction of novelty, so potent with the French; but it remained as an intellectual system entirely external to the sacred sciences, which for many years were prosecuted on their ancient basis, not a little enfeebled, however, by the pernicious influence of the new metaphysics. The injury Catholic doctors received from their Cartesian predilections did not exceed that which the two Picuses of Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino sustained in point of orthodoxy, at the period of the Renaissance, from their Platonic predilections. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true that ultimately there ensued a great declension in the study of the sacred sciences, not because their foundation was *changed*, but because it was almost entirely *withdrawn*. Nor were indications of this long wanting: two are noticed by Dr. Dollinger which it is not easy to reconcile with his ascription of the theological sceptre to France down to the middle of the eighteenth century. The first was the novel practice of treating argumentatively of the sacred sciences in the vernacular, which being imitated by other nations, has renewed, he says, the Babel confusion of tongues, a calamity which, while reasonably deploring, he unreasonably encourages his countrymen to perpetuate. The second note of declension was this, that when the great conspiracy of the sophists against the Church arose in the middle of the last century, no genius of any eminence appeared to fight for the Christian cause—no Bossuet, no Fenelon, no Malebranche. It was a time that called for the Christian apologist, but none was forthcoming; and no work of that character was produced, of any reputation or of any practical effect. There is much truth in this assertion, though it may perhaps be accounted an over-severe judgment; but we make one observation only: this was precisely the time when the use of the old scholasticism had been laid aside and almost forgotten—the second instance, be it noted, of a country which, having to grapple with rising error without this help, found itself unequal to the contest. Such was the result of the glorious age of Louis XIV.!

From all this we may gather that it is erroneous to attribute to France a "theological sceptre" for the hundred and fifty years between 1600 and 1750. The assertion becomes unjust as well as untrue when an attempt is made to depreciate, by comparison, Spain and Italy. A professor of history must be well aware that nations have their seasons of blossom, of fruit, of decay, of torpor: they have, so to say, their spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Nations, moreover, cannot create these seasons at their own will; they seem to depend on causes more universal. It would surely be better to abstain from national comparisons, if it were only to avoid the jealousy from which they almost always flow, or which at least they are sure to provoke. But if such comparisons must be made, let them at least be made under equitable conditions, *cæteris paribus*. Do not compare the winter of one

nation with the summer of the other. By such a process, a cold Alpine region might be painted more blooming than the slopes of Portici or Posilipo. The seventeenth was the great century of France: be it so. But if you wish to find something equally great in Spain and in Italy, you must look for it in the sixteenth and not in the seventeenth, which, without being that "night" and "darkness" which Döllinger has imagined, was certainly not the great century of Italy or of her worthy sister.

To conclude: what interest had the author in thus depreciating Spain and Italy and lauding France in the seventeenth century? The cause has been partly intimated. When speaking in defence of the liberties of science, it was an object to him to show their declension in two countries where the Inquisition was in vigour, and to exhibit their flourishing state in another where the Inquisition was not, but where, in its place, were to be found Gallicans and Jansenists without number and without restraint. This, however, is a point of importance which must be deferred for separate consideration.

NOTE TO ARTICLE III., p. 82.

In our article on "Rome and the Munich Congress," we have assumed, as a matter of course, that the *Ecclesia Docens* is infallible, not merely when she condemns propositions as heretical, but also when she brands them with certain lighter censures, such as "erroneous," "temerarious," and the like. It has occurred to us, however, since the article was printed off, that, as this assumption is the turning point of our whole argument, it will be more satisfactory if we adduce authority for our statement. The following passage from De Lugo will be amply sufficient for our purpose:—

"Communitur . . . doctores fatentur certum esse *Ecclesiæ* judicium in his censuris statuendis. Banes . . . dicit esse errorem, vel errori proximum, dicere *posse Ecclesiam in eo judicio errare*. Malderus . . . dicit hæreticum esse qui id pertinaciter affirmaret. P. Connick . . . dicit valde probabilem esse hanc Malderi sententiam. P. Luisius Turianus . . . dicit esse errorem dicere quòd in his censuris decernendis *possit Pontifex Summus errare*. . . . Ego etiam id puto vel esse erroneum vel errori proximum; quia *infallibilis Spiritus Sancti assistentia* *Ecclesiæ* promissa non videtur limitanda ad ea solum dogmata quæ tanquam de fide proponuntur et creduntur ab *Ecclesiâ*, sed debet extendi ad ea omnia quæ fideles ex præcepto *Ecclesiæ* credere tenentur."—*De Fide*, d. 20, n. 108, 9.

This statement is undeniable and unquestionable. According to Catholic doctrine, the *Ecclesia Docens* is infallible, not only (1) as "testis," i.e., as witness of Apostolic Dogma, but also (2) as "judex," i.e., as judge of the controversies referring thereto; and (3) as "magistra," i.e., as the authoritative guide to Christian truth and practice. Now it is most plain that she would not be infallible as "magistra," if she could authoritatively denounce propositions as theologically censurable, which do not in fact deserve that censure.

Notices of Books.

Sermons on our Lord Jesus Christ and on His Blessed Mother. By his Eminence Cardinal WISEMAN. Dublin : Duffy.

The Attitude of the Anglican Bishops towards Rationalism and Revolution. A Pastoral by his Eminence Cardinal WISEMAN. London : Burns & Lambert.

WE have here two different theological works of His Eminence to be commemorated in this quarter, widely different from each other both in character and origin.

The volume of sermons is probably a more simple and spontaneous expression of the writer's favourite thoughts than any other which he has published. It has always appeared to us that no class of theological subjects exercises so powerful an attraction on the Cardinal as that which includes the mysteries of Jesus and Mary, and their scriptural treatment. These sermons are entirely occupied with such subjects, and we cannot be surprised therefore that they abound in passages of touching beauty.

On the Pastoral we have little to say, as its two chief topics—the Privy Council judgment and the recent disgraceful Garibaldi mania—are so nearly interesting to English Catholics that we have an article on each in our present number. How keenly the English public has felt the Cardinal's caustic criticism is evident from the bitterness with which this Pastoral was attacked at the first moment of its publication, and from that shameless attempt to fasten on its author a charge of misrepresentation, which we have noticed elsewhere.

Il Valore e la Violazione della Dichiarazione Pontificia sopra il Dominio Temporale della S. Sede. Per il P. VALENTINO STECCANELLA, D.C.D.G. Roma.

THIS work is an enlargement of some papers which appeared last year in the *Civiltà Cattolica*. It occupies a ground which is singularly important at the present time, not only in regard to the Pope's temporal power, but to many other subjects also ; and its reasoning has a close affinity with that which we have ourselves pursued in this number on the Munich Brief.

At the time when so much excitement existed among good Catholics on the temporal power, there must have been some even well educated men who felt themselves unable to form any judgment of their own, and had no other wish in the matter than simply to accept the declarations of ecclesiastical

authority in the very way in which such authority desired their acceptance. But there was some little difficulty in understanding what that precise way was : in understanding, *e.g.*, how far such authority required from the faithful *their interior assent*, and (if so) to what exact doctrine. This difficulty, we venture to think, did not receive all the attention which it deserved ; and F. Steccanella deserves our best thanks for treating it so frankly and intelligibly.

The foundation of his argument is the Holy Father's authoritative statement put forth in the "Encyclical" of June 18th, 1859. "We publicly declare (*palam edicimus*) that the civil principedom is necessary to this Holy See, in order that she may exercise her sacred power for the good of religion without any impediment." Two explanations, however, must be added, if we would rightly apprehend the Pope's meaning in this statement. Firstly, he does not, of course, say that the civil principedom is necessary for the Church's *existence*, as though God had promised that it should never be taken away ; but only that it is necessary for the unimpeded exercise of her sacred power, and so for her well-being (see Steccanella, p. 135). And, secondly, he does not mean that the temporal power is necessary even for this end under all imaginable circumstances, but under the particular circumstances of modern society. So he has expressly explained himself in the Apostolical Letter of March 26th, 1860. "Since," he says, "in order to act with due freedom, she needed those helps which suited the *condition and necessity of the times*, it came to pass by an admirable counsel of divine providence, that when the Roman empire fell and was divided into many kingdoms, the Roman Pontiff obtained a civil principedom. By which circumstance it was most wisely provided by God himself, that amidst so great a multitude and variety of temporal kings, the Supreme Pontiff should enjoy that political liberty which is so greatly necessary for the unimpeded exercise of his spiritual power over the whole world."

The declaration of the Holy Father which we began by citing was undoubtedly put forth by him, not as a private doctor, but as universal teacher ; and the whole Catholic Episcopate has expressly or tacitly given assent. Both these statements are absolutely evident from the address presented by the great multitude of bishops assembled at Rome on June 8th, 1862. "But," they say, "it is scarcely becoming in us to speak more at length on this so grave matter ; in us, who have often heard thee, not so much discussing it, as [authoritatively] teaching on the subject. For thy voice, as a sacerdotal trumpet, hath loudly proclaimed to all the world that 'the temporal power is providential : ' *it must, therefore, be held by us all as most certain* that this rule hath accrued to the Holy See, not fortuitously, but by a special Providence, &c., &c." No one has affected to doubt that the bishops then present at Rome did but represent, in so expressing themselves, the judgment of their absent brethren also. The bishops themselves, therefore, proclaim that, in consequence of the Pope's declaration, they are under the obligation of "holding most certainly" the doctrine which it enounces ; in other words, they proclaim that it is a declaration which demands our interior assent. Since, therefore, the *Ecclesia Docens* requires our interior assent to this declaration, it follows, even on Gallican principles, that we are bound to yield such assent.

We are not, indeed, required or permitted, as our author observes (p. 88), to invest this proposition with the certainty of divine faith, but we *are* required to regard it as indubitably certain in a lower grade. Its pertinacious disbelief would not involve the guilt of heresy, but it *would* deserve some lighter theological censure.

An objection, of course, is at once raised against this conclusion ; viz., that the whole question is external to the limits of the Apostolic Depositum, and that the *Ecclesia Docens* therefore possesses no infallibility in its decision. The most valuable part of the present work consists of its various replies to this critical objection. We cannot, indeed, here attempt any detailed analysis of these replies ; but we will give a general notion of their character. Our author maintains strenuously that the *Ecclesia Docens* is infallible, not only in those matters which directly concern dogma, but in those also which indirectly concern it. It is most certain that the Church may not only declare infallibly the Catholic doctrine on any head, but may also denounce infallibly some given book as adverse to such doctrine in its drift and tendency. No one, indeed, but a heretic can deny this. In like manner argues our author, she may not only declare infallibly the extent of her own powers, but she may also declare infallibly that certain given external circumstances are inconsistent with the unimpeded exercise of those powers. True, the Apostles never expressly taught the Church that under certain future circumstances the temporal power would be necessary ; but neither did they teach the Church that a certain book would be written by a certain Jansenius in the sixteenth century which would contain five certain erroneous propositions. If any one, however, argues on that ground that the Church is not infallible in ascribing those propositions to Jansenius's book, he becomes *ipso facto* a (material or formal) heretic. It cannot, therefore, be valid to adduce the very same argument against the Church's infallibility in her doctrine of the temporal power.

The one conclusive answer, however, to the above-named objection is, of course, that on which F. Steccanella lays his principal stress. The *Ecclesia Docens* *does* regard the Pope's declaration as demanding our interior assent. If she were mistaken on this head, she would be mistaken on a matter which is directly and exclusively doctrinal ; viz., the limit of her own prerogative. And this no Catholic will admit to be possible.

Die Sprachverwirrung zu Babel. Linguistisch-Theologische Untersuchungen über Gen. xi. 1-9. Von FRANZ KAULEN, Rep. der Theol. zu Bonn. Mainz : F. Kirchheim. 1861.

IT is not every day that we see a professor, clearly a man of erudition and learning, stepping forth boldly into the arena of philological discussion, and fearlessly vindicating upon scientific grounds the absolute truth of the Scriptural narrative of the confusion of tongues at Babel, and the consequent dispersion of the human race. Some of the great philologists of the present day have abandoned or even impugned this account as untenable ; and many others are unwilling to admit the direct interposition of the Almighty in a

case where the natural course of events would bring about the same result. Herr Kaulen has brought to bear upon the question the latest results of research, both linguistic and archæological, and placed them before the reader as often as possible in the exact words of the authors cited.

He remarks that as human knowledge in general bears on it the stamp of imperfection, so, in an especial manner, deductions from those sciences which furnish so many charges against the revealed word, are far from incontestable. In these inductive and experimental branches of science, we often find a set of facts taken for granted, which depend on the assumed truth of hypotheses mutually contradictory. On the other hand, the more the results of these sciences are stripped of their hypothetical character, the more closely are they found to be in harmony with the statements given in Scripture. So true is this, that in all cases where, in the present state of imperfect investigation, no agreement can be discovered, and no reconciliation effected between the conclusions of science and the right interpretation of Scripture, we may, led by experience alone, confidently question the accuracy of those results, and trust for a confirmation of the inspired records to the further progress of science. With reference to the particular question before us, our author shows in the course of the work, that, so far from opposing or contradicting the Biblical narrative, recent researches and discoveries have only served to shed a clearer light upon the statements of inspiration.

After recapitulating the more important events recorded in the earlier chapters of Genesis, and examining the context of the passage of which he is about to treat (i.e. Gen. xi.), he applies himself to the investigation of the sense in which a primary unity of speech is asserted, referring, in corroboration of the obvious meaning, to Jewish and Christian tradition, and to the original text and ancient versions. Perfect unity of speech can find a place only where uniformity prevails, as well in the stock of words used, as in their grammatical adaptation. Such is the unity ascribed to the language of the earliest of mankind in Scripture. At present, the number of existing languages is about 860, with a subdivision into 5,000 dialects. Are there any palpable traces of the former unity? Herr Kaulen thinks that there are.

The discovery by Grimm of the law regulating the displacement and substitution of consonants (*Lautverschiebung*) in the Indo-European tribe of languages, has led to the observation of similar or analogous laws in the Semitic and Turanian tribes, and again in these as compared with each other. Ever since the labours of Hervas, in the last century, the course of study in this respect has brought to light, not fresh differences, but fresh affinities; and we have still much to expect from further comparisons with languages as yet little known to us. In this way the number of separate tribes must go on diminishing. In fact, science has already succeeded in showing an unmistakable connection between two great tribes, the Indo-European and the Semitic. Most of the learned scholars competent to judge in the matter, including both Bunsen and Max Müller, acknowledge the same claims to affinity for the third great tribe. We thus ascend to one primitive tongue. Bunsen, however, who will not admit the miraculous cause of the present diversity, requires a period of 20,000 years

since the first appearance of man upon the earth, in order to account for the various developments.

To understand this the better, we must not lose sight of the fact that, just as the English language is partly of the Gothic, partly of the Classic families, so there are found languages which are partly of one tribe, partly of another. The ancient Egyptian, for instance, in all its forms—the hieroglyphic, the demotic, or the still later Coptic—bears marks of affinity with each of the three great tribes to which all languages are commonly referred. As we now possess it, observes Bunsen, we cannot but see in it a form of speech just emerging from the monosyllabic state and the absolute isolation of words. Again, Meyer has remarked of Celtic, that in all its non-Sanscrit forms it most strikingly resembles the old Egyptian.

Professor Max Müller divides languages into four classes, but Bopp's classification still holds its ground. The latter divided them into three great tribes,—the isolating, the agglutinating, and the amalgamating. The languages of isolation are those whose roots or themes are incapable of modification or composition, and which, therefore, have no grammar. To this tribe belong the Chinese and South Indian. The languages of agglutination are those which are formed out of monosyllabic roots capable of composition. This tribe contains the Egyptian, the Polynesian, the American, the South African, the Turanian, and the Indo-European languages; though it is to be remarked that Max Müller wishes to limit the term to the Turanian tribe alone. This tribe he thus places by itself. The languages of amalgamation are those which evolve their grammatical forms, not only by composition, but also, and principally, by internal modification of the roots. These constitute the Semitic tribe. So far, then, as we have the means for forming a judgment at our command and calling to our aid the opinions of the learned, we conclude that, these three great tribes being proved akin, science agrees with Scripture in tracing all known languages to one primeval tongue.

What was that tongue? It may be observed that the more we trace languages back to their earlier stages, the more we find their inflecting forms to have consisted of separate words. Hence Herr Kaulen, following in the steps of Bunsen, draws the inference that originally all languages were of the isolating class. Traces of this method of formation may be plainly seen in Latin and Greek, and still more in Sanscrit and Zend. The tendency in modern times is to bring languages back to an isolating form, and of this English is frequently cited as an example. Herr Kaulen adduces many facts leading to the conclusion that in the first language, as spoken by Adam and his immediate descendants, all sounds or words had a symbolic force, by virtue of which they were as closely connected with the thought as the body with the soul. This connection between idea and sound is, not symbolic only, but also organic, or, as Steinthal calls it, pathognomic. Grimm, Heyse, Curtius, and Schelling share the same conviction. It is unmistakable that every language possesses a system of ideas, the depth and originality of which force our admiration. This, the genius of a language, is not anything introduced from without, but something belonging to its essence, and a condition of its substantiality. Schelling observes,—“In the formation of the oldest languages a treasure of philosophy may be discovered . . . which was not

deposited there designedly by man. . . . The foundation of language could not have been laid consciously ; and yet the deeper we penetrate into it, the more decidedly we see that its depth reaches far beyond that of the most conscious production. It is with language as with organic beings ; we think we see them rising into existence blindly, but cannot deny an impenetrable design in their formation, even to the most solitary part." So also Bunsen,—“ It is the characteristic of the noblest languages and nations to preserve most of the ancient heirlooms of humanity, remodelling and universalizing at the same time with productive originality.”

Now, according to Suarez and the great Catholic theologians, when Adam was created and placed in Paradise, natural knowledge was infused into him by his Creator, and he was gifted with those perfections of understanding, will, and memory, of which a rational soul is capable. His language—for he was created perfect—would therefore correspond with his ideas, and would consist of natural signs (*signa naturalia*) of the thought, as opposed to anything conventional. The word was a picture of the thing ; there being an essential connection between the object and the sound expressive of the object. The name of a thing indicated its essence ; as Bunsen says,—“ Every word was a sentence before it could become a specific part of speech ;” the language consequently was perfect. Whether this statement be true or not, it accords far better with our ideas of the perfection of man before the fall than does the theory of a few modern writers, who would make all articulate speech a gradual development of sounds hardly distinguishable from the chirping of birds.

But putting aside Revelation, do not reason and reflection sufficiently establish the impossibility of the development of human language out of insignificant sounds ? Willner's argument is thus stated :—“ In the first moment of existence man received impressions from the outer world through his senses : every apprehension produces a conception, . . . an activity, . . . the movement of a power, . . . which in man . . . manifested itself in a sound corresponding to that impression. . . . Conversely, the sound can take the place of the impression, recall the conception . . . and present it before the mind. Here we have all the requisites for a language.” And yet more emphatically W. von Humboldt :—“ I am fully persuaded that language must be considered as implanted in man immediately ; for as a production of his understanding, enlightened by his consciousness, it is inexplicable. . . . Language could not be invented, if its type was not already present in the human understanding. . . . In it there is nothing isolated ; each of its elements proclaims itself to be part of a whole. Man is man only through language ; in order to invent it he must already be man.” Other arguments may be drawn from the acknowledged fact, that speech belongs to the essence of man, according to the old definition ; and from the existence in man of organs that have no other purpose but that of articulation.

We may now pass on to Herr Kaulen's theory as to the mode of operation, so to say, in the act of the confusion of tongues. We must not forget that, according to him, in the first human mind there was no purely subjective contemplation of things—no individual manner of representation—nothing but logical conceptions corresponding to, and in full harmony with, the various

forms of existences. To Adam there were no purely sensible phenomena. By virtue of infused gifts, wherever created things presented themselves to his imagination, he recognized in them those ideas the realization of which the creatures specially represented. Neither is it at all contrary to the perfect nature of man to have a complete and adequate expression for his thoughts : on the contrary, as S. Thomas Aquinas says, names should suit the natures of things (*nomina debent naturis rerum congruere*).

Having brought his reader thus far, the author proceeds to interrogate history and antiquity, as to the actual edifice said to have been partially constructed and called the Tower of Babel. He cites, in illustration of the inspired text, the great adepts in the decipherment of cuneiform inscriptions, such as Rawlinson and Oppert. The latter has maintained, both in the *Journal Asiatique* and in an appendix to the article *Confusion of Tongues*, in Dr. Wm. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, that Nebuchadnezzar's palace was built upon the foundations of the Tower of Babel, and that its site is no other than what is now known as the Birs Nimroud. This mound corresponds to the position of the ancient Borsippa, which, according to tradition, as expressed in the Talmud, is neither more nor less than Babel. The name Borsippa, as interpreted by the aid now afforded from the Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, may be translated "Dispersion of tongues," or "Tower of tongues." Nay more, a Babylonian inscription, in arrow-headed characters, found in the palace, as deciphered by Oppert, contains the following clause respecting the edifice :—"A former king built it (they reckon forty-two ages), but he did not complete its head. Since a remote time people had abandoned it, without order expressing their words." The forty-two generations here mentioned would give two thousand years before the time of Christ as the date of the building of Babel. As to the translation, Oppert's proficiency as an Assyrian and Babylonian scholar is questioned by no one.

But let us return now to the immediate question. Herr Kaulen next investigates the cause of the differences in the internal structure and form of languages, so far as we can judge from known tongues as spoken by nations of known character. He agrees with Steinthal and Raumer, that it is the difference in the mind of a people (*Volksgeist*) which properly and ultimately causes differences in language ; just as it is the marked and well-defined character of an author's mind which constitutes peculiarity of style. Many deep thinkers have gone so far as to say that no two persons attach the same idea to any one word ; though, of course, the amount of difference in this case is very small. The more profound our knowledge of a foreign language, the more difficult we find it to satisfy ourselves that we can translate into our own, faithfully and accurately, anything that lies out of the common run of thought. Our readers would, perhaps, hardly follow us if we were to assert that much of the haziness of conception and mistiness of expression, so often attributed to German writers, arises, not from defects in the thought or expression in itself, but from the circumstance that most other European languages are deficient in power of philosophical expression, and also from the fault of translators, who do not strip the idea of its peculiar German dress and reclothe it in a garb in all respects familiar to their readers. Every one, for example, acknowledges that Jean Paul Richter is untrans-

latable. Of the German language Leibnitz said, It seems to be the daughter of Philosophy (*Philosophie nata videtur*). Steinthal thought he saw the stiff conservative character (*Mumien-Geist*) of the old Egyptians in the self-subsisting unmalieable nature of their suffixes and affixes, which, when joined on to words, never blend or fuse with them, but preserve their individuality intact. He adds, in his German way, that languages are as various as the consciousness of differently-minded nations. Now, this difference of mind has shown itself in nothing so much as in religion. Hence, concludes Herr Kaulen, scientific investigation alone leads to the probability that a multiplicity of languages is the effect of the fall from the primeval religion of mankind; and thus, in this point also, the Scriptural account is confirmed. According to Scripture, the seed whose fruit was to bring forth the variety we have spoken of, had been already sown by man's fall. The direct interference of God changed the course of a natural development, by causing one person not to understand the language of another, and by bringing into immediate existence languages completely formed. The miracle consisted in this, that at one time and place a change in the form of speech was introduced, which, though it would have taken place in the natural course of things, yet for its accomplishment would have required other conditions altogether both of time and place. It was not that men simply forgot their former language and took up a number of different tongues, but that God confounded that speech which, before this act, was one and uniform. This confusion must be regarded as the cause and commencement of the physiological difference in the formation of sounds, and in the organs of speech, only that the latter was of later growth, and developed in a natural manner.

By way of corollary to his proposition, Herr Kaulen speaks of the miracle wrought by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. His explanation of this event will not, of course, be universally received; but it offers one solution of a difficult problem, which demands due consideration, and has the advantage of accommodating itself to our ordinary notions of what actually took place. It proceeds upon the supposition that the occurrence at Jerusalem was the antithesis of the occurrence at Babel. There the confusion of tongues had separated what was now to be brought to unity in Christ. One truth was to take the place of multitudinous error, and Christianity, as the universal religion, was to do away with the separating spirit of nationalities. We subjoin his explanation at length. If it should seem somewhat misty, our readers must remember that, from what we have said about translations from the German, we are bound to bear some part of the blame.

"The miracle which took place at Jerusalem had two aspects: one regarding the mind of the speakers, the other the mind of the hearers; but fundamentally it was the same miracle in both cases. In the speakers the miracle displayed itself in their speaking languages which they had not previously understood; for they spoke 'in different tongues accordingly as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak.' In the hearers another sort of miracle took place; each person thinking that he heard his own particular tongue spoken by the Apostle, who, however, was only speaking one language. Now, if we

consider this on its natural foundation, it shows itself to us as essentially identical with the former. Diversity of languages is only a diversity of *form* applied to one and the same *matter*. This diversity of form disappears when diversity of mind disappears, and especially if the diversity be in religious views. At the time in question, those limits of subjective ideas which had brought on the dispersion at Babel, were removed by the Holy Ghost. Accordingly the Apostles, when speaking a language, employed it without that subjective national form which constituted it as a particular language. But as all languages, after the removal of the individualizing form, are identical, so the Apostles in *one* spoke *all* languages in the world. Therefore they were also understood equally by all the hearers, though of different languages: for each of them heard his language without its determining individual form. The languages were adapted to such a miracle accordingly as they had all inherited more or less from the primitive tongue; and the removal of the individual forms cannot be explained differently to the sudden division of tongues at Babel. It was simply a miracle wrought in both cases by the Holy Ghost."

Saint Paul, sa Vie et ses Œuvres. Par M. VIDAL, Curé de Notre-Dame de Bercy. 2 Tomes. Paris: Vaton. 1863.

THE main purpose of this work, as the author himself tells us, is to give a living picture of S. Paul as an Apostle and a man: to delineate his sanctity in its inner growth and outer development, to describe his sufferings, to analyse his teaching both in matter and in mode, and to determine the share he had in founding, building, and defending that great spiritual edifice, the supernatural society of the Christian Church.

The first two volumes, now published, contain the life of S. Paul. His writings and the discussion of their contents are reserved for future volumes. The work, therefore, will be as bulky as its aim is ambitious. What a delightful prospect for the Catholic student of Scripture! Here, at length, he may hope to find brought together the results of all that loving labour which has been bestowed on this most attractive subject. We cannot deny that there is room for the work of M. Vidal. Dr. Howson has done all that could be wished for the outer life of the Apostle. He has painted a brilliant and faithful panorama of S. Paul's career.* At home himself amidst the details of Asiatic and Roman life in ancient times, he filled his canvas with a series of pictures not less vivid than they were accurate. The rising Hebrew school at Tarsus; the university life, if we may so call it, of a young Pharisee at Jerusalem during the palmiest days of the school of Hillel, when the candid and large-minded Gamaliel, "Beauty of the Law," was lecturing on Scripture exegesis; the midday apparition beneath the shady avenues leading to Damascus, when the sun was fiercely burning overhead, and the hush of noon was in the city on which Saul's eyes were already gazing with satisfaction, at the thought of the victims it would yield to his ill-tutored zeal; the synagogue at Antioch, with all its furniture in minute detail, as if the inventory lay upon the table before us, and every little circumstance that attended the entrance of Paul and Barnabas, or followed the Apostle's memorable speech upon that occasion; these and a thousand other pictures of the sort—faithful and conscientious as Hunt's famous painting of the "Finding of Christ in the

Temple"—make Dr. Howson's work as charming to the general reader as it is useful to the student. But, like the artist we have named, Dr. Howson fails in one most important particular. He cannot enter into the inner life of the Apostle, or put a true interpretation on the history of the early Christians. He can produce a wax figure externally like the original, but he cannot make it think and move. Hence, at all times the Catholic reader of "The Life of S. Paul" feels a sense of unsatisfied want, and is even occasionally distressed by the rendering of some solemn scene in a manner which verges on the absurd. Of course the author is perfectly unconscious of such an effect. But not the less painfully ludicrous to us is his comparison, for instance, of the Council of Jerusalem to a modern English missionary meeting, with S. James, the Lord Bishop of the diocese, in the chair; S. Peter to propose the first resolution and SS. Paul and Barnabas to tickle the ears of an evangelical audience with missionary experiences in the style of an itinerant "deputation." Platform oratory, an exciting debate, and a resolution carried by acclamation of the people, read like a mere caricature of the inspired and authoritative decision of the Head of the Church, the submission of the rest of the Apostles, the solemn "Ego judico" of S. James, and the decree with its unhesitating declaration of infallibility—"Visum est enim Spiritui Sancto et nobis." Then comes Mr. Conybeare, treading on still more dangerous ground. He is an unsafe guide for a student of the constitution, ordinances, and spiritual gifts of the primitive Church in the lifetime of S. Paul. We cannot follow him in his anxiety to prove that, for long periods together, the Apostle was in a state of almost abject depression, a victim of low spirits, arising from bodily ailments and mental distress. Such appreciations remind us too forcibly of Mr. Venn's ideas about the inconstancy, discouragement, and restlessness of S. Francis Xavier.

We want, therefore, a life of S. Paul which shall be free from Protestant bias; a critical work without the defects inseparable from the writings of non-Catholics, however learned and conscientious. We want a picture, the central idea of which shall be truly Catholic. We want a writer competent to deal with the supernatural facts of the Apostle's career, who, in addition to general scholarship and graphic power, knows how to estimate the workings of grace, and bring into due relief the ascetic and mystical phenomena of the saint's inner life. Above all, we want an orthodox and judicious hand to analyse the Apostle's doctrine, and deal in a Catholic spirit with his relations to the other Apostles, especially to S. Peter, and with the nature of his Apostolic functions.

Does M. Vidal's book supply these numerous wants? Of his Catholic spirit there can be no doubt. He is well acquainted with the principles of asceticism, and knows how to test by them the words and actions of S. Paul. He is doctrinally sound. He leans, as he ought to lean, upon the great Fathers of the Church—S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, and others—not to mention a host of later commentators and ecclesiastical historians, who lend him valuable assistance in his task. He is judicious in his conclusions, painstaking in his researches, loving in his appreciations; yet, after all, the two volumes before us are a great disappointment. It was right to make the geographical and antiquarian portions of the work subordinate to the

personal history ; but there was no reason why they should be rendered dull, tame, and vague. However, this defect would hardly be worth noticing, were it single and alone. But there are graver faults, and those all the more provoking because they might easily have been avoided. The book is too long to be attractive to the general reader, and too uncritical to be of much service to students. The text would be improved by condensation : the notes stand sadly in need of expansion. Thus, upon some important questions, page after page contains arguments drawn from the writings of the Fathers, without a single reference either in text or note. In other cases the text is loaded with references given in a long string, and greatly interfering with its symmetry and interest, when all purposes would have been equally served by throwing them into a foot-note. Again, much space is devoted to unimportant questions, at the expense of others of vital interest. Throughout a whole chapter the author debates the question whether Seneca knew S. Paul, or was indebted to him for many of his philosophical principles. A much more summary dismissal is given to the difficulties arising out of the Epistle to the Galatians. And in treating this question almost all the author's pains are spent upon a statement of the arguments for and against the identity of Cephas with S. Peter. It would have been much more to the purpose to have dismissed that point in a few words, and admitting (as in the end he does) the identity, to have established satisfactorily both the rectitude of S. Paul's conduct, and the absence of any real prejudice to the prerogatives of S. Peter. Yet these are matters which he treats lightly. Not so did the Fathers. They felt the difficulty, admitted the plausibility of objections founded upon the narrative, and set themselves honestly to the task of removing them. The same course ought to be followed now ; as modern Protestant writers are no less anxious to pervert the passage to their purposes than Porphyry and Julian the Apostate were in olden times. Even Dr. Howson is unusually strong upon this topic. According to him, "S. Peter was not simply yielding a non-essential point," he "was acting under the influence of a contemptible and sinful motive—the fear of man ; and his behaviour was giving a strong sanction to the very heresy which was threatening the existence of the Church." Again, he tells us, after an elaborate description of the personal appearance of the two Apostles, as represented in traditionary pictures, that it is intended to "assist us in realizing a remarkable scene, where Judaism and Christianity, in the persons of two Apostles, are for a moment brought before us in strong antagonism." And a few sentences further on he would have us console ourselves with the reflection that "it is not improbable that S. Peter was immediately convinced of his fault, and melted at once into repentance." But what is stranger than even this view itself, is the absence of proof, and the happy unconsciousness shown by the author of the existence *now* of any opposite view. In a note he is candid enough to express himself as follows :—"We can only allude to the opinion of some early writers, that the whole scene was pre-arranged between Peter and Paul, and that there was no real misunderstanding. Even Chrysostom advocates this unchristian view." But he does not tell his readers that the Fathers of the Latin Church, and, after them, the great body of theologians and Catholic critics of modern times, acquit S. Peter on other

grounds. Without venturing to condemn as "an unchristian view" the explanation offered by the Greek Fathers generally, and adopted by two such men as S. Chrysostom and S. Jerome, they prefer the opinion of S. Augustine and the Latins generally, that there was no controversy between the apostles on any point of doctrine; no formal fault committed by S. Peter; but merely a difference on a point of practical prudence. The omission of any mention of this view can scarcely arise from ignorance in a man of Dr. Howson's learning. To what, then, may we ascribe it? To contempt for Catholic writers in general, or to fear of seeming to yield a point in favour of S. Peter's ecclesiastical supremacy? We do not ask him to yield the point, if he is not convinced of the propriety of doing so. But he would at least have given us a higher opinion of his candour and courage, if he had condescended so far as to let his readers know that there was something to be said upon the subject, in a sense utterly opposed to his own. As it is, the very strength of his assertions is an additional argument of weakness. We are spared the necessity, however, of refuting him, as we possess, in two recent works in our own language, very able statements of the Catholic view. Mr. Allies, in his book on "S. Peter, his Name, and his Office," has sifted the whole question with especial reference to the three schools of interpretation amongst the Fathers; and Canon Oakeley, in his work entitled "The Church of the Bible," has inserted an admirable note, furnished him by a friend, which leaves nothing to be desired for the elucidation of the text of Scripture. By help of a very simple and, as it seems to us, highly probable hypothesis, the writer of the note throws a flood of light upon the whole Epistle to the Galatians, and brings out the Catholic theory with greater force and consistency than we remember to have seen elsewhere.

But we are forgetting M. Vidal. In addition to the defects already noticed, we have to add two others, which a second edition may easily remedy—the absence of any maps, and the omission of an index. Until these are supplied, his work will be of little service to students as a book of reference. This is the more to be regretted, as, in spite of our unfavourable criticism, there is much excellent matter in the book; so much indeed, that we are almost sorry to have said anything to its disparagement. High critical value it may not have, as a whole; but there are not a few points which have been ably handled in it. Amongst others we may mention the Conversion of S. Paul; the ecstasy when he was taken up into the third heaven; the nature of the "thorn in the flesh;" the Council of Jerusalem; the legend of S. Thecla; the analysis of the virtues of S. Paul; his speech at Athens (the comments upon which give good promise in respect of the volumes which are to follow on the writings of S. Paul); and, above all, the characteristics of S. Paul's preaching. A whole chapter, by far the most striking in the work, has been assigned to this last subject, and it is written with a power of oratorical appreciation, and an amount of learning, care, and enthusiasm, worthy of so noble and interesting a theme. May the glorious Apostle in whose honour the work is written do the author a good turn for this loving tribute, and help him, in the volumes that are yet to appear, to more than compensate for such defects as we have felt ourselves bound to notice in those already published.

La Persécution Religieuse en Angleterre sous le règne d'Elisabeth. Par l'Abbé C. J. DESTOMBES, Supérieur de l'Institution Saint-Jean à Douay. Paris : Lecoffre. 1863.

THE history of a religious persecution, and especially of a persecution such as that carried on by the Government of Queen Elizabeth against her unfortunate Catholic subjects,—which was almost as abominable for its dishonesty as for its extreme cruelty,—certainly is no very attractive subject either for writers or readers. It has to deal with some of those aspects of the bad side of human nature, in which influences worse than human seem to show themselves with the thinnest possible disguise. If such a narrative were put together for the purpose of blackening the characters of the persecutors and their miserable tools, it would be hardly worth the labour of its composition. It is true that in some cases these very persons are held up on other grounds to the admiration of posterity ; and at this very time, among ourselves, if the character of Queen Elizabeth has received some rude blows even from Protestant historians, Cecil and, perhaps, Walsingham have been or may be set up as the patterns of British statesmen. It may, therefore, not be lost time to show these men in their true colours, not only as persecutors of the faith of the great mass of their fellow-countrymen, but as carrying on their persecution with unexampled dishonesty and malignity. Nor, again, ought we to be blind to the lesson that seems to be fairly deducible from the ultimate success, in a human point of view, of the Protestant persecution in this country. When we consider that when Elizabeth came to the throne the immense majority of the nation was attached to the ancient faith, and that this majority hardly became a minority till far on in the course of her long reign, and that, on the other hand, she found England weak, her own title to the crown disputed, and the great preponderance of power in Europe strongly inclined in favour of Catholicism, it is certainly a matter worthy of attentive study that she and her ministers should have been able to accomplish their purpose so completely. That they had the opportunity to do it, must of course be set down in great measure to that everlasting curse of Christendom, the jealousies and rivalries of Catholic powers. If ever we have a Catholic historian of modern Europe, one of the most important of the many lessons that he will have to teach will be the appalling amount of evil done and good undone which is to be set down to this cause—a cause not less operative in our days than in those of Queen Elizabeth. Still, with all the leisure thus afforded her by those to whom the Catholics of England looked for political guidance and protection, there is something almost unaccountable, on human grounds, that she should have been able to give permanence and stability to the religious revolution into which she, as it were, entrapped England. We know, however, from the experience of our own time, that great and often lasting changes are often imposed upon nations against the will of the immense majority, by the cunning and daring of a few reckless adventurers. The work of Cecil and Walsingham, after all, deserves notice chiefly for its skilful boldness, its subtle statecraft, as well as for its unprincipled mendacity.

Such considerations would, however, furnish but poor reasons for selecting the Elizabethan persecution as a subject of literary labour. The writer of such a work would have to deal with the most odious set of characters that English history has produced, from the ministers and courtiers of the Queen down to the lowest of the minions employed to carry out their policy; the bloodthirsty bishops of the Established Religion, the controversialists who stretched their opponents on the rack till they were more than half dead, and then plied them with arguments blended plentifully with vulgar abuse; or the gaolers, torturers, and executioners, often far more merciful and tender-hearted than the controversialists aforesaid; and, lowest and vilest of all, the spies and informers, without whom the projects of the Government could never have been carried out,—who would plunge willingly into such a gulf of corruption as this? The penal laws are gone, though they remained almost to our own time to witness to the barbarous ingenuity of the statesmen of Elizabeth; and, though Catholics may still be under a political and social ban, they can have neither interest nor pleasure in reminding their countrymen of so disgraceful a page in the history of the nation. There is, however, another aspect of this history on which it is not only useful but delightful to dwell; and it is to this side of the picture that the writer before us has given his chief attention. By the side of the persecutors and their instruments, the figures of their saintly victims shine with a brightness enhanced by contrast. The heroic devotion shown both by priests and laymen in those days of fiery trial has hardly been surpassed in any age of the Christian Church.

The English Catholics were placed by the circumstances of the time in a position of unparalleled difficulty, and they had every temptation to compromise high principles, to temporize and conform for a time, in hopes of better days, or to involve themselves in political enterprises against the reigning sovereign. For some time it was, at all events, undecided by authority whether they might attend at the established worship in order to avoid civil penalties; and afterwards the test of the royal supremacy was so artfully dressed up as nothing more than an appeal to their national allegiance, as to seem to bring upon them the imputation of disloyalty if they refused it. On the other hand, the mere practice of their religion in private became a crime which might lead them to the dungeon or the scaffold. We are not, of course, saying that multitudes did not fall under the trial. So it has probably been in all persecutions of the kind; but Christian history prefers to dwell on the noble sufferings of the martyrs, rather than on the frailty and cowardice of those who might have shared the same crown if they had been as faithful.

In this, as in other similar cases, the Church proves her divine power by producing what no other body can produce—not by raising all her children, by the mere fact of their relation to her, to the heroic pitch of sanctity. A few martyrs are enough to prove her to be what she is. In England they were not few; and the spirit of martyrdom pervaded the whole body of the Catholics, and showed itself in many beautiful instances even when the persons whom it animated were not destined actually to die for their faith. This part of her history is, therefore, as glorious to the Catholic Church in

England as any ; the dark centuries that set in with the accession of Elizabeth ought to be as dear to her sons as those more splendid ages when she ruled in peace throughout the length and breadth of the land. On ourselves, indeed, they have a still more imperative claim. The Catholics of the present day are the heirs of all the generations that have passed since S. Augustine set foot on the shores of Kent ; but they are more immediately the children of the martyrs and confessors who suffered for the faith under Elizabeth and her successors. The present Catholic body in England is founded upon them ; their blood has preserved its life, the first condition of whatever peace and prosperity it now enjoys ; and in the fact that it has pleased God to grant it so noble an ancestry is contained its chief hope of future glory and triumph. Everything, therefore, that sets before us the virtues and sufferings of the Catholic martyrs of the ages of persecution is a great boon to us at the present time ; everything that may help to deepen our gratitude for them and our devotion to them should be welcomed as an earnest of the day when their intercession may work still more powerfully for the benefit of their beloved country.

It is in this spirit that M. Destombes has written the work before us. He considers the persecution of the reign of Elizabeth as the providential foundation of the future religious greatness of the Catholic Church among us. The tone and object of his volume are equally admirable. There is, perhaps, a tendency to occasional prolixity in his quotations from Dodd and other authors ; but we must remember that he is writing in the first instance for readers who are not able to refer to these works for themselves. In fact, however, the execution of the book is hardly equal to its conception ; but it fills up a gap in our literature, and we may have a long time to wait before we can supply the deficiency so well.

Hymns and Sacred Poems. By AUBREY DE VERE. London :
Richardson. 1864.

THIS little volume is dedicated to the memory of Father Faber, and the circumstance suggests to us both a comparison and a contrast. Both possessing the essentials of true poetic genius, both bringing to their subject an imagination captivated by the sublime truths of the faith, Father Faber and Mr. de Vere exhibit marked points of difference. F. Faber's writings are characterized by a gushing exuberance, having its source in the very richness of the imaginative faculty which lavished its gifts in prose almost as profusely as in verse, and that to a degree which criticism made matter of censure. That this exuberance, however, was not the result of a mere florid taste, but was the natural outpouring of a fervid soul, is made abundantly manifest from two circumstances alone, the popularity of his hymns, and the adoption of so large a number for vocal purposes. Father Faber, in fact—we are speaking of him exclusively as a Catholic—proved himself pre-eminently a popular poet ; which we believe Mr. de Vere, however great and varied his merits, is not likely to become. He is not, on the one hand, open to the criticism which F. Faber's luxuriance

of style has sometimes incurred, but neither does he, on the other hand, possess those peculiar qualities which make a man the poet of the nation's affective feelings, whether religious or other. Not but that a very tender and exquisite feeling pervades all his compositions, but its character is of too thoughtful and meditative a turn to render what he writes the vehicle of popular expression. To appreciate his merits, some poetic cultivation is requisite, and, we may add, some intellectual training also. His imagery is always true to nature, of which he is an ardent lover, but we should say that it is often drawn from observation of too reflective a character for popular sympathy, and that it thus misses at least part of its effect by demanding an effort of thought before it can strike the sensitive imagination. We take an instance at random—a very beautiful comparison employed in speaking of the calmness of the Mother of Dolours—

“ And calm, within the storms, her soul,
Calm as the *whirlpool's central drop*.”

That which is an axiom to the natural philosopher is far from being obvious to the uninstructed. Here and there, also, we meet with a kind of dreamy vagueness where the meaning—for deep meaning is never lacking—is so veiled as to be not readily caught by the uncultivated. We may notice here, though the remark applies almost exclusively to his secular productions, another occasional feature in Mr. de Vere's poetry. His ideas, always beautiful, seem sometimes to be borrowed purely from the fancy, and border on the ingenious and the subtle somewhat too closely to stir the feelings powerfully. In this peculiarity he reminds us of Mr. Landor, though we need scarcely add, a purified and spiritualized Landor. The graceful, the penetrating, the delicate, the sweet, all these attributes belong to M. de Vere ; but in the element of the passionate—we use the word in its good and legitimate sense—we should say he was deficient. His region is the serene, whatever may be his theme. For these reasons, we believe that Mr. de Vere's circle of admirers is likely to continue to be, to a certain degree, a restricted circle ; but it will always be a select circle as respects taste, refinement, and cultivated poetic feeling. The defect in lucid simplicity, to which we have adverted, is, after all, but occasional ; he can sometimes be strikingly simple. As an example we might cite the hymn for Maundy Thursday, where the grave and almost naked diction imitates the despoilment of the altars on that day. His version, also, of the *Stabat Mater* renders very sweetly the simple pathos of the original, and adheres to the rhythm more closely than any translation we remember to have seen.

We may notice as remarkable for beauty, the hymns from S. Gertrude. Mr. de Vere's peculiar genius has full scope whenever the mystic element prevails, and we should be glad to receive from his pen more abundant specimens in this department of religious poetry : it is here we conceive that he excels. If, as we have said, his fancy is ingenious and sportive, his deeper mind, while always retaining an objective turn, partakes largely of the contemplative cast. Why does he not give us something more than a few snatches of this music of the higher spheres ? There are abundant unexplored, untouched materials. Might not, for instance, Maria Agreda's

Mistica Città, or Sœur Emmerich's Douloureuse Passion—we do but throw out a suggestion—furnish themes for a kind of mystical epic. Our modern bards tantalize us with fragments. We crave something long enough and complete enough to take hold of us and to live.

But is not Kingsley right after all? A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Newman from the Rev. F. MEYRICK, M.A. London: Rivington.

DR. NEWMAN has, very justly, not thought it worth his while to answer this little pamphlet: though he has virtually disposed of it in the last number of his "Apologia." Mr. Meyrick had certainly no call to interfere in the controversy between Dr. Newman and Mr. Kingsley. The last-named gentleman, indeed, will hardly thank him for his intervention, or feel himself at all safer from the blows of his terrible antagonist, under the shield of the new combatant. He is not quite small enough yet to be content to allow Mr. Meyrick to play Ajax to his Teucer. Mr. Kingsley, moreover, has singularly failed in his own attempt to make the personal issue between Dr. Newman and himself merge in a general conflict on the old battle-ground of Protestantism, which has so often rung with the shout of "No Popery." Protestant prejudice has refused to move itself to the rescue. Mr. Meyrick will not be more fortunate in his attempt to rouse it. He has about as much business to take part in the affair as he would have "to meddle and muddle" between the Federals and Confederates, or in the question between Russia and Poland; and we are inclined to think that, like other more conspicuous meddlers, he will succeed in nothing but making himself felt as a busybody.

The facts of the case seem to be these. Some years ago, as it appears, chance, or some evil instinct, threw Mr. Meyrick in the way of the *Moral Theology* of S. Alfonso. He did not approach it as a student, anxious to gather from its painfully-written pages guidance as to the most difficult of all arts, the direction of souls, nor even, we fear, as an inquirer who might desire conscientiously to learn what are these dreadful doctrines, about which so much has been said. He took to the book, as it appears, as a store-house, in which he might find weapons against the "Church of Rome." It would seem as if he had never been happy since. Society contains many similar instances of men who are haunted by a relentless bugbear of their own; a coming earthquake; a comet that is to appear next week and destroy the earth; a wonderfully-formed child, whose birth is immediately to precede that of Antichrist; some sudden and bloody revolution, or other "great tribulation," such as that which Dr. Cumming is in the habit of announcing from time to time—in volumes which will at all events put those who have the ill-luck to read them into a state of becoming prostration. Mr. Meyrick is haunted by the ghost of S. Alfonso. He has "considered" S. Alfonso in a "series of letters;" he has written on "S. Alfonso's theory of truthfulness;" on "S. Alfonso's theory of theft," and may have had the intention of producing a pamphlet upon each separate treatise of the great Redemptorist, had the public been willing to listen to him. We can hardly be mistaken in

attributing to Mr. Meyrick a long article in the *Christian Remembrancer* many years ago, on the general subject of S. Alfonso's teaching; for the pamphlets we have named, as well as that now before us, betray unmistakably an identity of origin with that article. Indeed, if there are two authors concerned, the one pilfers from the other; and we can hardly impute to Mr. Meyrick, or any one like him, a "theory of theft" such as would be implied by plagiarism. In short, S. Alfonso is to Mr. Meyrick what the early Christians were to the pagans. Every calamity, according to the well-known saying about the Tiber and the Nile, was the reason for a cry, "*Christianos ad Leones.*" Whatever bad happens to or among Catholics, it is all S. Alfonso. If the servant-boy breaks a dish, and says it broke of itself, it is all S. Alfonso's "theory of truthfulness." If the parlour-maid helps herself to the tea and sugar, it is S. Alfonso's "theory of theft," and so on. Now, however, Mr. Meyrick has improved even upon this. Not only when Catholics sin, is it the fault of S. Alfonso, but if they don't sin, they ought to do so, because of S. Alfonso. Thus Mr. Kingsley says to Dr. Newman, "You inform us that truthfulness for its own sake is not, and ought not to be, a virtue with Roman priests;" and Dr. Newman replies, "I never did say so; show me where." Mr. Kingsley is dumbfounded; not so Mr. Meyrick. He steps gracefully forward, and replies to Dr. Newman: "Well, at all events, you ought to have said so,—because of S. Alfonso."

Now we must take the liberty of reminding Mr. Meyrick, in the first place, that not only has he said all that he has to say about the theory of equivocation before, but he has also been abundantly answered, and the unfairness of his quotations exposed. A very long article appeared in the earlier series of this Review, the writer of which not only disposed of Mr. Meyrick's arguments but, moreover, took occasion to remind him of a moral duty, on which at all events he will not find "the theory of S. Alfonso" a bit too lax for the direction of his own conscience. "When a person has brought a most disparaging charge against his neighbour, and that charge is distinctly denied; and, moreover, when plain evidence is adduced, telling the other way, then, we say, that person is bound either to prove his statements, or retract them." (DUBLIN REVIEW, December, 1854, p. 401.) In fact, Mr. Meyrick himself recognizes the obligation of this duty, in the case of Mr. Kingsley. He tells Dr. Newman, Mr. Kingsley "was certainly not right in charging you personally with having made the statement which he has attributed to you. Nor was he right in not at once withdrawing words which he could not maintain" (p. 1). Mr. Meyrick should remember a certain precept about a mote and a beam. The article in which he was reviewed showed clearly that he *had not even apprehended or understood the doctrine* that he was discussing,—a fact very intelligible indeed, if, as we have said, he only took up the question for the sake of making an attack on the "*Church of Rome*,"—and, consequently, that his arguments are simply irrelevant, and his whole charge founded upon his own ignorance. Such being the case, Mr. Meyrick is, we think, rather hard on Mr. Kingsley. He has done just as much himself; he has never either acknowledged his exposure, withdrawn his charge, or attempted, as far

as we know, to answer his critic. And now he turns up again after six or seven years, and fires off the old libel at Dr. Newman over the prostrate body of Mr. Kingsley.

This is rather too bad ; but there is another remark we have to make on Mr. Meyrick. Persons who dip into Catholic books of moral theology for the purpose of dressing up showy and pungent articles in the *Christian Remembrancer*, are not only pretty certain to misunderstand nine lines out of every ten that they read, but they are also very liable to forget even their own impressions. Now if, after a lapse of time, they return to the charge, it is not at all unlikely that they will make still greater blunders than they made before. Mr. Meyrick does not seem to us to have taken the ordinary precaution of looking into his author before he quoted him again, unless, indeed, the continual presence to his mind of his favourite bugbear has made him find in him what no one else ever discovered. From whatever cause, Mr. Meyrick has most grossly misrepresented S. Alfonso in a most material point, on which, indeed, the whole question turns. This is certainly very careless and reckless, and we shall hope to see from him some acknowledgment of the mistake. The state of the case is simply this : There are certain occasions in life, in which we all find ourselves under a difficulty as to declaring to others what we know to be true. We are asked a question that no one has a right to ask us : it relates to a secret of our own, or of some one else, whom we have no right to betray, and the most serious consequences will follow if we do betray him : what are we to do ? Human life is full of these occasions, and we will take a celebrated instance, in order to show the case with perfect clearness. Sir Walter Scott is asked point-blank : "Are you the author of 'Waverley' ?" He wishes to keep his secret—in this case there is no necessity, nor perhaps any great harm to any one if it is found out, but that only makes the case rather stronger for persons who are in a greater difficulty. Let us hear what he says himself : "In this case only one of three courses could be followed : Either I must have surrendered my secret—or have returned an equivocating answer—or, finally, must have stoutly and boldly denied the fact. The first was a sacrifice which I conceive no one had a right to force from me, since I alone was concerned in the matter. The alternative of rendering a doubtful answer must have left me open to the degrading suspicion that I was not unwilling to assume the merit (if there was any), which I dared not absolutely lay claim to ; or those who might think more justly of me must have received such an equivocal answer as an indirect avowal. I therefore considered myself entitled, like an accused person put upon trial, to refuse giving my own evidence to my own conviction, and flatly to deny all that could not be proved against me. At the same time I usually qualified my denial by stating that, had I been the author of these works, I would have felt myself quite entitled to protect my secret by refusing my own evidence when it was asked for to accomplish a discovery of what I desired to conceal." (General Preface to the *Waverley Novels*.)

Here Sir Walter Scott has stated, as a theologian might state, the "three courses" open to a person asked a question that *had no right to be asked* ; and, in fact, each of these courses has its advocates. S. Alfonso takes the second

—that of the “equivocal answer”—which Sir W. Scott, it may be observed, does not reject as wrong, but as in his case unlikely to serve the purpose. If he had equivocated, some would have said that he did not mind being thought the author of “Waverley,” and others would have seen that he was so in truth. S. Alfonso gives a number of ways in which this “equivocal answer” may be given, without violating literal truth; if that were done, it would not be equivocation, but a bold denial of the truth, such as Sir Walter adopted. These instances Mr. Meyrick fastens on, and tries to parade what he considers their immorality; but he forgets, or omits, the hypothesis which underlies the whole “theory” as to the use of equivocation; and this is the misrepresentation to which we now draw his attention.

In order to make such a way of evading a question lawful at all, it is always premised, and it is premised by S. Alfonso, that there must be a just cause. The question must be one that the questioner has no right to put; it must be our right, or our duty, not to reveal the secret as to which we are interrogated. We must either be in the case in which Sir W. Scott supposed himself to be, or in some other position in which we have a still greater right not to answer. Mr. Meyrick gives the instance of the witnesses in a court of justice—in that case he is perfectly wrong, for there the authority that interrogates has a right to know the truth. A greater right might possibly come in, such as a man’s right to save his own life, or some other equally paramount, and then the case might be varied, as Sir W. Scott seems to intimate. In ordinary cases, the use of equivocation would never be justified, unless there was a just and lawful cause for evading the question. Such being the case—such being distinctly affirmed by S. Alfonso in a passage that Mr. Meyrick quotes (in Latin) at the end of his pamphlet—we have to remark that in the pamphlet itself *the direct contrary is affirmed*. Mr. Meyrick introduces his string of methods of equivocation, which he takes from different places in S. Alfonso, with a denial that the author whom he is quoting requires a just cause. According to him, S. Alfonso teaches that we may equivocate just as we like, and when we like. “Your authority, whose every word you are bound to accept, says that it is no lie at all, but merely an amphibology, which you are justified in using, *whether you have a good reason, or whether you haven’t.*”

Here is a direct misrepresentation, which affects the whole of Mr. Meyrick’s pamphlet. Change those words into “*provided you have a lawful reason,*” and what remains of all these frothy pages? We consider further comment quite superfluous. We will only further remark, as we have already hinted, that, although the article in the *Christian Remembrancer* contained many assertions and insinuations as to which it is hardly possible to give Mr. Meyrick credit for good faith, except on the supposition that he is utterly unable to understand the subject with which he is dealing, this particular misrepresentation does not, as far as we remember, occur in it. It has grown on to Mr. Meyrick’s conception of S. Alfonso in the lapse of years; not, we will venture to say, from any continued study of the saintly author whom it has been his singular misfortune so often to slander. S. Alfonso will, no doubt, forgive him, and Catholics can afford to smile at him; but he has, after all, with all his zeal for truthfulness, only added his

little contribution to the swarm of lies about Catholicism with which English air is filled. Let us hope that, as he has intruded into the present question in a manner so uncalled for, and has committed himself so unfortunately in the statements he has made, we may soon have the pleasure of congratulating him on the only step which can now bring him out of the business with any credit to himself. That step is a manly acknowledgment of his mistake. We are not without hope of seeing something of the kind from Mr. Kingsley himself; it would be a pity if he should perceive the obligation of such a duty sooner than so learned a moral theologian as Mr. Meyrick.

The Crown in Council on the Essays and Reviews. A Letter to an Anglican Friend. By HENRY EDWARD MANNING, D.D. London: Longman.

WE think that Mgr. Manning is never so happy and vigorous in style as when engaged in exposing the corruptions of Anglicanism and the chicanery by which its advocates attempt to uphold it. The present pamphlet is peculiarly telling and spirited, and reminds us of the admirable preface to his last volume of sermons. Its effectiveness may be measured by the burst of passionate but feeble ill-humour with which the *Guardian* newspaper hailed its publication. Of the subject itself we have spoken in a separate article.

Reasons for Rationalists, and Thoughts for Thoughtful People. By WILLIAM LOCKHART, Catholic Priest. London: Richardson.

CATHOLICS who wish to be furnished with a clear and powerful argument against Rationalists and heretics, cannot do better than read and study Father Lockhart's excellent little work. It consists of five lectures, or essays: the three former on the evidences of Christianity, in the broadest sense of the term; the two latter on the narrower ground of the controversy touching the Rule of Faith. The former of these arguments, addressed as it is to infidels and deists, is necessarily constructed upon the lowest ground; and this should be borne in mind by Catholics, who might otherwise be pained by finding the Manhood of our Blessed Lord put forward with greater prominence than His Deity. Beginning with the premises which must be granted him by every reasoner except the atheist, Father Lockhart proceeds to show that it is impossible to stop short of Christianity in its Catholic form as the legitimate conclusion from them. This is, indeed, the "crucial" argument of our time, and cannot too often be insisted on, or too strongly pressed. To superadd the belief of an Infallible Church to that of an Omnipotent Creator, is not to encumber that elementary truth by new difficulties, but to clear it of many which beset it in its primary form.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

THE periodicals of the last quarter must be allowed to have faithfully reflected, to some extent, the general stagnation which prevails, at least in the political world. But few articles of importance have appeared on domestic questions : the foreign policy of the Government has been assailed, almost as a matter of course, in the *Quarterly* and in some other publications ; on the other hand, the *Edinburgh Review* for April had no political article. We shall select one or two of the principal topics which have been discussed by several of our contemporaries. As we shall have to say no more of the *Edinburgh*, we may, in passing, draw attention to its very interesting papers on "British North America," and on "Human Sacrifices and Infanticide in India."

1. The Privy Council Judgment is a theme of general comment. Admitted on all hands to be a most important decision, it is of course dealt with variously by the organs of various parties, whether within or without the Established Church. Our own view of it is given at length elsewhere in the present number. We shall here content ourselves with a slight sketch of the opinions of others. For this purpose we have selected the *Quarterly*, the *Christian Remembrancer*, and the *Union Review*, as organs of different sections of the Establishment, and the *British Quarterly* as representing Dissent.

The last-mentioned Review looks upon the proceedings in the Court of Arches and the Privy Council as the legitimate result of the constitution of the Establishment. The legislation of 300 years ago is responsible for the present oppressiveness of lay agency in the Church. A timid clergy has put itself wholly in the power of the State, and now must bear the consequences. Those consequences involve utter powerlessness in the face of superstition and scepticism—of Romanism and Rationalizers. The judgment itself is the result of two influences—legal literalness in the interpretation of old laws, and an altered public opinion. The first of these was necessarily favourable to the accused, the second was so in fact ; and both together drove the Privy Council into a course by no means impartial. This may be lucky for the accused, but they ought not to sing their pæans too soon. For it is by no means certain that they will stand acquitted before the bar of public opinion. English common sense and honesty revolt from the circuitousness and artifice with which these gentlemen put forth opinions generally recognized as hostile to Christianity ; and it will take long to persuade the unsophisticated that "everlasting" does not, in "its plain grammatical sense," mean "lasting ever," or "never ending ;" or that it is all one whether we say that Scripture is "before all things the written voice of the congregation," "the expression of devout reason," with Dr. Williams, or declare it to be "the Word of God," "God's Word written," or "Holy Writ" with the Anglican formularies. The

reviewer is of opinion that henceforward in the Church of England "how much of the Scriptures are to be accepted as the Word of God, and how much as no more than the word of man, is left an open question." *Henceforward*—for as to the past, or as to the truth of the decision, he holds that "there are millions of intelligent men in this country who will not give any moral acceptance to the decision of the Chancellor on the doctrine of Inspiration. They will remain as convinced as ever that the doctrine of the founders of the Church of England was anything but that doctrine, and that the doctrine of the Scriptures themselves is anything but that doctrine." As to the practical effects of the decision, they are matters of mere conjecture. But if experience gives probability to any such speculations, a precisely similar judgment in the Gorham case having left things wholly unsettled, and parties strongly at variance on the subject of baptism, it is not unlikely that for the future the Church of England will be the theatre of contending parties, not so very unevenly matched as time goes on, each denouncing the other, from the same or neighbouring pulpits, as Bibliolaters or as infidels. At all events, an encouragement has been given to the boldest free-thinkers to indulge their vein more boldly than ever. When a Church will not undertake the responsibility of *teaching* the authority of Scripture and the eternity of punishments, it may well be asked what doctrine she *will* be responsible for. The banding together of a large number of persons of various parties to protest against the act of the Privy Council is, however, a fresh symptom in the case. It is raising a standard of revolt. Either the protest is unmeaning, or it is a signal for coming action; the foreshadowing of a not distant separation, a dissolution of the daily less united Establishment. The article ends with a word of hope for the Dissenters. "Never has the mission of English Nonconformity been so weighty as at this hour." In other words, the only chance left for Christianity in England is to be found in the tender mercies of some or all of the Dissenting sects, ranging, we suppose, from the Baptists, Wesleyans, and Independents, to the Plymouth Brethren, Latter-Day Saints, and Mormonites. Poor Christianity! What an uncomfortable and dreary prospect!

Very different from this plain outspokenness is the tone of the Church of England Reviews. With different degrees of timidity, they all approach the subject warily,—with slow steps, on tiptoe, as if some meteoric stone had fallen amongst them which they were half afraid of touching, lest they might burn their fingers. However, handle it they must, with whatever delicacy and caution. It looks very hot, says the *Christian Remembrancer*, but it has been touched by newspapers and serials without much damage. As they seem to have come off unscorched, perhaps it will not be so very foolhardy if we try our fortune, and investigate as best we may this strange and dangerous-looking visitant. So with many groans and much misgiving, the *Review* proceeds "to cast a glance at the mere fact of the acquittal of the two clergymen who have been tried; and, secondly, to consider the principles which seem to be involved in this result of the trial." If it had not been for those sharp-witted lawyers, all might have gone right. But barristers cannot be expected to be at home in theology. We might ask, by the way, what sort of a Church that must be which commits the deposit of faith to the hands of

mere lawyers. But no doubt it is very satisfactory when the mischief is done, to be free to pull the lawyers and their proceedings to pieces, and to indulge, as the Reviewer does, in personal remarks on the temper and intolerance of those of whose troublesome company in the Church he cannot be rid. However, this consolation must have its limits, and the article goes on to define the theological points at issue, and the amount of liberty which the judgment gives to heretical teaching within the Church,—questions so distressing as to have disordered the Reviewer's wits, and thrown the greater part of his article into hopeless confusion. For his arguments do not correspond to the headings which he has laid down. As far as we can gather his meaning, it is this,—that, all things considered, and all possible latitude allowed, it cannot fairly be maintained that Mr. Wilson and Dr. Williams have kept on the safe side of heresy, or managed to square their views, even apparently, with Anglican formularies. The attempt at legal redress, from whatever cause, has been a miserable failure. The crisis, however, is of such importance, as to render silence an act of cowardice and betrayal of the Church. But in what form a voice is to be raised for orthodoxy is matter of perplexity. The "Declaration" has its difficulties. It errs on the side of boldness. It accepts the inspiration and divine authority of both Testaments "*without reserve or qualification*," and the Reviewer cannot do so without several important qualifications, about which, however, as about everything else, he has his misgivings. Strange to say, in spite of all this dolorousness, one confidence he does not abandon. "We do *not* believe that such events as we have just witnessed, will be permitted by God to work the destruction of the Church in these realms." He has abundance of reasons to produce for his fears, none it would seem for his courage and thankfulness, except the supposed state of other religious bodies. Dissenters are worse off, and as for Rome, it has its Döllingers and Montalemberts. The judgment of the Privy Council is perilous, doubtless, to the souls of men, but what if the miseries of each distinct section of Christendom should lead to an increased desire of union "between all who heartily accept the mystery of the Incarnation, who worship the same Lord and Saviour, their manifested God?" Is Puseyism reduced to these straits? The Reviewer disclaims Latitudinarianism, but as Catholics, Lutherans, English Dissenters, Evangelical Churchmen, and Anglicans, are all, on his own showing, of the number of those who heartily accept the mystery of the Incarnation, we are at a loss to distinguish in what he differs from many who go by the name of Latitudinarians.

The *Union Review* is in better spirits; its anticipations are bright. Shutting its eyes to the facts which surround it, a vision rises before it of two things, absolutely distinct, though often confounded with each other—the Establishment and the Church. The first is the national personality in its religious aspect; the second, the mystical body of God Incarnate. The ecclesiastical and civil status in this country are, indeed, such as to lead the incautious or indifferent to confound, or to give hostile observers a handle for identifying, the Church and the Establishment. But they differ as much as their respective Heads. "The English Church is subject to one Head, Christ; the English Establishment also to one head, the national personality." Curious bystanders may ask how Christ being an Invisible Head is visibly repre-

sented. Well, the answer is ready, though not proved :—the English Church is subject, under Christ, to the universal Episcopate, and therefore (though who would have thought it ?) to the Greek Episcopate and Roman, the Pope included. To this Head, the Church of England has never renounced allegiance. Consequently, national legislation and judgments of Privy Council affect the Establishment, bind the Establishment, but leave the Church of England free and independent. After laying down such principles, a little ingenuity is all that is wanted to bend facts to theory. The acknowledgment of royal supremacy under Henry VIII. turns out to have been a merely political act, and no schism. The *Submissio cleri* was, indeed, an act of the Church ; but then it was extorted by violence, and, even if free, was merely personal, and only bound the Church for the period of Henry's life, and, base as it was, surrendered no part of the Church's legislative or judicial authority. The Thirty-seventh Article of 1562 is too full of allusions to personal and political ideas to admit of a purely religious construction. The First and Second Canons of 1604 do but reiterate the Thirty-seventh Article, and the Thirty-sixth Canon is a verbal amplification of the same principle. And as for the Canons of 1640, the first alone treats of the royal supremacy ; and its fervid declaration of the divine right of kings over all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, in all causes, shows the strength of the Church's loyalty at that time, but commits it to nothing beyond its former concessions. "And this is all that the Church has said or done." How faithful the "Church of England" has been to her one Head, Christ ; how submissive towards the universal Episcopate ! It is not surprising after this, that the *Union Review* is not much afflicted at the late Judgment. There is nothing now remaining for the "Church of England," in the conscientious fulfilment of her duty, to do, but, by her own voice, to condemn the heretical teachers, and, if need be, to cast them out from her fold. How this is to be done, the Reviewer does not condescend to tell us.

By far the ablest article on the subject that we have seen is that of the *Quarterly Review*. Not that its conclusions are to our mind more satisfactory, but that its tone is for the most part calm though earnest, manly in the acknowledgment of deep pain though not despairing of a remedy. It regards the writings of the accused as an unmistakable attack upon the old faith on two points of vital importance, and as calculated to stir up and awaken the whole religious mind of England, and bring together on positive grounds parties within the Church too long estranged from each other. And it is to be expected also that the necessity of self-defence will put keenness into the perception and vigour into the maintenance of the great verities assailed, amongst all lovers of revealed truth. The assault has been sufficiently recognizable to alarm, not strong enough to terrify or paralyse. Not that it is safe to trust to accidental reaction alone. No ; the Church has a sacred duty towards the fixed deposit of faith, which she must not betray. If, indeed, a seed of falsehood has now been lodged in her system, then it is a solemn obligation to detect and expel it before it shall have had time to germinate. The important and pressing question, then, is, as to the real effect of the Judgment in this respect. It leaves the formularies and Articles of the Church what they were before, the same in letter, the same in intention.

"But though this is technically true, it is really false." There is a real interference with doctrine, inasmuch as the Court does not leave the Church power to silence or deprive those who may choose to teach that the doctrine of eternal punishment is a fable, and the inspiration of Scripture an exploded fancy. Even such as remain orthodox will henceforward be constrained to put these doctrines forward, not as settled dogmas, but as pious opinions. It is enough that there should be but one bishop on the bench willing to ordain tainted candidates, and the Church will be flooded far and wide with the heresy. The Privy Council, by its absolute restraining power over the corrective discipline of the Church, settles in fact, and without appeal, what her doctrine is or shall be. And what is to prevent other heresies entering by the same door? The quibble on the word "everlasting," which takes the fancy of a court of lawyers, may be transferred to the Eternal Generation of the Son, and Arianism come in boldly in the track of Universalism. The question, therefore, of the exact legal effect of the Judgment recurs; and the answer to it is a matter of life and death. The precise issue is clear, fearfully clear, and easy of comprehension; but it is not so easy to give the answer. The wording of the Judgment, its disclaimers, its strict confinement to "a few short extracts," which were judged, *prout jacent*, without reference to any context, its careful exclusion of all general Christian principles, and even of any particular Articles or formularies except those quoted in the accusation, all tend to throw obscurity over the meaning and force of the decision. The Reviewer is inclined to think that *no* evil precedent as to the future ruling of the Court concerning the inspiration of Scripture and the eternity of punishments obtained. The articles of accusation did not cover the real views expressed by the accused in their works. The charge was framed, the proceedings were conducted, the judgment was drawn up, so as to *let off* the delinquents, but not so as to give a triumph to their opinions. Certain meagre propositions were ruled not to contradict certain Articles and formularies of the Church, but that is all: the true doctrines are not compromised. That is to say, the judgment *under the most favourable construction* does not involve *necessary* error. This the Reviewer endeavours at some length to prove, and, in our opinion, this is the weakest part of his article, except, perhaps, the chimerical remedy which he proposes for the evils which *do* exist. Allowing it to be true that the writings *in extenso* of the authors have not been pronounced innocent, we do not see how any special pleading can get over the allowance of heterodoxy involved in the words: "The proposition or assertion that every part of the Scriptures was written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, is not to be found in the Articles or in any of the formularies of the Church" (Judgment, p. 791); or in the declaration that the Court "does not find in the formularies to which this Article (the 42nd of King Edward VI.) refers, any such distinct declaration of our Church upon the subject, as to require Mr. Wilson's condemnation" (Judgment, p. 792). Be it remembered that, in the extract before the Court, that gentleman had expressed a hope that all the reprobate at the day of judgment may be ultimately admitted into happiness, or, as he expresses it, "find a refuge in the bosom of the universal Parent." The candour of the Reviewer in exposing the very serious evils which even he admits as flowing from the

Judgment is admirable. A great step has been taken towards leaving the clergy absolutely free to teach what they will. The liberalizing movement is in the ascendant. The Church, if that movement progresses at its present rate, will be founded on mere negations. "The Establishment will not long survive amidst the Liberal processes which seem to promise her so much, and which must so fatally destroy her conscience and her witness" (p. 559). The remainder of the article is taken up in proposing a remedy, viz., a sweeping reform in the mode of hearing such appeals as these, an altered composition of the Court, an exclusion of Government influence, a return to the principles of early legislation under Henry VIII., an adoption of some such plan as that proposed by the Bishop of London in 1850, and supported with some modifications by the Earl of Derby.

"That plan proposed in effect to leave to the Judicial Committee, only without the fallacious and bewildering presence of the Prelates who at present sit on it, the settlement of all questions of law and of fact, and the ultimate and unrestricted power of advising the Crown as to the sentence to be given in every case; providing only, that, where any matter of the Church's doctrine came incidentally in question, the Court should frame a case and send it to the Bishops of the Church for their written opinion of what on the matter in question the teaching of the Church of England is" (pp. 573, 574). If such a reform was rejected in 1850, how is it likely to be received in 1864, when Liberalism has made such acknowledged strides? And, supposing the reform carried into effect, it seems to us very questionable whether much check would be thereby put upon the rapid development of rationalizing heresy within the Established Church. The principles of Rationalism are inherent in the nature of that Church, and time and logic are all that is wanted for their development. She has all along carried about with her the causes of her own internal dissolution, and the disease is now at an advanced and, as we believe, utterly incurable stage.

2. It was hardly to be expected but that the recurrence of the Tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth, and the somewhat factitious enthusiasm that vented itself in the festival at Stratford-on-Avon—of which the less said the better—should not have produced a certain amount of writing about the great poet in the periodicals of the day. The year seems likely to give us one or two good editions of his works, and several publications of various degrees of interest relating to them; but we have not much to chronicle in this place as of importance. The *British Quarterly* had an excellent article upon him; and we may also recall to notice a paper on the "Art of Shakespeare" which appeared in the *Victoria Magazine* towards the end of last year. There is a family likeness in the criticism of these two papers. The *Quarterly* has given a long article to the vexed question of Shakespeare's Sonnets. Of course the great point in the controversy is to settle who is the Mr. W. H., whom the publisher Thorpe describes, in the inscription prefixed to the work, as "the only begetter of these insuing sonnets." The writer inclines to Dr. Drake's view, that Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, is the person meant, and enters at length into what he conceives to be the proof of this hypothesis. Lord Southampton was the person to whom the "Venus and Adonis" and the "Lucrece" were addressed by Shakespeare

himself. The peculiarity of the theory now put forward seems to lie in the idea that a great number of the sonnets do not represent Shakespeare's own feelings, but are written for Southampton in his courtship of the lady whom he afterwards married—one of the ladies of Queen Elizabeth's court. The argument is ingenious, but not very convincing. The fact is, that these poems, which seem to promise an insight into Shakespeare's real character, of which we know so little, and which have always given pain and trouble to his most sincere admirers, furnish just one of those fields of critical inquiry where any number of theories may be maintained without much chance of final satisfaction. Before we take leave of the subject of Shakespeare's writings, we must just allude to the very elaborate article on "Shakespearean Pronunciation," in the April number of the *North American Review*.

3. Just as strawberries appear at a certain time, and salmon and oysters come into market at their proper season, so we may always expect the return of spring and summer to give us a crop of Protestant effusions about the state of Italy and Rome. The reason is obvious. The book-making Englishman, whether he be a book-maker by trade or only an accidental and occasional enlightener of the public, migrates in the winter to Italian quarters. He hibernates in Rome, with perhaps an excursion to Naples after the Carnival, so as to have "done" that part of his duty while Rome is dulllest, and in time to be back for Holy Week. He does not linger in Italy very long after Easter; but, having laden himself with materials, he proceeds to northern climates as the heat increases, and finally disgorges himself on his arrival in England. The book-making Englishman, however, has a younger brother—a smaller variety of the same genus—the Englishman who writes off to magazines and other publications of the same kind his foreign impressions. This species does not, of course, follow precisely the same laws as to production with his more regular brother. He produces monthly or weekly, as the case may be. We have to notice now a very large-sized and typical specimen of the second kind—Dean Alford—who went abroad in the winter with the promise of writing a monthly letter to the readers of Dr. Norman Macleod's excellent magazine, *Good Words*.

We must confess to having learned the intention of Dean Alford to write on such a subject with some alarm. Every one who has seen his Greek Testament must be aware that he has certain strong prejudices against Catholicism, and also that, if his writings give a fair idea of his character, he is one of those very narrow-minded men who are pretty sure to fall foul of all that does not quite agree with their own limited conceptions and experience. However, the good Dean went on very well for a time. Whether the generally fair tone of the periodical to which he was contributing kept him in order or not, we cannot tell; but in his first letter he hardly broke out in more than a passing *skit* about "the contact of the soul with God, and the *unseen* and simple reliance on Christ alone, which one cannot but feel is so scantily present in the worship which we witness in the gaudier churches of this foreign land," to which remark he seems to have been led by a desire to set himself right for a complaint he had made of the "studied dreariness" of the Anglican chapel at Mentone. The second letter had an ominous title, "Towards Rome;" but Dean Alford confined himself to some absurd

reflections on entering the Papal States, and to one or two curious statements of fact, of which the rest of the world has hitherto been ignorant: such as that the dome of S. Peter's has *not* been "lifted into the air" according to the designs of Michael Angelo, and that the "edict" which parcelled this country into Catholic dioceses issued from the Flaminian Gate. We begin to see that the Dean has a very confused mind, as well as a very Protestant one. What will Letter III. be? It is called "In Rome," and begins melodramatically:—"Hush! every one who has been in Rome knows the value of this interjection. It indicates a necessity which is imposed on all who have their wits about them; a necessity which is laid upon them as long as they are here, and as a condition of their remaining here." "Every one who has been in Rome" knows exactly the contrary of what Dean Alford asserts; and we will venture to say that he and his friends in the Piazza Nicosia talked against and criticised, to their hearts' content, the Government and the religion of Rome with no restraint whatever, except that of their own conscience and sense of propriety. This letter, however, is chiefly occupied with the Forum, Fidenæ, the Arch of Titus, the Palatine, and some art criticisms. In No. IV., however, which seems to have been written about Holy Week, the Dean's spirit is moved within him, and forgetting his own injunction, "Hush!" he pours himself out at last. Rome, he tells us, is essentially a pagan city—the worship of the people has nothing in common with Christianity—the Father and the Son are subservient—the real object of worship is "a great goddess." Hardly a charge brought by our Blessed Lord against the Scribes and Pharisees in S. Matt. xxiii. which does not find examples among the priesthood of modern Rome. He then goes off into a tirade against the Government and the police, because of the alleged escape of the robbers and murderers from justice. "I state these things in the fulfilment of a solemn duty. The interests and the immortal hopes of thousands are at stake in this matter." One would be inclined to despair of the interests of thousands in this world and the next, did they depend on the testifying of Dean Alford to the lies with which he has been crammed by the people whom he calls "moderate liberals." Then he goes on to the religion, and dances about from a procession of the Bambino at Christmas in the Church of the Minerva, to the miraculous Madonna at Vicovaro and the celebrated statue in S. Agostino; with variations on the usual Protestant topics of the "mutilated" decalogue, Indulgences, and Lotteries,—on the policemen who did not understand his Italian, or some English writing on a card, when he asked the way to the "Largo dell' Impresa,"—on what somebody told him about a sermon of Mgr. Dupanloup's,—and the account of S. Mary Major's, by Monsignor Francesco Lincranì—a dignitary that no one, we think, ever heard of. We suspect that the printer is as bad as the Pontifical *gens-d'arme*. He has made as great a mess of the Dean's handwriting, as the Dean himself of the pronunciation of the name of the street he was looking for. Dr. Alford evidently means Monsignore Liverani, and is quite unaware—how should he know it?—that the statements made in the book he quotes have been amply and abundantly refuted long ago. It is too much to expect him to do more than blurt out, in his own fashion, stories that received their *quietus* two or three years before he himself fell in with them.

We are not going, of course, to refute Dr. Alford in detail. Any one who has been in Rome will be very much amused at his blunders ; and as to the more serious charges, this is hardly the place to deal with them one by one. We are, however, extremely sorry to see trash of this kind in the pages of *Good Words*—a magazine which has hitherto deserved its great success by fairness and moderation. It is, of course, Protestant ; but we do not remember having seen in it before any mere rant. We shall take the liberty of making a single remark on Dean Alford. We have no reason for supposing that he is at all less well-informed than the majority of his countrymen on the questions which relate to the differences between Catholicism and Protestantism. He is a very fair average specimen of the English traveller in Rome, except that his profession, of course, draws his attention to religious subjects rather more than is ordinarily the case. But what a sight it is, to see a man who is necessarily to some extent learned—a man who enjoys a deanery, the revenues of which are provided by Catholic foundations, in the church which owes its pre-eminence in England to the fact of missionaries having brought the Catholic faith to the city in which it stands, from Rome and from the Pope—who can hardly go into his cathedral without being reminded, at every step, of the religion that he is reviling, and must be profoundly conscious that *his* religion would be much more at home in the whitewashed room at Mentone of which he complains—what a sight it is to see a man like this laying about him in such a fashion, betraying in every sentence, not only his ignorance of things that he has never been taught—of which no one could complain—but his utter unconsciousness of his ignorance, and his firm conviction that he understands the whole system which is so foreign to him, even better than its own professors ! This is the very climax of narrow-mindedness. The stranger from the East who went into a London church on a Sunday, and described it to his friends at home as a large room filled with people, having a great gallery at one end, with an immense idol in it, made of wood and huge gilt pipes, which every now and then began to roar, whereupon the people turned round and worshipped it ; and then, after a time, when a man in black got up into a box adorned with crimson velvet, at some distance in front, and read to it a long address, it began again to roar so loud, that all the people took fright and left the room—this traveller, if he ever existed, understood Protestant worship exactly as much as Dean Alford understands Catholic worship. He has never been accustomed to the external manifestations of religious devotion and love, and so he thinks it very scandalous that an image of the Infant Saviour should be carried in procession, and kissed by the people at Christmas. What would he have done if he had been one of the shepherds at Bethlehem ? Again, he cannot understand, for the same reason, the honour paid to images and statues of our Blessed Lady. No doubt there is more *outward* honour paid to her statue in S. Agostino than to our Blessed Lord in the cathedral at Canterbury. But it does not follow that Catholics are fools and idolaters, because they honour externally the Mother more than Protestants the Son. Dean Alford has never seen the Roman people at Mass or Benediction ; he actually thinks that the crowd round the gates of the Choir Chapel in S. Peter's, listening to the music of the Tenebræ, is

there principally for the sake of devotion ! He talks about the "worship" of the Madonna at S. Agostino ; but he does not know that the church would be deserted if the Blessed Sacrament were taken out of the tabernacle, and that, at any time, the moment the High Altar was lighted up for Benediction, the crowd of suppliants round the Madonna del Parto would turn round and begin to worship, with a kind of homage altogether different in kind, the Son and Lord of her whom that statue represents, in his Real Presence over the Altar. We do not blame Dean Alford for not realizing, as Catholics do, the Incarnation and its consequences. That may be his misfortune ; and certainly, the manifestations of Roman devotion to our Blessed Lady are not to be understood by those who have not the Catholic faith. But it is one thing for a Protestant not to understand and not to be at home in the Catholic system, and quite another for him to take the liberty to revile and condemn it, as if he understood it. We have known Protestants in Rome as far from the Catholic faith as Dean Alford, at least in intelligence, who yet have known how to distrust their own feelings, and been modest and prudent enough to suppose that they might be mistaken in setting themselves up as judges of the practices and devotions of the largest portion of the Christian world. Dean Alford is quite childish in his narrow-mindedness. He makes it an argument against the Papal Government that, when he asked a *gens-d'arme* for the Piazza dell' Impresa, he was not understood. He might as well accuse Dr. Macleod of stupidity, because his printers could not make out the spelling of an Italian name. He happens to start on a pilgrimage, after his fashion, to Licenza, and so by chance finds himself before the picture of our Lady at Vicovaro. He makes the great discovery that the picture is one of those in which the eyes and eyelids are so drawn, that a person looking at it for some time together might easily fancy that the eyes move. It never occurs to him that the same remark had probably been made by hundreds before him, and that it might have occurred even to so ignorant a man as the bishop who had to examine the witnesses on oath, and test the miracle in every possible way. According to him, Catholics are all either knaves or dupes. We are happy to think that all Protestant travellers are not quite so narrow-minded as Dean Alford.

4. A good deal of attention has been drawn to two articles that have appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* for May and June, professing to give an account of scenes in Palermo and Calabria, at the time of Garibaldi's invasion in 1860. The articles are called "Garibaldi's Invisible Bridge," and "The Red Shirt in Calabria." They belong to that class of stories which must be considered as "founded on fact," with a margin, more or less large, left for the work of the imagination. In such cases it is, of course, very difficult to discern exactly how much or how little the writer means us to believe. These articles, however, contain certain statements which most people will understand to be given as historical—we shall, therefore, make one or two remarks on those which have to some extent scandalized Catholics in this country.

The writer conceals his name ; but he describes himself as having been entrusted with the organization of a military college for boys, under the dictatorship of Garibaldi. The person to whom this description answers is a

certain Mario—the husband of an English lady, whose name may occasionally be seen placarded as that of a lecturer on “Italy,” and who, like Sgr. Mario himself, is a rank Mazzinian of the most extreme views. She was sent out of Florence by the Revolutionary Government in Baron Ricasoli’s time, if we remember right, as too dangerous a firebrand even for those who had usurped the power of the Grand Duke. Sgr. Mario writes fair English, but there are, here and there, indications of a foreign authorship in the articles of which we are speaking. He omits many things discreditable to the Garibaldian cause; but with these we have nothing to do. Our business is with two assertions that he has made—with regard to the priests of Palermo, and to the nuns of a certain convent that he does not name, outside one of the gates of that city.

Some Palermitan priests, we believe, sympathised with the people in their feeling against the Neapolitan Government. It is not wonderful that they should have joined heartily in the demolition of the fortress which kept their beautiful city in subjection. But the writer before us goes on to say that they denounced the Pope as Antichrist. Here we recognize the free pencil of the Mazzinian draughtsman. Neither the priests nor the people of Palermo are at all likely to have been even tolerant of such a thought; in fact, when a Garibaldian once raised a cry against the Pope in the presence of a crowd of the people, he was very soon convinced practically that their sentiments did not agree with his own. In all large bodies of clergy, especially in countries that have been withdrawn by the miserable policy of their governments from the full and direct influence of the Holy See, a few bad priests are certain to be found; but, as a matter of fact, those who were at Palermo at the time deny the existence of even one or two such priests in that city. The truth, we believe, is that Garibaldi was obliged to make very considerable profession of religious devotion in order to maintain his popularity in Palermo. His admirers in England, who have lately made the discovery that he is a true Evangelical Christian, would have been quite shocked to hear that he had gone on a pilgrimage to the shrine of S. Rosalia, and to see him assisting in state, with every appearance of devotional fervour, at the Pontifical Mass on the festival of the Saint. He made his followers spread about reports of his great piety, and attribute to him a high degree of sanctity. (This fact, indeed, is indirectly confirmed by the statement of Sgr. Mario himself.) Garibaldi, in his visits to the convent, of which we shall speak presently, told the religious how much he envied their life of prayer and contemplation, and with what great regret he had felt obliged, for their own sakes, to expel the Jesuits. If Garibaldi himself, who is supposed to be so frank and honest, had to put on the mask of religious hypocrisy at Palermo, it is not very likely that the Palermitan priests should have done what is imputed to them; and, as a matter of fact, on the authority we have stated, we take on ourselves positively to deny it.

The case with regard to the nuns is much of the same kind. Every one knows that the cloister is not a place where the news of the world penetrates easily; and its inmates are very likely to be gulled by statements such as those industriously circulated about Garibaldi;—that he was a saint, and spent several hours every night in mental prayer! This is especially likely

in the case of the convents at Palermo, which are chiefly filled with noble ladies, a great number of whom are educated as children in the very same cloisters which they afterwards inhabit as religious. *Sæculum potius ignorant, quam relinquunt.* It is not at all unlikely that the good ladies in these convents believed all that they were told about Garibaldi, and still less so, that they felt very strongly the necessity of making him, if possible, their friend and protector, against the set of ruffians from every nation under heaven, of whom he was the leader. The royal family in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies have the privilege, we believe, of entering the enclosure of convents at certain times, and as Garibaldi seated himself on the royal throne in the cathedral at the mass on S. Rosalia's day, it is not impossible that he may have taken a similar liberty as to the violation of the cloister. Happy, indeed, would some convents in Italy have been, about the same time, if the Piedmontese and Mazzinian revolutionists had confined themselves to simple intrusion such as that! But the article on which we are commenting,—“Garibaldi's Invisible Bridge,”—goes on to relate a scene in a nameless convent, which we take the liberty of considering a simple invention of the writer. He says that the General and his staff visited this convent by invitation; that they were received in the refectory with a splendid display of sweetmeats and confectionery; and that the nuns, one and all, up to the “Lady Abbess,” embraced and kissed the Dictator. It is, of course, difficult to give a distinct denial to a statement which may not be meant seriously, and which, at all events, does not state time and place. The place, however, is to some extent determined;—it is the *famous* convent of — outside the Porta —. The convents outside the walls of Palermo are at the most two or three: the only one that could be called *famous*, is a convent of Salesian nuns, who have, or had, a large *pensionnat* of young ladies in a detached but adjacent building. Another great convent, that of the Conception, from which the nuns have just been turned out into the street, under circumstances of extreme barbarity, by the government of Victor Emmanuel, is not really outside the gate, though it might appear so to the eye. As the young *educande* of the Salesians dress uniformly, it is not impossible that the visit of which Sgr. Mario speaks,—if it be not a pure romance,—was made to them, in the presence of their mistresses, and the one or two nuns who had the charge of them; and that the writer in the *Cornhill* may have made the usual mistake of thinking them all religious. But even this hypothesis does not meet the difficulties of the case. The convent in question is so close to the scene of the conflict between Garibaldi and the royal troops, that it is very improbable that the young ladies would have been there at the time spoken of. They must have all have been withdrawn by their families. The customs, too, of Sicily, are very strict with regard to girls: we need hardly say what they are all over the world as to religious. A girl would be ashamed to throw her arms round her father's or brother's neck, and kiss him, in public. We feel no doubt whatever, that the whole scene has been suggested to the writer by some one who thought it would go down with the readers of the *Cornhill*.

5. The June number of the same magazine gives us the last instalment of the story on which Mr. Thackeray was occupied at the time of his sudden

death. A note is added by the Editor which throws some light on what would have been the later adventures of Master Denis Duval, the hero of the tale. The same note is interesting, as testifying to the conscientious and painstaking manner in which Mr. Thackeray set to work to learn every little detail that might help him to paint the historical and local accessories of his story with minute accuracy. He had already given an instance of this kind of industry in "*The Virginians*:" it may be compared, in its way, with the refined learning and wide reading that is to be found in every little sentence in such a book as Dr. Newman's "*Callista*." It is hard to say what place the unfinished novel would have occupied in the works of Mr. Thackeray. Perhaps it would have had to be classed among his second-best, such as that which we have named.

To the Editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you for informing me that a correspondent has written to you on the subject of a passage in the article on "*The Work and Wants of the Church in England*," published in the first number of your new series (page 143). The passage relates to the number of those Irishmen who in the last century conformed to the Protestant Church in order to preserve their estates from the effects of the penal laws.

The person on whose authority I made the statement is an Irish gentleman of high position, great knowledge and experience, a faithful Catholic, and an ardent lover of Ireland. The subject occurred in a conversation with him about ten or twelve years ago. I immediately wrote to him. His answer is as follows:—

"I recollect the conversation you refer to. It is just twenty years since I read the fact I mentioned to you. It is to be found in a note in one of the volumes of Grattan's life of his father, and I have every reason to believe it is true. At this length of time I cannot be precise as to dates or numbers, but I think it is thus:—Between 1700 and 1750, four thousand Catholics became Protestants, to preserve their estates from the effects of the penal laws."

I have referred to Grattan's life, for the passage in question. After relating that on Dec. 16, 1773, a bill was brought into the Irish Parliament to enable Papists to lend money on mortgages, and on January 24th, 1774, another to allow Papists to take mortgages on land, and on February 8th a third to enable Papists to take leases for three lives, but not to constitute a freehold unless the lessees were Protestants, he adds:—

"In that debate it was stated that all who had conformed from the year 1702 to 1773 only amounted to 4,055. So unpalatable was the process of conversion, and so ineffectual the progress of the penal laws."*

* Vol. I., pp. 265, 266, of *Grattan's Life and Times*, by his son, H. Grattan, Esq., M.P. 5 vols. London: Colburn. 1839.

Grattan adds as a note :—

The number of Catholics who conformed was as follows :—

| | | | | |
|-----------|----|------|-----------------|------|
| From 1702 | to | 1708 | there were..... | 37 |
| " 1708 | " | 1713 | " | 112 |
| " 1713 | " | 1723 | " | 108 |
| " 1723 | " | 1733 | " | 403 |
| " 1733 | " | 1743 | " | 639 |
| " 1743 | " | 1752 | " | 569 |
| " 1752 | " | 1762 | " | 876 |
| " 1762 | " | 1773 | " | 1301 |
| | | | | 4045 |

These statements confirm in substance, and in the main, the passage in the article under the following corrections :—

1. The number of persons conforming to Protestantism ought to be 4,045 instead of 5,000.
2. The period of time ought to be seventy instead of twenty-five years.

My informant is, I believe, correct in understanding these persons to be not so many individuals or units only, but so many possessors of property. They were therefore for the most part heads or representatives of families which, though not here expressed, is, I believe, known to be the fact in a large number of such cases both in England and Ireland.

It gives me great satisfaction to limit the statements of the article by these corrections, and I desire to assure your correspondent that what I wrote does not imply the absence of a sincere love and admiration of the truly faithful and Catholic Irish people towards whom I heartily adopt every word of the eulogy contained in the sixth sermon of a volume lately published by Dr. Manning.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

THE WRITER OF THE ARTICLE ON "THE WORK
AND WANTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN
ENGLAND."

April 26, 1864.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1864.

ART. I.—THE PRINCIPLES OF '89.

Les Principes de '89 et la Doctrine Catholique. Par M. l'Abbé LÉON GODARD, Professeur d'Histoire Ecclésiastique au Grande Séminaire de Langres, Chanoine Honoraire d'Alger. Édition corrigée et augmentée. Paris : Lecoffre. 1863.

HISTORY not only presents us with the remarkable leading events in the life of the human race, but divides itself into characteristic periods, to which we have been in the habit of giving names, significant of their peculiar features. Each of these periods is generally ushered in by some great event, which forms, so to say, the starting-point of the new order of things—not unfrequently by some act, of which we can fix the year and the day—which event or act is usually at once both the product and the germ of the leading idea which distinguishes the coming period. If this be true of history in general, much more strikingly true is it ever since the world's history has been blended in inextricable union with that of Christ's Church. Such epochs cannot fail to fix the attention of the religious, philosophic mind, as it casts an eye over the eighteen centuries and a half which have run their course since the commencement of the Christian era. We see the Church from the time that the decrepit Roman empire was invested by the barbarians, labouring at the simultaneous task of converting and educating her rude children; we see the foundations laid of a vast system of civilization, based on Christian principles which were to interpenetrate every part of the social and political fabric; and this great idea finds its full enunciation, and is, as it were, enthroned and consecrated when Leo III. sets the diadem of Christian empire on the brow of Charlemagne, who, alone amongst all the great men that have lived and been honoured upon earth, has had the epithet of "great" incorporated with his name. The Protestant heresy of the sixteenth century inaugurates the

next great epoch. A deep wound was then inflicted on Christian Europe: several nations were withdrawn from the Catholic commonwealth, whilst those which still continued, as nations, to preserve the faith, and whose governments still in terms recognized that faith as the basis of their polity, were fast swerving from their old foundation, and becoming secularized in spirit, mainly through the ambition and love of power of monarchs intent on establishing their rule at the expense of the Church's authority, and of her just and salutary influence. It was not, however, until the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, that Protestantism achieved the triumph of a public recognition by Catholic governments. Henceforward the maintenance or restoration of the religious unity of Europe was abandoned by the Catholic sovereigns who signed that treaty. Protestantism was recognized as having a claim, not merely to toleration, but to legal rights—two things often confounded. Europe had now seceded from the Catholic basis, but was still established on a Christian basis.

This constitutes a third period during which the spirit of evil was preparing his next attack, which was now directly on Christianity itself. It is well known how the infidel philosophy of the eighteenth century, combining with Gallicanism and Jansenism to weaken the influence of the Church, and to assail her just rights and her holiest institutions, prepared the way for the fiercest blow which since the days of pagan persecution had been levelled at the faith. The next epoch, therefore, on which we naturally fix our eye is the commencement of the French Revolution, when the battle of rationalism against Christianity, which is still waging, first openly declared itself. We need not say how artfully the enemy contrived to enlist the sympathies of the unwary multitude by appealing to their desire for social and political freedom, and for equal rights—a desire which the various theories on the origin of human society and the source and limits of authority promulgated by the freethinkers of the day, fostered into a blind and insatiate passion. These ideas, and especially those contained in Rousseau's famous *Contrat Social*, found their most formal expression in the Declaration of Rights put forward by the Constituent Assembly of 1789, containing seventeen articles embodying what are now commonly known as the "Principles of '89." The vague and abstract form in which they are couched, renders them susceptible of various interpretations. But it is the interest of the enemies of the Church to assert that they contain the condemnation of ancient society, and constitute the foundation of an entirely new social state. They contend, therefore, that the Church which is

pledged to the old order of things, does and must reject them, and in so doing, condemns, as a necessary consequence, the true principles of liberty and the just rights of the people identified with and, as they boast, first promulgated in the Declaration of Rights of '89. Hence Catholics who are faithful to their religion, must necessarily be the enemies of all governments founded on the principles of true liberty.

It is clear how great an advantage the infidel revolutionists derive from the ambiguity above alluded to, and the confusion which they have created between true principles and their counterfeits. Assuredly the Church, which, however, has never formally pronounced judgment on the letter of the principles of '89, does condemn the interpretation affixed to them, and the use made of them, by the revolutionists; and it is by identifying these principles, as expounded by themselves, with the true principles of liberty and justice that they endeavour to prove that the Church is the enemy of freedom and of popular rights. It was to counteract this manœuvre that the Abbé Godard's book was written. His object was to show the sense in which Catholics understand and accept the Principles of '89, and that, as thus defined, they are not only not condemned by the Church, but contain truths long taught by her theologians. The intention was always laudable; but in its first form the work contained inexact assertions, which were censured at Rome, and the Abbé at once submitted with the docility of a faithful son of the Church. He was allowed the unusual favour of re-writing the censured work with the necessary changes and modifications; and, as now presented to the public, it has received the necessary ecclesiastical approbation. The attempt to fasten on the Church the charge of an antipathy to the principles of liberty—principles which she alone holds and promulgates in their truth—has, however, led, on the part of a certain school of liberal Catholics, to an indiscreet and rash glorification of the Principles of '89. This has been the case specially in France, where the complete *tabula rasa* made of the old Catholic polity and social edifice has caused a race of men to grow up who have entirely lost sight of the idea upon which the ancient Christian society was built. Catholics have had to battle foot by foot for liberty, by making use against their opponents of the very principles which the latter have put forward and invoked. Hence they have been led to consider the practical freedom thus acquired, or to be acquired—for at present it is rather a battle which is being fought than a victory which has been achieved—as the very summit of ideal perfection, and to bestow inordinate praise, and even to set a false and exaggerated value, upon

principles, on the common ground of which they believe they can make a pact with the revolution, and arrest its course.*

To clear up the confusion which appears to exist in some quarters on this much-debated question—a question, moreover, which has many important bearings at the present time—we have thought that a slight examination of the Declaration of Rights promulgated in '89, might be not inopportune. We propose to throw the subject into the form of a dialogue, as furnishing greater facilities for treating what might otherwise prove a dry and lengthy disquisition, in a compendious and popular manner, and at the same time noticing the different aspects which the question assumes in different minds.

Our interlocutors shall be—1. The “Padre,” an Italian religious of the Company of Jesus. His view is, of course, that of a thorough-going Catholic, and he considers the “Principles” on their abstract merits. 2. The “Abbé,” also a sound and excellent Catholic; but, living under a government which has adopted these principles as the basis of the constitution, his view is necessarily one of accommodation, viz., such accommodation as the Holy See sanctions—the acceptance of the “Principles” with a Catholic interpretation. 3. The “Marquis,” a young Frenchman, a loyal son of the Church, but a zealous supporter of those principles of political freedom and religious toleration which are commonly summed up under the term “modern liberties,” and eagerly desirous that the Church should cordially embrace and assert them. The fourth interlocutor is a German Professor, who is looking for the regeneration of the world from the spirit of progress, in the modern acceptation of the term, and who is not a little imbued with “liberalism,” both political and religious:—

Padre.† What shall be our subject for this evening’s *conversazione*? We have agreed to waste no time in desultory discourse, but invariably to have a topic, and to keep to it. I propose that, as on this occasion we receive another friend into our argumentative circle, we should forego in his favour our practice of choosing a subject in turn, and defer the selection to him. You agree: well, M. le Marquis, what shall be our theme?

Marquis. I propose the “Principles of '89.”

Professor. Bravo! Do you cordially accept them?

* See an article in the *Civiltà Cattolica* of the 2nd January of this year, entitled *Della possibilità di una Scuola liberale in Italia*, where this subject is most ably treated.

† The arguments put into the mouth of the Padre are mostly taken from some papers that have appeared in the *Civiltà Cattolica*.

Marquis. I accept them in their true and legitimate meaning. The Church herself does not condemn them. On the contrary——

Pad. Allow me to observe that we each speak for ourselves, and as the organs of our own individual opinions alone, save so far as we can prove that they have adequate support; but we must not forestall such proof. Especially we must not run before the Church, and undertake to speak in her name. We are her children, not her guides, leaders, or exponents.

Mar. I stand corrected. It is a point on which I feel so strongly, that my eagerness I hope will be forgiven.

Pad. It is well we should understand *in limine* what is the object we set before us in our present discussion. These celebrated principles, promulgated some seventy years ago, are by many lauded as containing the germ of all earthly felicity, public and private—the very quintessence of liberty, civilization, and progress; while by others they are stigmatized as the compendious expression of human pride, displaying itself in a medley of monstrous errors repugnant alike to reason and faith.

Prof. The theme being thus stated, the argument divides itself into two adverse propositions. The defence of the former, I presume, is committed to me, while you, Padre, are, of course, pledged to uphold the latter. The Marquis has already taken his side; but our friend the Abbé is, I conceive, in somewhat of a dilemma between his duties as a citizen and a submissive son of the Church.

Pad. Gently, Professor, the programme is not quite so simple. After allowing a margin for exaggeration, I am free to confess that there is *some* truth in both these aspects of the principles; at least something to justify each of these views; possibly this may not be one of the least of the perils connected with them. Never is falsehood so dangerous as when dressed up in a show of truth. I propose, then, that we should examine what is the scientific, rational, and juridical value of these principles, and, above all, how far they are agreeable or repugnant to Catholic doctrine.

Prof. I am glad you admit reason into court, or I fear I should have found myself in this honourable assembly something like the fifth wheel of a coach.

Pad. Although Catholics can never admit reason as a judge of faith, seeing that faith deals with matters above reason, nevertheless it is impossible that faith can teach anything contrary to reason; and, in particular, where the subject matter is ethical, the province of reason is naturally larger, and her competence to judge is greater.

Prof. You have stated the object and method of your inquiry ; allow me to state the proposition I support—viz., that these principles constitute the universal codex of the liberty of the people ; and to your country, gentlemen [he makes a bow to the two Frenchmen], we are indebted for having created the regulator of human society.

Pad. France, it must be allowed, made a somewhat unhappy experiment of them in the first four years of this new birth to liberty.

Abbé. M. le Professeur, we Catholics do not admit that these principles, in the only true and legitimate sense in which we can subscribe to them, are discoveries : some of them, at least, are discoveries as old as Christianity itself.

Pad. Others are mere truisms ; others, again, vague propositions, capable, it is true, of a good interpretation, but easily lending themselves to a bad one.

Mar. As modern society, however, does not claim to possess an infallible interpreter of this her charter of liberty, I may very fairly disclaim any such construction as infidels and revolutionists may desire to fasten upon it.

Pad. If France could make out no greater claim to the admiration and gratitude of civilized Europe than this gift of hers to society, we should not hold her to be the great nation which we assuredly do. If she was brought by sophists to so low a state in 1789 as to reckon, for instance, as a marvellous discovery the natural equality of all mankind, or the institution of civil authority being intended for the general benefit ; and if the other European nations were all agreed in forming the same estimate, and had nothing to do but to thank their fortunate sister for having found out these great truths, alas for France and Europe ! Most truly has the Abbé observed that some of these discoveries are as old as Christianity, and to be pompously presented with them in the eighteenth century of the era of grace, is much as if some grave Bedouin were to come and hand us, as his own wonderful composition and invention, a Latin alphabet, or the first rudiments of the Calendar.

Prof. It is all very well for you Churchmen to say that now ; but pray, if these principles were not new, and if they were already preached by yourselves, why do you so cordially dislike them as you do ?

Pad. Amongst our grounds of dislike we do not, of course, rank the truth which some of them express, and which others may be understood to express. For our present discussion we take as our text the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen promulgated by the Constituent Assembly in 1789,

and placed at the head of the constitution then adopted. It is the only document embodying them ; it must be regarded, therefore, as their adequate exponent. The term " Principles of '89," now come to be a sort of watchword, represents in the mouth of those who use it a whole body of opinions which for their root and ground must be referred to this Declaration, although the persons adopting it may by no means intend to restrict themselves to its letter. But argument on the subject would be impossible, if we took into consideration anything beyond its precise letter.

Prof. Yet I think that in interpreting that letter, we must not lose sight of the meaning of the first framers and accepters ; we must take what the words did and do mean, not what they may be understood or made to mean.

Abbé. This is indispensable where it is a question of any document the object of which is to state truth or impart information, but a declaration intended to act as a legal basis ought not to need an historical inquiry for its comprehension.

Mar. And, in fact, such historical inquiry would in the present instance only lead to the very embarrassment it is desired to avoid. Can it be believed that the many noble patriots and the numerous members of the clergy of France who subscribed the Constitution of 1789, at whose head it figured, intended to accept it in an ultra-revolutionist or anti-Christian sense ?

Abbé. No doubt the infidel revolutionist party desired to affix their own meaning to the principles proclaimed in '89 ; and what that meaning was, is plain from the much stronger Declaration put forth by the Convention in 1793, to which document it would not be possible to give a meaning which Catholics could accept. But if we are to argue upon the subject at all, we must take these principles as a thesis, making abstraction of intentions and of subsequent facts ; because the former were, as the Marquis observes, necessarily diverse, while the latter were as yet but part and parcel of the future. When we see both revolutionists and Catholics accepting these principles as the basis of a free constitution, and as a charter of liberty, clearly they must differ in their way of understanding them, quite as much as they would differ in their definition of true liberty. Catholics could not subscribe them if they did not view them as expressions of the natural law, which cannot clash with revealed truth or the rights of the Church any more than reason and faith can be opposed one to the other.

Mar. It would be truer, I think, to say that we differ from the revolutionists in the application of the principles, than that we differ in our definition of them. We Catholics alone, do, in fact, cordially and consistently carry them out ; we alone

honestly invoke them, and are, not merely willing, but desirous that they should be faithfully acted upon. With the Padre's permission I must be allowed to say this much, for I do think that nothing is more hurtful to our cause than the giving our enemies occasion or pretext to say that we do not accept the modern liberties *ex animo*; or that, while subscribing to the charter of freedom, we accept its terms in what has been called a non-natural sense.

Pad. I might point out much that would be more hurtful to the cause of religion and truth than the open confession of real differences where such are radical and essential; but to enter upon this topic at present would be a digression. Let us keep to the point before us. There are three lights in which we may regard the Principles of '89. We may consider the obvious and natural sense of the words; or we may investigate the sense which the authors intended to put upon those words; or we may inquire what favourable interpretation, by more or less of stretching and accommodating, they may be made to bear. Now, as to the first mode of viewing them, I consider them collectively as bad; not because all are bad, but on account of such as are false and bad, and which thus give a character to the whole, according to the saying, "*Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocunque defectu.*" In the second point of view, viz., the intention of the authors, this vice becomes far greater; for whether we look to the state of France at that time, the doctrines expressed in contemporary writings, or the disputes which preceded and accompanied the Declaration, or mark its immediate application during the short period that the Assembly which voted it remained in power, we can have no doubt as to the meaning attached even to many of those articles which, in themselves, are not merely harmless but positively good. So true is it that the welfare of society depends much less upon principles than upon the men who apply them; and the Marquis will see by this how far and in what sense I agree with the observation he made just now. But this vice belongs to the practical application, and is not essential to the Declaration. As respects the third mode of viewing it, I most frankly commend the attempts which have been made, under special circumstances, to give a good and, where more is not feasible, a tolerable meaning to its ambiguous clauses. In countries such as France, for instance, where the Principles are professed in the first article of the Imperial Constitution, to which even many ecclesiastics have to swear, such works are good and useful as a relief to tender consciences. There are Catholics, too, like our friend the Marquis, who are so mightily taken with the "Principles of

'89," and cling so lovingly to them as the sole remaining palladium of liberty, that for their sakes it is well to give them the best, albeit not the most natural, interpretation of which they are susceptible; that, if love and value them so exceedingly they must, it may be at least for reasons justifiable to a Christian conscience; but this is a work which has been already done. Moreover, as the Holy See does not forbid her children to accept the constitutions of France and Belgium, it is plainly no question whether such favourable interpretation be lawful for practical purposes.

Mar. I must say I do regard the Principles of '89 as the sole remaining palladium of liberty; and excuse me, Padre, if I remark that it would argue great ignorance of the state of feeling in France, to hope to claim for the Church in this nineteenth century, any liberty which we are not willing to accord to all.

Pad. Nevertheless, it is quite competent to those who are not practically bound to the acceptance of the Principles, to regard them in their intrinsic value, and to judge of them solely under that aspect; and I think for important reasons it may be useful to all to study their abstract merits; at any rate, it was under that aspect I proposed we should examine them.

Prof. Well, to our work; and first, I imagine we all agree, or ought to agree, in commending the magnificent preamble. See upon what high ground it takes its stand! See from what a pure and uncorrupted source these streams of life and freedom to humanity arise! Who can withhold his admiration at witnessing the spectacle of a great nation proclaiming, by its representatives, this magnificent and spiritual truth—that "ignorance, forgetfulness, and contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public calamities and the corruption of governments;" and that they have resolved accordingly to make "a solemn declaration of the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that, held up perpetually before all the members of the social body, it may ever remind them of their rights and duties; and thus, by rendering it possible at any moment to compare the acts of the legislature and executive powers with the end of all political institutions, may cause them to be the more respected; and hence also that the demands of the citizens, being founded on firm and indisputable principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the constitution and the happiness of all?"

Pad. I have, perhaps, no more rooted aversion to any portion of the declaration than to its preamble. What strikes you as sublime, I must own strikes me as most ridiculous and

absurd. It was something new to see legislators gravely heading a legal code by a treatise on Natural Law; but the novelty was not only absurd, it was most perilous. Law, no doubt, ought to be reasonable and founded on reason, but woe to the legislator who places his chief reliance on obtaining the reasonable conviction of those to whom he gives laws; who, instead of commanding, undertakes the arduous task of persuading!

Mar. I do not know that I quite agree with you there. Surely the great art of government must be to convince subjects of the wisdom of its decrees.

Pad. You have, perhaps unconsciously, expressed yourself almost in the exact words of a highly estimable authority, Padre Taparelli d'Azeglio, of our Company.

Mar. Assuredly I must plead guilty to not even being acquainted with his name.

Pad. He makes the observation you have just made, but adds, "Here there is a rock to be shunned; that of appearing to beg the assent of the people, and consequently to represent such assent as exclusively based upon the reasons propounded to them. This would be to give a shock to authority, which ought to impose itself in its own name; it would be to run the risk of obtaining, by the help of reasoning alone, a very uncertain support and a very precarious obedience."* But we have something here worse still than reasoning and persuading: we have a string of vague, abstract, indefinite theories about *man*, of which, if some are self-evident, others may be shown to be false in their most obvious sense; while about others you might argue for ever. Notice, too, the absurdity of a lawgiver theorizing about abstract man, existing only as an intellectual conception, having no individuality, no location, utterly divested of all relations, past, present, or to come. Human nature thus considered in itself, apart from all actualizing conditions, is to be found only in the philosopher's brain; but law deals with a concrete man of flesh and bones, living at such an epoch, in such a country, belonging to such a people, and so forth. There are French, Germans, Italians, each with their respective traditions, habits, and inclinations, which are to be found in these particular men, but not in all men; still less in abstract man.

Prof. But it is the professed object of the Declaration to ascend to a region which embraces the concrete without

* The excellent work from which the above extract is made has been translated into French under the title, *Essai Théorique de Droit Naturel basé sur les faits*. 4 vols. Casterman. 1858.

being fettered by it. The very term "Principles" implies the assumption of this position. These Principles are the fruitful germ whence consequences are deduced, adapted to all circumstances, however various.

Pad. Most fruitful, indeed; and you may almost deduce what you please from them. They have furnished tyrants with a fresh instrument of oppression, and given to the ignorant and excitable populace new incentives to insubordination, new facilities for the indulgence of fierce and lawless passions. Just look, for instance, at the first article of the Declaration which establishes the natural equality of men. Of course, if men are to live together, the Declaration must needs recognize the necessity of social distinctions: accordingly it does so, but requires that they should be founded upon the common utility or benefit. Now this is all very good in the abstract, but let us turn to the concrete. One fine day it was thought that the common utility of France required the distinction of citizens into two classes: the one class comprising ferocious butchers, like Danton, Babeuf, Marat, and Robespierre; the other an untold multitude of victims, nobles, priests, nuns, good and honest men and women of all states and all conditions. The victims and their executioners were all by nature equal; and natural equality is worth little, if it does not imply equal rights and entitle all to equal justice. But common utility disposed, with the greatest facility, of the abstract principles of equality and corresponding justice, and by the help of that qualifying plea, consigned all who were included under the second category to the guillotine. Laws necessarily deal with particulars; and if in their place you introduce universals, which serve only for the abstract contemplation of the learned, you rashly mislead the multitude, who are quite incapable of discerning the countless modifications indispensable in practical application. Those who framed the Declaration had experience in their own persons of its bitter fruits. That any body of men could have been so blind to its obvious perils would be inconceivable, did we not take into account the presence of three hundred and seventy-four lawyers in the Constituent Assembly, and, still more, the moral and intellectual state, not of France in the general, but of that class which was unfortunately called to represent and govern it. For a whole century, closing with the death of Louis XV., but, above all, during the regency, the depositaries of public authority had abused their trust, for the destruction of all ancient liberties and guarantees of freedom. If France endured this patiently under a monarch styled the great (and great in some respects he was), ill could she brook it under a successor

whom we may call less than little, whose reign reproduced all the scandals, without the brilliancy, of that which had preceded. With a suicidal folly, a power which had trodden all other liberties under foot, which cramped and opposed the influence of the Church and the just rights of the Holy See, gave unbridled licence to the infidel philosophers to revile and insult all that was holy and good. Under these evil influences sprang up and was fostered that race of sophists miscalled philosophers, ferocious haters and contemners of Christ and His Church, and of the kingly name and authority, filled with a fanatical longing to constitute a new society independent of Christianity—a society whose glory and prosperity should put Christianity to open shame, and finally banish it from the world. The desire for political and social reform, and for the removal of the unjust burdens which weighed so heavily upon the inferior classes, was with good reason universal in France. Louis XVI. was cordially desirous to second it; and many members of the privileged classes disinterestedly shared the wish; but whether through the weakness and irresolution of the well-meaning monarch, the imprudence of friends, or the malicious plots of enemies, or rather through all combined, reform, as we all know, degenerated into revolution; power passed into the hands of the dangerous class of the sophists, and their first essay, the fruit of their meditations, was this very Declaration.

Mar. What is your particular objection to the preamble?

Pad. Well, in the first place, it is plainly quite untrue that the sole cause of public calamities and the corruption of governments is ignorance, forgetfulness, and contempt of the rights of men. The rights of others are constantly assailed by those who are fully aware of their existence: witness the remorse of conscience so habitually accompanying all serious offences of this character. Neither, I think, can it be properly said that contempt of the rights of men is the *cause* of their violation. Such violation may argue contempt, but seldom springs from it as a motive; besides, if this were true, what remedy would be supplied by declaring and setting forth these rights? For, to be able to condemn them, men must, at any rate, have been cognisant of them already.

Abbé. It would have seemed more to the purpose to remind men of their duties than of their rights. To these last they are in general sufficiently alive.

Pad. True, and men are led culpably to ignore, forget, and despise their duties—including such as imply the corresponding rights of other men—not for the sheer pleasure of offending against those rights, but from pride, covetousness, and other

evil passions. If not the sole, these are certainly the main, cause of those rights being infringed.

Abbé. Our regretted Ozanam truly observed, What proved the ruin of power was that which seemed to be its strength—the notion of its rights: it was the legists who introduced this notion. Justice may be viewed in two lights, as right and as duty: the same line marks how far liberty ought to extend, and marks also where it ought to stop. Christianity civilized the barbarians, by teaching princes and people their duty: hence came self-restraint and respect for others. All its jurisprudence was imbued with this spirit. The school of the legists inverted this holy idea of justice, and taught men—that is, the powerful—their rights; in other words, respect for themselves and constraint of other men: this was the selfish spirit of antiquity and of Roman law. All this seemed for a while to work purely for the profit of kings.

Pad. The sovereign people, or, rather, the revolutionists who act under their name, were to have their turn and work the idea for their own profit. It would ill have suited the views of the compilers of the Declaration to turn preachers, and repeat the aphorisms of Christian moralists. Did they not abhor all that belongs to Christianity, even as the devil hates holy water? They must have their new creed and their new morality; and simple enough these legislators must have been if they really thought that these seventeen articles of theirs were to regenerate the world, and heal all the wounds of suffering humanity. In the mean time it served to ingratiate them with the people to put forward this series of flattering propositions, parading what each man may justly require, rather than that which may justly be required of him.

Prof. But you yourself allow that right implies corresponding duty. The only difference between us of the liberal school and you Roman Catholics is, that we found duty on inalienable principles of right, you on the absolute revealed will of the Supreme Being.

Pad. Answer me this one question: Supposing, as you say, that the Declaration, by putting forth these principles, provided a remedy henceforth against ignorance and forgetfulness—supposing that these principles had been for ever held up before men's eyes, or bound as fringes on their garments—as the Decalogue was on that of the Pharisees—where was the sanction and motive for their observance? How was respect to be insured, how was contempt to be precluded, by a mere theoretical statement? To show how practically futile was this abstract declaration, I need but point to history, and to the state in which France found herself but two years after its

promulgation ; and that, not because the Declaration was set aside, for it was in the name, and under cover of its authority, that the abominations of the Terror were all perpetrated. France, in fine, had to thank the bayonets of Napoleon for her rescue from a state which bade fair soon to leave no victims for the executioner's knife. Perhaps no catastrophe less tremendous could have been sufficient to undeceive men (how many it has not undeceived !), and to show them the presumption of reconstituting a nation without God, without Christianity. For this, perhaps, is the Declaration's most condemning mark, the absence of all acknowledgment of God as the fountain of right, and of religion as the bond of all reasonable creatures.

Prof. You forget the solemn recognition which precedes the articles. The National Assembly expressly states that it is in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being that it declares the rights of man and of the citizen.

Paul. This declaration may indeed exempt it from the charge of positive atheism ; but, waiving the question as to the correctness of the name given to God, and its suspiciousness in the mouths of the men who used it, and granting that a personal God is really meant, who, moreover, is not the highest in a category of beings, but is Himself Essential Being—pray what sort of an office or part does it assign to Him ? That of presence and favourable regard ; that of a mere complacent witness of determinations formed quite independently of Him and of His will.

Prof. Enough of the preamble. Let us turn to the first article, with respect to which you have already made some observations :—"Men are born, and remain, free and equal in their rights. Social distinctions cannot be based save on common utility." I suppose you do not deny the assertion contained in the first clause.

Paul. I certainly do deny it in any sense in which it can practically apply. It is most absurd, and most contrary to truth, to say that men, as members of the social state, are not subjected during the whole course of their lives to any authority, or any law, superior to their own will or caprice. This is equally untrue when we consider man as a moral being. Duties act as so many restrictions on liberty ; therefore to proclaim all men as always and absolutely free, is to arrive at annihilating all duties ; and this, in fact, results in the annihilation of all rights—those very rights which the Assembly was so solicitous to maintain. If your neighbour is not bound, for instance, to respect your property—a prohibition which certainly limits his liberty—your right of possessing it is worth very

little, even though guaranteed to you by the 17th article of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. So that whether exemption from domestic, social, political, or moral restraint be intended, the statement is repugnant alike to experience and to the dictates of common sense, and is only calculated to unchain the passions of the multitude, and lead to anarchy and confusion.

Abbé. We have here, in fact, a formula which, taken in its general sense, is a reproduction in a laconic shape of the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau. But as a philosophic thesis the words are susceptible of a different interpretation; and here I think the preamble comes to our rescue, in that it professes to embody in the articles natural rights alone. When we consider man in the abstract, divested of all those conditions which belong to him as an individual, and from which multiplied rights and duties spring, it is true to say that he is free; and he would remain free if we could keep him in that ideal state.

Pad. Undoubtedly man, "*vi solius naturæ*," is born and remains free; that is, making abstraction of the dictates of conscience, whereby he is subject to his Creator's law, none assuredly can arrogate a right of control over him; because, as by *nature* all are equal, so no one can from nature derive the right of enslaving another. But of what use could the assertion of this abstract truth by the Constituent Assembly prove for securing the liberty of the people? I can see no possible practical deduction to be made from it save one—viz., that no man is born the property of another, as a horse or an ass is. In short, it condemns slavery of the pagan sort, which treats man as a *thing*, and makes him part of the goods and chattels of his master. No such bondage existed, or could exist, in Christian France of the year 1789.

Prof. Not in name, it is true, but the thing exists wherever, as in the France of the *ancien régime*, there is a privileged class, the minority who enjoy all the immunities; while the majority, the people, bear all the burdens and endure all the toil. What do you say to the *corvée*?—what to all the oppressive feudal rights which had lost so much as the shadow of an excuse for their existence? And as for slavery with its own proper name, it still flourishes on the other side the Atlantic, where men are bought and sold like cattle.

Pad. And this in the midst of a people whose constitution is the most democratic in the world, whose government has never recognized a Christian basis, and where the Principles of '89 would certainly, if anywhere, be cordially endorsed. But at any rate, great as were the abuses of power and station,

slavery, properly so called, did not exist in France in 1789. The Church by her gentle action had long before that period efficaciously expunged it.

Mar. So far, however, I agree with our friend the professor, that even where slavery does not formally exist, many of its practical evils may; and the re-assertion, therefore, of principles which strike at its root is matter of commendation rather than censure.

Paul. But it is, I conceive, matter of grave censure to announce, as a new and magnificent discovery of the human reason, that which was already perfectly well-known, and which, centuries before, Catholic theologians had taught almost in the very terms employed in the Declaration; only that, as they accompanied its enunciation with the necessary restrictions, their words express a truth, while those of the Declaration, standing alone and without qualification, present a simple absurdity. Suarez, for instance, says: "In the nature of things all are born free; no one therefore has political jurisdiction over others, neither has he dominion; there being no reason why such jurisdiction, from the nature of things, should be attributed to these with respect to those, or *vice versâ*."* And he refers to the constant assertion of the holy Fathers "that man was created free by God" ("ingenuum et liberum"). Bellarmine teaches the same: "Making abstraction," he says, "of positive right, there is no reason why amongst many equals one should rule rather than another.† So we see the Christian republic was in full possession of this clear, unquestioned, moral truth, conferring dignity on man, and reprobating slavery, properly so called; implicitly teaching also that, within the pure terms of nature, no one but God, his Creator, has any dominion over the reasonable creature. The Constituent Assembly lays its hands on this truth, drags it from its proper place, the abstract, into the region of the concrete, and so, after having metamorphosed it into a grievous and pernicious error, flings it to the people. The people, on their part, make it the pretext of revolt whenever they so will; and what is the natural result of this? Why, in order to prevent the power accompanying the will, governments are condemned to a state which Balmez has noted as the very worst possible, the necessity of giving their chief and constant

* "Ex natura rei, omnes nascuntur liberi, et ideo nullus habet jurisdictionem politicam in alium, sicut nec dominium; neque est ulla ratio, cum hoc tribuatur ex natura rei his respectu illorum potius quam e converso."—*De Legibus*, lib. iii. cap. 2, n. 3.

† "Sublato jure positivo, non est major ratio, cur ex multis æqualibus unus potius quam alius dominetur."—*De Laicis*, lib. iii. cap. 6.

attention to self-preservation. Hence the necessity of keeping on foot a strong military force, for which, be it observed, the people must pay.

Mar. I think you place the matter in somewhat of an exaggerated light; or, rather, you view it under a single aspect. There is no truth which cannot be abused: to say, therefore, that an ill use has been made of some of these Principles does not of necessity imply their viciousness.

Prof. One might suppose, from what the Padre says, that the Christian republic was a paradise of justice and equality, and the mutual respect of rights, until our legislators of '89 threw this unhappy torch of discord in the midst of this Elysium of peace.

Mar. No, I do not think the Padre made an assertion quite so unsustainable; on the contrary, he said that the necessity of reform was very justly felt throughout France at that period, and that many abuses had for years existed.

Pad. Undoubtedly. I not only admit, but maintain, that there were crying practical grievances existing in France when Louis XVI. ascended the throne. To mention no other, the burden of taxation fell almost exclusively upon the lower classes, and although that monarch himself cannot be reproached with the attempt to exercise any political absolutism, the despotic acts of irresponsible sovereignty were still fresh in men's minds; neither did any guarantee exist for the non-renewal of those tyrannical acts by which, for instance, the State, with its *lettres de cachet*, had been in the habit of consigning its enemies, or supposed enemies, to the secret horrors and impenetrable obscurity of the dungeons of the Bastille. Despotic measures of this character, it is true, chiefly affected the higher orders; but the evil resulting from all unjust exercise of power is not limited to its immediate objects. I neither undervalue nor overlook any of these grievances. What I do assert is, that they were altogether opposed to the spirit of Christian government and the principles inculcated by the Christian Church. Moreover, that they were all in process of removal, if not wholly removed; and that the constitution of '89, by sweeping away all that previously existed in the social and political order, and by inaugurating a new era with a set of abstract principles, so far from gifting France with a charter of liberty, aimed a fatal blow at its truest principles.

Mar. What I was about to observe was this, that the Padre has not, as I conceive, sufficiently taken into account the prevailing instinct, if I may call it so, of modern times, that of equality. We French especially, who are always foremost in adopting and propagating ideas, have a perfect passion for equality;

indeed it is far stronger than even our love of liberty. To the retrenchment of our liberty, we have, alas! for the present at least, apparently resigned ourselves; but upon the subject of equality public opinion is too strong for any government to attempt to restore the right of privilege. Of all the conquests of the Revolution, this is the one to which we cling with the most energy, and which we have never allowed to be torn from us. We are free, I imagine, to regard the first article of the Declaration as the expression of this instinct of modern humanity, and not merely as the crude enunciation of sophists—an invention, or, rather, a distorted truth, elaborated in their brain and put forth to the great prejudice of an ignorant and immoral multitude, who had not previously entertained any kindred aspiration or notion. For my part, I believe the desire of equality had been working, as it still most powerfully works in the general mind of Europe. All modern nations are evidently tending, some at a rapid, others at a slower pace towards equality. This being the case, I would rather seek some term of conciliation between the Church and modern society, than widen the breach by representing them as irreconcilably at variance. What say you, Abbé? Is there any fundamental discrepancy between the legitimate aspirations of humanity and the doctrines and promises of Christianity?

Abbé. Of course there cannot be any discrepancy between the "legitimate aspirations of humanity" and the doctrines of the Church. So stated, the question answers itself. But the Church, as such, has, as you are aware, no politics: she can accommodate herself to all forms, and is neither exclusively monarchical, aristocratic, nor democratic.

Mar. I am not speaking of democracy as a form of government, but as a state of society, in which birth entails no special privilege and no civil inequality; and I believe that in this sense the Church, so far from being adverse, is favourable to democratic tendencies. Both her doctrines and her own particular institutions go to prove this. What more glorious mission, then, can she have than to take up the work of civilization under its new conditions? Instead of clinging to the irretrievable past, let her cordially embrace and place herself in the van of the present. Let her baptize democracy, as she did the new barbarian Empire, which arose upon the crumbling ruins of the effete Roman civilization. Let her accept these principles and claim them as her own, and from that moment they cease to be an engine in the hands of her enemies. Nothing, I conceive, would be better calculated to embarrass their tactics; while nothing more lamentably played into their hands than her repugnance to unite herself to

feelings, desires, and aspirations which, however roused, are henceforth ineradicable and irrepressible.

Pad. The first thing which duty requires is to consider, not what tactics will most embarrass our adversaries, but what weapons truth enables and enjoins us to use. I have already said that the Church has always held the doctrine of the natural equality of men—she has always taught it; she cannot, therefore, in any sense, accept it at the hands of its so-called promulgators of '89; first, because in its true sense she is herself its original, as she has ever been also its constant promulgator; and secondly, because from their hands it comes burdened with corollaries and fruitful in applications which she repudiates and abhors. The Church cannot consent to follow in the wake of the Revolution; at the same time, all there is of good intermixed with the error of modern theories—and some truth there must always be for error to hang itself upon—she herself both holds and teaches, and it is by faithful obedience to her alone that its fruits can be reaped. We have insensibly glided on to the subject of equal rights, which are directly deducible from an equal nature. I have precisely the same objection to make to this assertion in the concrete, true as it is in the abstract. The rights of individuals, beginning with those of the family, are not, of course, founded on the abstract nature of humanity, but spring from the relations in which individuals subsist. They are natural rights none the less, but belong to nature in the order of facts. When the Constituent Assembly, however, declared that men are born and remain equal in rights, they were clearly not speaking of the abstract man, who is born only, as I said, in the brain of the philosopher, where he of course preserves his liberty with no inconvenience, but of concrete man, who is born into the family whence he is to enter into civil society. In this sense the proposition is most absurd. Setting aside all the inequalities of condition founded on external position, which democracy itself can never succeed in entirely removing, we come to the inequality proceeding from disparity of disposition and abilities. What can prevent one man being wise and prudent, another ignorant and stupid; one robust in body, another physically weak; one virtuous in mind, another morally corrupt? How can any social state—is it desirable that any social state should—award to these men equal rights?

Prof. But the legislators of '89 only meant to preclude all acceptance of persons in the application of the laws. You strain the intention of the article.

Mar. I am inclined to think so, too.

Pad. If that were their meaning, it is not what their words

naturally express. They do not say that the rights of varying persons are equal, but that varying persons are equal in their rights. However, if all they meant was that A.'s right, for instance, to his sixpence is as good and as inviolable as B's right to his six thousand pounds, this is very clear: there is no shadow of a difficulty; only it seems hardly worth while to proclaim this truth, particularly as being a new and splendid discovery. The common principles of natural justice are pretty generally known and certainly undisputed. There is little fear that they should be forgotten or denied as principles; what there is a fear of is, that in practice the rights of the poor, the weak, and the dependent should be disregarded: Holy Scripture is full of warnings, exhortations, and threatenings on this head. No, no, I repeat, it is not the principle which is unknown or forgotten, it is human ambition and covetousness which cause men to act in its defiance; so that, while you will not meet with a single individual who would have the face to maintain that the rights of the widow and the orphan are not as sacred as those of the powerful and the rich, you will find innumerable cases where those rights are sacrificed to the unjust pretensions of men who have the means of enforcing their claims. If, then, a reassertion of such rights be what the Declaration meant to put forth as a remedy against injustice, it is little worth.

Abbé. At any rate the proposition is true in that sense, and we can subscribe it as such—as a reassertion of the laws of natural justice. The second portion of the article, notwithstanding the evil use of which (as the Padre has pointed out) it is susceptible, is most conformable to Christian doctrine, as any one may see who consults the works of S. Thomas, Suarez, and other eminent theologians. They unanimously establish all social distinctions, privileges, or power on the ground of common benefit.

Mar. We Catholics are ready to subscribe to this with both our hands.

Pad. The latter part of the article seems framed for the express purpose of upsetting the first, and to quash the fond imagination of an universal equality which it might have raised; and so the Declaration may be said to leave the matter pretty much where it found it. The least which men might hope from the first clause was, that henceforward all those inequalities which make life a toil to the many, and seem to make it an elysium of indolence and enjoyment to the few, would be done away with; and not only all the privileges and exemptions which France had been afflicted with before 1789, but whatever in any way resembled them, would now

utterly cease. Not at all, say the legislators ; social distinctions always were, and always will be ; and all that we can determine is that they should be grounded on the common benefit.

Prof. And was not this an immense step in advance ?

Pad. Pray state exactly what step you consider to have been made by this declaration. Mind, I am not asking what advantage was attained by any positive reform effected ; but what step you consider to have been positively made by this theoretical assertion.

Prof. The assertion was a step in itself, for it was the assertion of a true and just principle.

Pad. Which has never been contested where Christianity has prevailed. It is true—most undoubtedly true—that the particular institutions which the legislator establishes ought always to have the common good in view. I do not say that, as a *fact*, they have always tended to that good ; but no legislator would ever venture to propose a law ostensibly for the selfish benefit of a limited portion of the community ; because such a law would clearly be opposed to the end of civil society. Where a law, privilege, or immunity benefited immediately only certain individuals, it was always understood, or meant to be understood, that such particular benefit re-acted in some other way for the good of the nation at large. If, for instance, the nobility had privileges, the nation in general was supposed to benefit by the existence of such an order in the State : mind, I am not mooting the question whether benefit does accrue to a people from the possession of an hereditary aristocracy ; or, granting this to be the case under certain conditions ; still less am I attempting to maintain that the French *noblesse* at that time fulfilled such conditions. All I say is, that no one ever pretended to hold as a principle, in a Christian country, that the privileges of the higher orders were given or possessed for the sole and selfish advantage of the possessors. Why, even the most prejudiced defenders of slavery in the American states do not attempt to defend their “domestic institution” upon such grounds, and are forced to have recourse to a supposed intrinsic inferiority of the black race, which renders that state of pupillage good for them, and even best for them, which is profitable and good, or believed to be so, for their masters. However unprofitable to the nation you may judge the French aristocracy of '89 to have been, they could at least, it may be presumed, have brought as plausible reasons to justify their existence on the ground of general benefit, as the mobocracy could have alleged to justify the extermination of the nobles.

Abbé. The principle, in short, is as old as Christianity; and all the privileges conferred upon the nobility, the clergy, and not on them alone, but on cities, communes, corporations, and other associations, so numerous in the middle ages, were every one of them founded expressly upon it. If new men in new times have thought it opportune and beneficial to abolish these privileges, we have nothing to say against it; the question is a practical one; privileges, including such as the clergy enjoyed, which were conferred for the general benefit, may be withdrawn for the same reason.

Paul. Always remembering that much which has been taken, or, rather, attempted to be taken, from the Church was hers, not by privilege, but by right. But I would put one question to you, Signor Professor. Have privileges and social distinctions been really abolished by the Principles of '89? Forms and names, indeed, are changed; certain abusive privileges have been abolished; but can you say that, literally speaking, no privileged bodies exist in France at the present day? There is a court, there is a host of government officials, there is the army, the marine, with their honorary and pecuniary rewards liberally bestowed, the educational establishments, the banks, the Messageries Impériales, the industrial associations, the companies for railroads, &c. &c.—all, I am willing to believe, for the public good; but do these involve no privileges? For mind, I am far from saying that all or any of these privileges are unjust or can be regarded as grievances. I simply mean that, as a matter of fact, privileges always did and always will exist. To repeal them where unjust or obsolete is right, and often an imperative necessity. To condemn them in *principle* is to condemn society since the Revolution as well as society previous to that epoch. But again, there is the wide and yet everyday widening chasm separating the rich from the poor, or, rather, from the pauper; for pauperism is a modern institution. Do no privileges practically result from this state of things?

Prof. Much, of course, remains to be done. We want time.

Paul. Time! But, at least, show us some beginning of the work. Now what do I see? Ancient privileges, it is true, abolished, but a new order of privileges established in their place. Of France I have little personal knowledge, but I only know that in our so-called regenerated Italy, where the fanatics of the Principles of '89 have had their own way, everything hitherto regarded as a curse to religion and morality is the object of special privilege, while all that has been hitherto deemed pure, holy, and sacred is despoiled and plundered, not of privileges only, but of imprescriptible rights.

Prof. Time is slipping away, and I have to lecture to a circle of friends on the "Progress of Humanity;" before parting let me, with your leave, state our present respective positions, as I conceive them. The Padre maintains that some of the principles, taken in their most obvious meaning, are absurd, or false, or both; that if any other interpretation be put upon them they are neither more nor less than old recognized principles of natural justice, which Christianity has always held, and which the vulgarest common sense perceives and admits. The Abbé accepts them in this capacity; and is not desirous of attributing any other meaning to them, and this for practical and urgent motives. He is quite willing to make abstraction of the supposed erroneous intention of the propounders, and the possible evil use made of them by the appliers. The Marquis would go a step further; with him the Principles of '89 not only pass muster, but are received with an honourable salute; he hails them as articles of peace between the modern world and the Church. The Church, he would have it, has always implicitly held them; she has now only explicitly to adopt them and place them on her banner, in order to take the lead once more in the march of humanity, a position from which she has been thrust out, because men in love with liberty and equal rights believe her to be opposed thereto. For myself, I am not, as you know, a Catholic; nor am I sure that any professing Christian community would give me credit for orthodoxy, as they respectively esteem it; but, if I hold no particular form of belief, neither do I cherish any definite form of unbelief. I am no scoffer, no fanatic, no enemy of any special doctrine or opinion, though with all the force of my soul I am opposed to exclusiveness and intolerance. I can do homage, therefore, to the good and true wherever I meet with it. Christianity conferred many benefits on humanity in its day; it worthily took the lead in the education of the human mind; it taught men practically to observe those principles of natural justice which had been slighted or trodden under foot by the pagan world; but it taught them from the motive of obedience to God, rather than from any consideration of their own intrinsic merit and truth. I grant that your eminent theologians dealt with some of these subjects philosophically, but this was for a select few alone: to the vulgar these things came as precepts, rather than as principles. It was the infancy of humanity, in the new order of things introduced by the overflow of barbarism into the ancient world. But man reaches his adolescence; he begins to think—to be a self-conscious, reflective being. We have the first great symptoms of this change in the Reformation, that great effort of the human

mind to shake itself free from leading-strings ; but its full intellectual development awaited the close of the last century. Humanity then formulated its new creed, the creed of the emancipated reason ; I know that crimes have been committed in her name—so also have many in that of religion ; but I have faith in the future. As the Church had her work to do, and has done it, so has enlightened reason now her work to do, and she will do it. We cannot return and live our lives backwards. On, on, there is no stopping,—what was progress once would be retrogression now : leading-strings and crutches are impediments to the strong, fullgrown man.

Pad. To your system, involving as it does a denial of the objective truth of Revelation, and the divine commission of the Church, I of course undertake no reply ; it is not our immediate subject. I make but one remark with reference to your thesis—that the Principles of '89 are a conquest of the independent human intellect, and form an epoch in the progress of humanity. What there is of truth in them is no conquest of the independent human mind. How incapable human reason alone was of achieving such conquests is proved by the fact, that not all the wisdom of antiquity was capable of re-grasping the forgotten truth of the natural equality of man. The highest intellectual sages, Plato, Aristotle, Socrates—the purest of ethical teachers, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch—failed to perceive it, and had not so much as a misgiving as to the actual right which a man possessed of putting a fellow-creature to death, provided that creature was his property—in other words, his slave. Our modern rationalists forget this. These men, who reject and hate Christianity, are zealous for many opinions which they have really, but unconsciously, imbibed from her. Christianity has had a secondary action beyond the sphere of her supernatural influences. This action has resulted in a certain kind of education of the general mind, which had no place in the old pagan world. She has created a moral atmosphere, she has thrown light on moral truths, but, above all, she has raised aspirations and desires, and held out hopes and promises which the human mind, however estranged from her direct teaching, cannot forget or abandon. When, through causes which I cannot stop now to detail, the Christian basis of society in the middle ages was withdrawn, and generations of men everywhere grew up beyond or external to the Church's influence, these last were in the case I have just described : they had traditional instincts and desires which Christianity had raised ; they were in possession of half-truths, and of certain moral perceptions which they had borrowed from Christian teaching, or which had been

awakened by it. When, then, the infidel sophists of the last century offered to these men, not only relief from all social and political oppression, but the gratification of all these desires, with the promise of a perfect terrestrial felicity as the result, they caught at the bait. We all know what was the felicity which the liberty, fraternity, and equality preached by these framers of the Declaration bestowed upon France as its first fruits ; and we have only to cast an eye upon countries where these Principles are now being actively carried out, to judge whether they are ever likely to fulfil the brilliant promises of their advocates. It was not that the Church was able only to educate the mind of man up to a certain point, to confer a sort of primary instruction, and then hand on the pupil to the higher school of the rational intellect. On the contrary, the Church would and could, and alone would and could, have perfected what she began ; but her work of civilization was interrupted. Rationalism laid hold upon, and claimed as her own inventions, certain truths which the Church had brought to light, and which in her hands were fruitful for good, but which, separated from these religious safeguards and from their just qualifications, became so many hurtful errors with which these men have infected, and so many illusive promises by which they have deluded, and are still deluding, society.

Our object, gentlemen, being to discuss rather than to dispute, we will, with your good pleasure, proceed at our next conference to the consideration of the succeeding articles of the Declaration ; passing by, however, such as are neither subject to misconception, nor open to difference of opinion.

ART. II.—THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS OF ALEXANDRIA.

S. Clementis Alexandrini Opera Omnia. Lutetiæ. 1629.

Geschichte der Christlicher Philosophie, von Dr. Heinrich Ritter. Hamburg : Perthes. 1841.

IF any country under the sun bears the spell of fascination in its very name, that country is Egypt. The land of the Nile and the Pyramids, of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies—the land where Art and Science had mysterious beginnings before the dawn of history, where powerful dynasties held sway for long generations over the fertile river-valley, and built for themselves mighty cities—Thebes, the hundred-gated, Memphis, with its palaces, Heliopolis, with its temples—and left memorials of themselves that are attracting men at this very day to Luxor and Carnak, to the avenue of Sphynxes and the Pyramids—Egypt, where Learning

Uttered its oracles sublime
Before the Olympiads, in the dew
And dusk of early time—

the land where,

Northward from its Nubian springs,
The Nile, for ever new and old,
Among the living and the dead
Its mighty, mystic stream has rolled—

Egypt seems destined to be associated with all the signal events of every age of the world. Israel's going into and going out of Egypt is one of the epic pages of Holy Scripture; Sesostris, king of Egypt, left his name written over half of Asia; Alexander, the greatest of the Greeks, laid in Egypt the foundation of a new empire; Cleopatra, the captive and the captor of Julius Cæsar and Mark Anthony, killed herself as the old land passed away for ever from the race of Ptolemy; Clement and Origen, Porphyry and Plotinus, have left Egypt the classic land of the Church's battle against the purest form of heathen philosophy; S. Louis of France has made Egypt the scene of a glorious drama of heroism and devotion; the Pyramids have lent their name to swell the list of Napoleon's triumphs; and the Nile is linked for ever with the deathless fame of Nelson.

In the last decade of the second century, about the time when the pagan virtues of Marcus Aurelius had left the Roman empire to the worse than pagan vices of his son Commodus, Egypt, to the learned and the wealthy, meant Alexandria. What Tyre had been in the time of Solomon, what Sidon was in the days of which Homer wrote, that was Alexandria from the reign of Ptolemy Soter to the days of Mahomet. In external aspect it was in every way worthy to bear the name of him who drew its plans with his own hands. Its magnificent double harbour, of which the Great Port had a quayside six miles in length, was the common rendezvous for merchant-ships from every part of Syria, Greece, Italy, and Spain; and its communications with the Red Sea and the Nile brought to the warehouses that overlooked its quay the riches of Arabia and India, and the corn and flax of the country of which it was the capital. The modern traveller, who finds Alexandria a prosperous commercial town, with an appearance half European, half Turkish, learns with wonder that its 60,000 inhabitants find room on what was little more than the mole that divided the Great Port from the Eunostos. But it should be borne in mind that old Alexandria numbered 300,000 free citizens. The mosques, the warehouses, and the private dwellings of the present town are built of the fragments of the grand city of Alexander. The great conqueror designed to make Alexandria the capital of the world. He chose a situation the advantages of which a glance at the map will show; and if any other proof were needed, it may be found in the fact that, since 1801, the population of the modern town has increased at the rate of one thousand a year. He planned his city on such vast proportions as might be looked for from the conqueror of Darius. Parallel streets crossed other streets, and divided the city into square blocks. Right through its whole length, from east to west—that is, parallel with the sea-front—one magnificent street, two hundred feet wide and four miles in length, ran from the Canopic gate to the Necropolis. A similar street, shorter, but of equal breadth, crossed this at right angles, and came out upon the great quay directly opposite the mole that joined the city with the island of Pharos. This was the famous Heptastadion, or Street of the Seven Stadia, and at its south end was the Sun-gate; at its north, where it opened on the harbour, the gate of the Moon. To the right, as you passed through the Moon-gate on to the broad quay, was the Exchange, where merchants from all lands met each other, in sight of the white Pharos and the crowded shipping of the Great Port. A little back from the gate, in the Heptastadion, was the Cæsareum, or

Temple of the deified Cæsars, afterwards a Christian church. Near it was the Museum, the University of Alexandria. Long marble colonnades connected the University with the palace and gardens of the Ptolemies. On the opposite side of the great street was the Serapeion, the magnificent Temple of Serapis, with its four hundred columns, of which Pompey's Pillar is, perhaps, all that is left. And then there was the mausoleum of Alexander, there were the courts of justice, the theatres, the baths, the temples, the lines of shops and houses—all on a scale of grandeur and completeness which has never been surpassed by any city of the world. Such a city necessarily attracted men. Alexandria was fitly called the “many-peopled,” whether the epithet referred to the actual number of citizens or to the varieties of tongue, complexion, and costume that thronged its streets. The Greeks, the Egyptians, and the Jews, each had their separate quarter; but there were constant streams of foreigners from the remote India, from the lands beyond the black rocks that bound the Nile-valley, and from the Ethiopic races to which S. Matthew preached, where the Red Sea becomes the Indian Ocean. At the time we speak of, these discordant elements were held in subjection by the Roman conquerors, whose legionaries trod the streets of the voluptuous city with stern and resolute step, and were not without occasion, oftentimes, for a display of all the sternness and resolution which their bearing augured.

Alexandria, however, in addition to the busy life of commerce and pleasure that went on among Greeks, Egyptians, Jews, and Africans, was the home of another kind of life, still more interesting to us. Ptolemy Soter, who carried out Alexander's plans, was a man of no common foresight and strength of character. He was not content with building a city. He performed, in addition, two exploits, either of which, from modern experience, we should be inclined to consider a title to immortality. He invented a new god, and established a university. The god was Serapis, whom he imported from Pergamus, and who soon became popular. The university was the Museum, in which lived and taught Demetrius of Phalerus, Euclid, Stilpo of Megara, Philetas of Cos, Apelles the painter, Callimachus, Theocritus, Eratosthenes, Apollonius Rhodius, and a host of others in philosophy, poetry, geometry, astronomy, and the arts. Here, under successive Ptolemies, professors lectured in splendid halls, amid honoured affluence. All that we have of the Greek classics we owe to the learned men of the Museum. Poetry bloomed sweetly and luxuriantly in the gardens of the Ptolemies; though, it must

be confessed, not vigorously, not as on Ionic coast-lands, nor as in the earnest life of Athenian freedom—save when some Theocritus appeared, with his broad Doric, fresh from the sheep-covered downs of Sicily. The name of Euclid suggests that geometry was cared for at the Museum; Eratosthenes, with his voluminous writings, all of which have perished, and his one or two discoveries, which will never die, may stand for the type of geography, the science for which he lived; and Hipparchus, astronomer and inventor of trigonometry, may remind us how they taught at the Museum that the earth was the centre of the universe, and yet, notwithstanding, could foretell an eclipse almost as well as the Astronomer Royal. In philosophy, the University of Alexandria has played a peculiar part. As long as the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt, the Museum could boast of no philosophy save commentaries on Aristotle and Plato, consisting, in great measure, of subtle obscurities to which the darkest quiddities of the deepest scholastic would appear to have been light reading. But when the Roman came in, there sprang up a school of thought that has done more than any other thing to hand down the fame of Ptolemy's University to succeeding ages. Alexandria was the birth-place of Neo-Platonism, and, whatever we may think of the philosophy itself, we must allow it has bestowed fame on its Alma Mater. At the dawn of the Christian era, Philon the Jew was already ransacking the great library to collect matter that should enable him to prove a common origin for the books of Plato and of Moses. Two hundred years afterwards—that is, just at the time of which we speak—Plotinus was listening to Ammonius Saccas in the lecture-hall of the Museum, and thinking out the system of emanations, abysms, and depths of which he is the first and most famous expounder. Porphyry, the biographer and enthusiastic follower of Plotinus, was probably never at Alexandria in person; but his voluminous writings did much to make the Neo-Platonist system known to Athens and to the cities of Italy. In his youth he had listened to the lectures of Origen, and thus was in possession of the traditions both of the Christian and the heathen philosophy of Alexandria. But his Christian studies did not prevent him from being the author of that famous book “Against the Christians” which drew upon him the denunciations of thirty-five Christian apologists, including such champions as S. Jerome and S. Augustine. The Neo-Platonist school culminated and expired in Proclus, the young prodigy of Alexandria, the ascetic teacher of Athens, the “inspired dogmatiser,” the “heir of Plato.” Proclus died in 485, and his chair at Athens was filled by his foolish

biographer *Martinus*, after which Neo-Platonism never lifted up its head.

Between the time when Philon astonished the orthodox money-getting Hebrews of the Jews' quarter by his daring adoption of Plato's Logos, and the day when poor old Proclus—his once handsome and strong frame wasted by fasting and Pythagorean austerities—died, a drivelling old man, in sight of the groves of the Academe and the tomb of Plato, not far from whom he himself was to lie, many a busy generation had trodden the halls of the Museum of Alexandria. All that time the strife of words had never ceased, in the lecture-hall, in the gardens of the departed Ptolemies, round the banquet-table where the professors were feasted at the state's expense. All that time the fame of Alexandria had gathered to her Museum the young generations that succeeded each other in the patrician homes and wealthy burghs of Syria, Greece, and Italy. They came in crowds, with their fathers' money in their purses, to be made learned by those of whose exploits report had told so much. Some came with an earnest purpose. To the young medical student, the Alexandrian school of anatomy and the Alexandrian diploma (in whatever shape it was given)—not to mention the opportunity of perusing the works of the immortal Hippocrates in forty substantial rolls of papyrus—were worth all the expense of a journey from Rome or Edessa. To the lawyer, the splendid collections of laws, from those of the Pentateuch to those of Zamolxis the Scythian, were treasures only to be found in the Library where the zeal of Demetrius Phalerius and the munificence of Ptolemy Philadelphus had placed them. But the vast majority of the youth who flocked to the Museum came with no other purpose than the very general one of finishing their education and fitting themselves for the world. With these, the agreeable arts of poetry and polite literature were in far greater request than law, medicine, astronomy, or geography. If they could get a sight of the popular poet of the hour in his morning meditation under the plane-trees of the Gardens, or could crush into a place in the Theatre when he recited his new "*Ode to the Empress's Hair*;" or if they attended the lecture of the most fashionable exponent of the myths of the Iliad, and clapped him whenever he introduced an allusion to the divine Plato, it was considered a very fair morning's work, and might be fitly rewarded by a boating party to Canopus in the afternoon, or a revel far into the night in any of those thousand palaces of vice with which luxurious Alexandria was so well provided. And yet there is no doubt that the young men carried away from their university a certain education and a certain refine-

ment—an education which, though it taught them to relish the pleasures of intellect, in no wise disposed them to forego the enjoyments of sense, and a refinement which, while imparting a graceful polish to the mind, was quite compatible with the deepest moral depravity. Pagans as they were, they were the fairest portion of the whole world, for intellect, for manliness, for generosity, for wit, for beauty and strength of mind and body—natural gifts that, like the sun and the rain, are bestowed upon just and unjust. Their own intercourse with each other taught them far more than the speculations of any of the myth-hunting professors of the Museum. They crowded in to hear them, they cheered them, they would dispute and even fight for a favourite theory that no one understood, with the doubtful exception of its inventor. But it was not to be supposed that they really cared for abysms or mystical mathematics, or that they were not a great deal more zealous for suppers, and drinking-bouts, and boating parties. These latter employments, indeed, may be said to have formed their real education. Greek intellect, Greek taste, wit, and beauty, in the sunniest hour of its bloom, mingled with its like in the grandest city that, perhaps, the earth has ever seen. The very harbours, and temples, and palaces were an education. The first rounding of the Pharos—when the six-mile semicircle of granite quay and marble emporia burst on the view, with the Egyptian sun flashing from white wall and blue sea, and glancing and sparkling amidst the dense picturesque multitude that roared and surged on the esplanade—disclosed a sight to make the soul grow larger. The wonderful city itself was a teaching: the assemblage of all that was best and rarest in old Egyptian art, and all that was freshest and most lovely in the art of Greece, left no corner of a street without its lesson to the eye. Indoors there was the Museum, with its miles of corridors and galleries, filled with paintings and sculptures; outside, the Serapeion, the Cæsareum, the Exchange, the Palace, the University itself, each a more effective instructor than a year's course in the schools. And after all this came the Library, with its 700,000 volumes!

In the year of our Lord 181, ships filled the Great Port, merchants congregated in the Exchange, sailors and porters thronged the quays; crowds of rich and poor, high and low, flocked through the streets; youths poured in to listen to Ammonius Saccas, and poured out again to riot and sin; philosophers talked, Jews made money, fashionable men took their pleasure, slaves toiled, citizens bought and sold and made marriages; all the forms of busy life that had their existence within the circuit of the many-peopled city were noisily

working themselves out. In the same year, Pantænus became the head of the catechetical school of the patriarchal Church of Alexandria.

It was the time when those who had lived and walked with the Apostles had passed away, and when the third generation of the Church's rulers was already growing old. S. Irenæus was near his glorious end; S. Eleutherius, of memory dear to Britain, had just closed his Pontificate by martyrdom, and S. Victor sat in his place. The echoes of the voice of Peter had hardly died out in Rome and Antioch; the traditions of Paul's bodily presence were yet living in Asia, in Greece, and the Islands; and the sweet odour of John's life still hung about the places where his sojourning had been: many a Church of Greece and Egypt, and of the far East, had the sepulchre of its founder, an Apostle or an Apostolic man, round which to pray. It was the age of the Persecutions, and the age of the Apologies. In every city, that was coming about which from the first had been inevitable. The Church was laying hold of human learning, and setting it to do her own work. In fixing upon Alexandria as the spot where, at this period, the contest between Christian science and Gentile learning, Gentile ignorance and Gentile brute force, was most interesting and most developed, we must pass by many other Churches, not in forgetfulness though in silence. We must pass by Rome, the capital of the world, not because there were not learned men there whom Jesus Christ had raised up to battle with heathen philosophy; for it was but a few years since Justin Martyr had shed his blood for the faith, and Apollonius from his place in the senate had spoken his "Apology" for his fellow-Christians. But the enemies which the Gospel had to meet at Rome were not so much the learning and science of the heathen, as his evil passions and vicious life; and the sword of persecution, at Rome hardly ever sheathed, kept down all attempts at regularity or organization in public teaching. We must pass by Athens, still the intellectual capital of the world, not because there were not at Athens also worthy doctors of the wisdom of the Cross—witness, to the contrary, Athenagoras the Christian philosopher, who presented his Apology to Marcus Aurelius. But Athens, though at the end of the second century and long afterwards she was the mother of orators, poets, and philosophers, seems to have been too thoroughly steeped in the sensuous idolatry of Greece to have harboured a school of Christianity by the side of the Porch and the Lyceum. If the same was true of Athens then as a century afterwards, her

smooth-tongued, "babbling" sophists, and her pagan charms, must have had to answer for the soul of many a poor Christian youth that went to seek learning and found perdition. We pass by Carthage, in spite of Tertullian's great name; Antioch, notwithstanding Theophilus, whose labours against the heathen still bore fruit; Sardis, in spite of Melito, then just dead, but living still in men's mouths by the fame of his learning, eloquence, and miracles; and Hierapolis, in spite of Apollinaris, who, like so many others, approached the Emperor himself with an Apology. All over the Church there were men raised up by God, and fitted with learning to confront learning, patience to instruct ignorance, and unflinching fortitude to endure persecution—men in every way worthy to be the instruments of that great change which was being wrought out through the wide world of the Roman empire.

But at Alexandria, the school of Christianity existed under interesting and peculiar conditions. S. Mark had landed on the granite quay of the Great Port with Peter's commission; he had been martyred, and his successors had been martyred after him; and for a long time Christianity here, as everywhere else, had been contemptuously ignored. It spread, however, as we know. In time, more than one student, before he attended his lecture in the splendid halls of the Museum, had given ear to a far different lesson in a different school. The Christian catechetical school of Alexandria is said to have been founded by S. Mark himself. If so, it is only what we might naturally expect, for wherever heathens were being converted, there a school of teachers had to be provided for their instruction; and we read of similar institutions at Jerusalem, at Antioch, and at Rome. But the catechetical school of Alexandria soon assumed an importance that no other school of those times ever attained. Whether it was that the influence of the University gave an impetus to regular and methodical teaching, or that the converts in Alexandria were in great measure from a cultivated and intellectual class, it appears to have been found necessary from the earliest times to have an efficient school, with a man of vigour and intellect at its head, capable of maintaining his position even when compared with the professors of the University. The first of the heads or doctors of the school of whom history has left any account, is Pantænus. Pantænus is not so well known as his place in Church history and his influence on his age would seem to warrant. He was appointed to his important post at a time when Christians all over the world must have been rejoicing. The fourth persecution was just dying out. For

twenty years, with the exception of the short interval immediately after the miracle of the Thundering Legion, had Marcus Aurelius, imperial philosopher of the Stoic sort, continued to command or connive at the butchery of his Christian subjects. What were the motives that led this paragon of virtuous pagans to lower himself to the commonplace practices of racking, scourging, and burning, is a question that depends for its answer upon who the answerer is. Philosophers of a certain class, from Gibbon to Mr. Mill, are disposed to take a lenient, if not a laudatory, estimate of his conduct in this matter, and think that the Emperor could not have acted otherwise consistently with his principles and convictions, as handed down to us in his "*Meditations*." Doubtless, he had strong convictions on the subject of Christianity, though it might be questioned whether he came honestly by them. But his convictions, whatever they were, would probably have ended in the harmless shape of philosophic contempt, had it not been for the men by whom he was surrounded. They were Stoics, of course, like their master, but their stoicism was far from confining itself to convictions and meditations. They were practical Stoics, of the severest type which that old-world Puritanism admitted. As good Stoics, they were of all philosophers the most conceited, and took it especially ill that any sect should presume to rival them in their private virtues of obstinacy and endurance. It is extremely probable that the fourth persecution, both in its commencement and its revival, was owing to the good offices of Marcus Aurelius's solemn-faced favourites. But, whatever be the blame that attaches to him, he has answered for it at the same dread tribunal at which he has answered for the deification of Faustina and the education of Commodus.

However, about the year 180, persecution ceased at Alexandria, and the Christians held up their heads and revived again, after the bitter winter through which they had just passed. Their first thoughts and efforts appear to have been directed to their school. The name of Pantænus was already celebrated. He was a convert from Paganism, born probably in Sicily, but certainly brought up in Alexandria. Curiously enough, he had been a zealous Stoic, and remained so, in the Christian sense, after his conversion. There is no doubt that he was well known among the Gentile philosophers of Alexandria. Perhaps he had lectured in the Museum and dined in the Hall. Probably he had spent many a day buried in the recesses of the great Libraries, and could give a good account of not a few of their thousands of volumes. He must have known Justin Martyr—perhaps had something to say to the

conversion of that brilliant genius, not as a teacher, but as a friend and fellow-student. He may have come across Galen, when that lively medical man was pursuing his researches on the immortal Hippocrates, or entertaining a select circle, in the calm of the evening, under one of the porticoes of the Heptastadion. No sooner was he placed at the head of the Christian school than he inaugurated a great change, or rather a great development. Formerly the instruction had been intended solely for converts, that is, catechumens, and the matter of the teaching had corresponded with this object. Pantænus changed all this. The cessation of the persecution had perhaps encouraged bolder measures; men would think there was no prospect of another, as men generally think when a long and difficult trial is over: so the Christian schools were to be opened to all the world. If Aristotle and Plato, Epicurus and Zeno, had their lecturers, should not Jesus Christ have schools and teachers too? And what matter if the Christian doctrine were somewhat novel and hard—was not Ammonius the Porter, at that very time, turning the heads of half the students in the city, and filling his lecture-room to suffocation, by expounding transcendental theories about Plato's Logos, and actually teaching the doctrine of a Trinity? Shame upon the Christian name, then, if they who bear it do not open their doors, now that danger is past, and break the true bread to the hungry souls that eagerly snatch at the stones and dry sticks that others give! So thought Pantænus. Of his teachings and writings hardly a trace or a record has reached us. We know that he wrote valued commentaries on Holy Scripture, but no fragment of them remains. His teaching, however, as might have been expected, was chiefly oral. He met the philosophers of Alexandria on their own ground. He showed that the fame of learning, the earnestness of character, the vivid personal influence that were so powerful in the cause of heathen philosophy, could be as serviceable to the philosophy of Christ. The plan was novel in the Christian world—at least, in its systematic thoroughness. That Pantænus had great influence and many worthy disciples is evident from the fact that S. Clement of Alexandria, his successor, was formed in his school, and that S. Alexander of Jerusalem, the celebrated founder of the library which Eusebius consulted at Jerusalem, writing half a century afterwards to Alexandria, speaks with nothing less than enthusiasm of the "happy memory" of his old master. If we could pierce the secrets of those long-past times, what a stirring scene of reverend wisdom and youthful enthusiasm would the forgotten school of the Sicilian convert

unfold to our sight! Doubtless, from amidst the confused jargon of all manner of philosophies, the voice of the Christian teacher arose with a clear and distinct utterance; and the fame of Pantænus was carried to far countries by many a noble Roman and many an accomplished Greek, zealous, like all true academic sons, for the glory of their favourite master.

After ten years of such work as this, Pantænus vacated his chair, and went forth as a missionary bishop to convert the Indians. Before passing on to his successor, a few words on this Indian mission, apparently so inopportune for such a man at such a time, will be interesting, and not unconnected with the history of the Christian schools.

In the "many-peopled" city there were men from all lands and of all shades of complexion. It was nothing strange, then, that an embassy of swarthy Indians should have one day waited on the Patriarch and begged for an Apostle to take home with them to their countrymen. No wonder, either, that they specified the celebrated master of the catechisms as their *dignissimus*. The only wonder is that he was allowed to go. Yet he went; he set out with them, sailed to Canopus, the Alexandrian Richmond, where the canal joined the Nile; sailed up the ancient stream to Koptos, where the overland route began; joined the caravan that travelled thence, from well to well, to Berenice, Philadelphus's harbour on the Red Sea; embarked, and, after sailing before the monsoon for seventy days, arrived at the first Indian port, probably that which is now Mangalore, in the Presidency of Bombay. This, in all likelihood, was the route and the destination of Pantænus. Now those among whom his missionary labours appear to have lain were Brahmins, and Brahmins of great learning and extraordinary strictness of life. Moreover, there appears to be no reason to doubt that the Church founded by S. Thomas still existed, and even flourished, in these very parts, though its Apostolic founder had been martyred a hundred years before. It was not so unreasonable, then, that a bishop like Pantænus should have been selected for such a Church and such a people. Let the reader turn to the story of Robert de' Nobili, and of John de Britto, whose field of labour extended to within a hundred miles of the very spot where Pantænus probably landed. S. Francis Xavier had already found Christians in that region who bore distinct traces of a former connection with Alexandria, in the very points in which they deviated from orthodoxy. De' Nobili's transformation of himself into a Brahmin of the strictest and most learned caste is well known. He dressed and lived as a Brahmin, roused the curiosity of his adopted brethren, opened

school, and taught philosophy, inculcating such practical conclusions as it is unnecessary to specify. De Britto did the very same things. If any one will compare the Brahmins of De Britto and De' Nobili with those earlier Brahmins of Pantæus, as described, for instance, by Cave from Palladius, he will not fail to be struck with the similarity of the accounts; and if we might be permitted to fill up the picture upon these conjectural hints, we should say that it seems to us very likely that Pantæus, during the years that he was lost to Alexandria, was expounding and enforcing, in the flowing cotton robes of a venerable Saniastes, the same deep philosophy to Indian audiences as he had taught to admiring Greeks in the modest pallium of a Stoic. Recent missionary experience has uniformly gone to prove that deep learning and asceticism are, humanly speaking, absolutely necessary in order to attempt the conversion of Brahmins with any prospect of success: and the mission of Pantæus seems at once to furnish an illustration of this fact, and to afford an interesting glimpse of "Christian Missions" in the second century. But we must return to Alexandria.

The name that succeeds Pantæus on the rolls of the School of the Catechisms is Titus Flavius Clemens, immortalized in history as Clement of Alexandria. He had sat under Pantæus, but he was no ordinary scholar. Like his instructor, he was a convert from paganism. He was already a master in human learning when the grace came. He had sought far and wide for the truth, and had found it in the Catholic Church, and into the lap of his new mother he had poured all the treasures of Egyptian wisdom which he had gathered in his quest. Athens, Southern Italy, Assyria, and Palestine had each been visited by the eager searcher; and, last of all, Egypt, and Alexandria, and Pantæus had been the term of his travels, and had given to his lofty soul the "admirable light" of Jesus Christ. When Pantæus went out as a missionary to India, Clement, who had already assisted his beloved master in the work of the schools, succeeded him as their director and head. It was to be Clement's task to carry on and to develop the work that Pantæus had inaugurated—to make Christianity, not only understood by the catechumens and loved by the faithful, but recognized and respected by the pagan philosophers. Unless we can clearly see the necessity, or, at least, the reality, of the philosophical side of his character, and the influences that were at work to make him hold fast to Aristotle and Plato, even after he had got far beyond them, we shall infallibly

set him down, like his modern biographers, as a half-converted heathen, with the shell of Platonism still adhering to him.

It cannot be doubted that in a society like that of Alexandria in its palmy days there were many earnest seekers of the truth, even as Clement himself had sought it. One might even lay it down as a normal fact, that it was the character of an Alexandrian, as distinguished from an Athenian, to speculate for the sake of practising, and not to spend his time in "either telling or hearing some new thing." If an Alexandrian was a Stoic, never was Stoic more demure, or more intent on warring against his body, after Stoic fashion; if a geometrician, no disciple of Bacon was ever more assiduous in experimentalizing, measuring, comparing, and deducing laws; if a Platonist, then geometry, ethics, poetry, and everything else, were enthusiastically pressed into the one great occupation of life, the realising the Ideal and the getting face to face with the Unseen. That all this earnestness did not uniformly result in success was only too true. Much speculation, great earnestness, and no grand objective truth at the end of it all—this was often the lot of the philosophic inquirer of Alexandria. The consequence was, that not unfrequently, disgusted by failure, he ended by rushing headlong into the most vicious excesses, or, becoming a victim to despair, perished by his own hand. So familiar, indeed, had this resource of disappointment become to the philosophic mind, that Hegesias, a professor in the Museum, a little before the Christian era, wrote a book counselling self-murder; and so many people actually followed his advice as to oblige the reigning Ptolemy to turn Grand Inquisitor, even in free-thinking Egypt, and forbid the circulation of the book. Yet all this, while it revealed a depth of moral wretchedness which it is frightful to contemplate, showed also a certain desperate earnestness; and doubtless there were, even among those who took refuge in one or other of these dreadful alternatives, men who, in their beginnings, had genuine aspirations after truth, mingled with the pride of knowledge and a mere intellectual curiosity. Doubtless, too, there was many a sincere and guileless soul among the philosophic herd, to whom, humanly speaking, nothing more was wanting than the preaching of the faith. Their eyes were open, as far as they could be without the light of Revelation: let the light shine, and, by the help of Divine grace, they would admit its beams into their souls.

There are many such, in every form of error. In Clement's days, especially, there were many whom Neo-

Platonism, the Puseyism of paganism, cast up from the ocean of unclean error upon the shores of the Church. Take the case of Justin Martyr: he was a young oriental of noble birth and considerable wealth. In the early part of the second century, we find him trying first one school of philosophers and then another, and abandoning each in disgust. The Stoics would talk to him of nothing but virtues and vices, of regulating the diet and curbing the passions, and keeping the intellect as quiet as possible—a convenient way, as experience taught them, of avoiding trouble; whereas Justin wanted to hear something of the Absolute Being, and of that Being's dealings with his own soul—a kind of inquiry which the Stoics considered altogether useless and ridiculous, if not reprehensible. Leaving the Stoics, he devoted himself heart and soul to a sharp Peripatetic, but quarrelled with him shortly and left him in disgust; the cause of disagreement being, apparently, a practical theory entertained by his preceptor on the subject of fees. He next took to the disciples of Pythagoras. But with these he succeeded no better than with the others; for the Pythagoreans reminded him that no one ignorant of mathematics could be admitted into their select society. Mathematics, in a Pythagorean point of view, included geometry, astronomy, and music—all those sciences, in fact, in which there was any scope for those extraordinary freaks of numbers which delighted the followers of the old vegetarian. Justin, having no inclination to undergo a novitiate in mathematics, abandoned the Pythagoreans and went elsewhere. The Platonists were the next who attracted him. He found no lack of employment for the highest qualities of his really noble soul in the lofty visions of Plato and the sublimated theories of his disciples and commentators; though it appears a little singular that, with his propensities towards the ideal and abstract, he should have tried so many masters before he sat down under Plato. However, be that as it may, Plato seems to have satisfied him for a while, and he began to think he was growing a very wise man, when these illusions were rudely dispelled. One day he had walked down to a lonely spot by the sea-shore, meditating probably some deep idea, and perhaps declaiming occasionally some passage of Plato's Olympian Greek. In his solitary walk he met an old man, and entered into conversation with him. The event of this conversation was that Justin went home with a wonderfully reduced estimate of his own wisdom, and a determination to get to know a few things about which Plato, on the old man's showing, had been woefully in the dark. Justin became a convert to Christianity. Now, Justin had been at

Alexandria, and, whether the conversation he relates over really took place, or is merely an oratorical fiction, the story is one that represents substantially what must have happened over and over again to those who thronged the University of Alexandria, wearing the black cloak of the philosopher.

Justin lived and was martyred some half-a-century before Clement sat in the chair of the Catechisms. But it is quite plain that in such a state of society there would not be wanting many of his class and temperament who, in Clement's time as well as fifty years before, were in search of the true philosophy. And we must not forget that in Alexandria there were actually thousands of well-born, intellectual young men from every part of the Roman empire. To the earnest among these Clement was, indeed, no ordinary master. In the first place, he was their equal by birth and education, with all the intellectual keenness of his native Athens, and all the ripeness and versatility of one who had "seen many cities of men and their manners." Next, he had himself been a Gentile, and had gone through all those phases of the soul that precede and accompany the process of conversion. If any one knew their difficulties and their sore places, it was he, the converted philosopher. If any one was capable of satisfying a generous mind as to which was the true philosophy, it was he who had travelled the world over in search of it. He could tell the swarthy Syrian that it was of no use to seek the classic regions of Ionia, for he had tried them, and the truth was not there; he could assure him it was waste of time to go to Athens, for the Porch and the Garden were babbling of vain questions—he had listened in them all. He could calm the ardour of the young Athenian, his countryman, eager to try the banks of the Orontes, and to interrogate the sages of Syria; for he could tell him beforehand what they would say. He could shake his head when the young Egyptian, fresh from the provincial luxury of Antinoë, mentioned *Magna Græcia* as a mysterious land where the secret of knowledge was perhaps in the hands of the descendants of the Pelasgi: *he* had tried Tarentum, *he* had tried Neapolis; they were worse than the Serapeion in unnameable licentiousness—less in earnest than the votaries that crowded the pleasure-barges of the Nile at a festival of the Moon. He had asked, he had tried, he had tasted. The Truth, he could tell them, was at their doors. It was elsewhere, too: it was in Neapolis, in Antioch, in Athens, in Rome; but they would not find it taught in the chairs of the schools, nor discussed by noble frequenters of the baths and the theatres. He knew it, and he could tell it to them. And as he added many a tale of his wanderings and searchings—

many an instance of genius falling short, of good-will labouring in the dark, of earnestness painfully at fault—many of those who heard him would yield themselves up to the vigorous thinker whose brow showed both the capacity and the unwearied activity of the soul within. He was the very man to be made a hero of. Whatever there was in the circle of Gentile philosophy he knew. S. Jerome calls him the “most learned of the writers of the Church,” and S. Jerome must have spoken with the sons of those who had heard him lecture—noble Christian patricians, perchance, whose fathers had often told them how, in fervent boyhood, they had been spell-bound by his words in the Christian school of Alexandria, or learned bishops of Palestine, who had heard of him from Origen at Cæsarea or S. Alexander at Jerusalem. From the same S. Alexander, who had listened to Pantænus by his side, we learn that he was as holy as he was learned; and Theodoret, whose school did not dispose him to admire what came from the catechetical doctors of Alexandria, is our authority for saying that his “eloquence was unsurpassed.” In the fourth edition of Cave’s “*Apostolici*” there is a portrait that we would fain vouch to be genuine. The massive, earnest face, of the Aristotelian type, the narrow, perpendicular Grecian brow, with its corrugations of thought and care, the venerable flowing beard, dignifying but not concealing the homely and fatherly mouth, seem to suggest a man who had made all science his own, yet who now valued a little one of Jesus Christ above all human wisdom and learning. But we have no record of those features that were once the cynosure of many eyes in the “many-peopled” city; we have no memorial of the figure that spoke the truths of the Gospel in the words of Plato. We know not how he looked nor how he sat when he began with his favourite master, and showed, with inexhaustible learning, where he had caught sight of the Truth, and, again, where his mighty but finite intellect had failed for want of a more “admirable light;” nor how he kindled when he had led his hearers through the vestibule of the Old Philosophy, and stood ready to lift the curtain of that which was at once its consummation and its annihilation.

But the philosophers of Alexandria, so called, were by no means, without exception, earnest, high-minded, and well-meaning. Leaving out of the question the mob of students who came ostensibly for wisdom, but got only a very doubtful substitute, and were quite content with it, we know that the Museum was the head-quarters of an anti-Christian philosophy which, in Clement’s time, was in the very spring of its vigorous development. Exactly contemporary with him was

the celebrated Ammonius the Porter, the teacher of Plotinus, and therefore the parent of Neo-Platonism. Ammonius had a very great name and a very numerous school. That he was a Christian by birth, there is no doubt; and he was probably a Christian still when he landed at the Great Port and found employment as a ship-porter. History is divided as to his behaviour after his wonderful elevation from the warehouses to the halls of the Museum. S. Jerome and Eusebius deny that he apostatized, while the very questionable authority of the unscrupulous Porphyry is the only testimony that can be adduced on the other side; but, even if he continued to be a Christian, his orthodoxy is rather damaged when we find him praised by such men as Plotinus, Longinus, and Hierocles. Some would cut the knot by asserting the existence of two Ammoniuses, one a pagan apostate, the other a Christian bishop—a solution equally contradicted by the witnesses on both sides. But, whatever Saccas was, there is no doubt as to what was the effect of his teaching on, at least, half of his hearers. If we might hazard a conjecture, we should say that he appears to have been a man of great cleverness, and even genius, but too much in love with his own brilliancy and his own speculations not to come across ecclesiastical authority in a more or less direct way. He supplied many imposing premises which Origen, representing the sound half of his audience, used for Christian purposes, whilst Plotinus employed them for re-vivifying the dead body of Paganism. The brilliant Sack-bearer seems to have been, at the very least, a liberal Christian, who was too gentlemanly to mention so very vulgar a thing as the Christian "superstition" in the classic gardens of the Palace, or at the serene banquets of sages in the Symposium.

The question, then, is, How did Christianity, as a philosophy, stand in relation to the affluent professors of Ptolemy's University? That they had been forced to see there was such a thing as Christianity, before the time of which we speak (A.D. 200), it is impossible to doubt. It must have dawned upon the comprehension of the most imperturbable grammarian and the most materialist surgeon of the Museum that a new teaching of some kind was slowly but surely striking root in the many forms of life that surrounded them. Rumours must long before have been heard in the common Hall that executions had taken place of several members of a new sect or society, said to be impious in its tenets and disloyal in its practice. No doubt the assembled sages had expended at the time much intricate quibble and pun, after heavy Alexandrian fashion, on the subject of those wretched men; more especially when it was put beyond doubt that no

promises of reward or threats of punishment had availed to make them compromise their "opinions" in the slightest tittle. Then the matter would die out, to be revived several times in the same way; until at last some one would make inquiries, and would find that the new sect was not only spreading, but, though composed apparently of the poor and the humble, was clearly something very different from the fantastic religions, or brutal no-religions, of the Alexandrian mob. It would be gradually found out, moreover, that men of name and of parts were in its ranks; nay, some day of days, that learned company in the Hall would miss one of its own number, after the Most Reverend the Curator had asked a blessing—if ever he did—and it would come out that Professor So-and-so, learned and austere as he was, had become a Christian! And some would merely wonder, but, that past, would ask their neighbour, in the equivalent Attic, if there were to be no more cakes and ale, because *he* had proved himself a fool; others would wonder, and feel disturbed, and think about asking a question or two, though not to the extent of abandoning their seats at that comfortable board.

The majority, doubtless, at Alexandria as elsewhere, set down Christianity as some new superstition, freshly imported from the home of all superstitions, the East. There were some who hated it, and pursued it with a vehemence of malignant lying that can suggest only one source of inspiration, that is to say, the father of all lies himself. Of this class were Crescens the Cynic, the prime favourite of Marcus Aurelius, and Celsus, called the Epicurean, but who, in his celebrated book, written at this very time, appears as veritable a Platonist as Plotinus himself. Then, again, there were others who found no difficulty in recognizing Christianity as a sister philosophy—who, in fact, rather welcomed it as affording fresh material for dialectics—good, easy men of routine, blind enough to the vital questions which the devil's advocates clearly saw to be at stake. Galen is pre-eminently a writer who has reflected the current gossip of the day. He was a hard student in his youth, and a learned and even high-minded man in his maturity, but he frequently shows himself in his writings as the "fashionable physician," with one or two of the weaknesses of that well-known character. He spent a long time at Alexandria, just before Clement became famous, studying under Heracian, consulting the immortal Hippocrates, and profiting by the celebrated dissecting rooms of the Museum, in which, unless they are belied, the interests of science were so paramount that they used to dissect—not live horses, but living slaves. He could not, therefore, fail to have

known how Christianity was regarded at the Museum. Speaking of Christians, then, in his works, he of course retails a good deal of nonsense about them, such as we can imagine him to have exchanged with the rich gluttons and swollen philosophers whom he had to attend professionally in Roman society ; but when he speaks seriously, and of what he had himself observed, he says, frankly and honestly, that the Christians deserved very great praise for sobriety of life, and for their love of virtue, in which they equalled or surpassed the greatest philosophers of the age. So thought, in all probability, many of the learned men of Alexandria.

The Church, on her side, was not averse to appearing before the Gentiles in the garb of philosophy, and it was very natural that the Christian teachers should encourage this idea, with the aim and hope of gaining admittance for themselves and their good tidings into the very heart of pagan learning. And was not Christianity a philosophy? In the truest sense of the word—and, what is more to the purpose, in the sense of the philosophers of Alexandria—it was a philosophy. The narrowed meaning that in our days is assigned to Philosophy, as distinguished from Religion, had no existence in the days of Clement. Wisdom was *the* Wisdom by excellence, the highest, the ultimate Wisdom. What the Hebrew Preacher meant when he said, "Wisdom is better than all the most precious things," the same was intended by the Alexandrian lecturer when he offered to show his hearers where Wisdom was to be found. It meant the fruit of the highest speculation, and at the same time the necessary ground of all-important practice. In our days the child learns at the altar-rails that its end is to love God and serve Him, and be happy with Him ; and after many years have passed, the child, now a man, studies and speculates on the reasons and the bearings of that short, momentous sentence. In the old Greek world the intellectual search came first, and the practical sentence was the wished-for result. A system of philosophy was therefore, in Clement's time, tantamount to a religion. It was the case especially with the learned. Serapis and Isis were all very well for the "old women and the sailors," but the Laureate and the Astronomer Royal of the Ptolemies, and the professors, many and diverse, of arts and ethics in the Museum, scarcely took pains to conceal their utter contempt for the worship of the vulgar. Their idols were something more spiritual, their incense was of a more ethereal kind. Could they not dispute about the Absolute Being? and had they not glimpses of something indefinitely above and yet indefinitely related to their own souls, in the Logos of the divine Plato? So the Stoic mortified his flesh

for the sake of some ulterior perfectibility of which he could give no clear account to himself; the Epicurean contrived to take his fill of pleasure, on the maxim that enjoyment was the end of our being, "and to-morrow we die;" the Platonist speculated and pursued his "air-travelling and cloud-questioning," like Socrates in the basket, in a vain but tempting endeavour to see what God was to man and man to God; the Peripatetic, the Eclectic, and all the rest, disputed, scoffed, or dogmatized, about many things, certainly, but, mainly and finally, on those questions that will never lie still:—Who are we? and, Who placed us here? Philosophy included religion, and therefore Christianity was a philosophy.

When Clement, then, told the philosophers of Alexandria that he could teach them the true philosophy, he was saying, not only what was perfectly true, but what was perfectly understood by them. The Catechetical School was, and appeared to them, as truly a philosophical lecture-room as the halls of the Museum. Clement himself had been an ardent philosopher, and he reverently loved his masters, Socrates and Plato and Aristotle, whilst he had the feelings of a brother towards the philosophers of his own day. He became a Christian, and his dearest object was to win his brethren to a participation in his own good fortune. He did not burn his philosophical books and anathematize his masters; like S. Paul, he availed himself of the good that was in them and commended it, and then proclaimed that he had the key of the treasure which they had laboured to find and had not found. This explains how it is that, in Clement of Alexandria, the philosopher's mantle seems almost to hide the simple garb of the Christian. This also explains why he is called, and indeed calls himself, an Eclectic in his system; and this marks out the drift and the aim of the many allusions to philosophy that we find in his extant works, and in the traditions of his teaching that have come down to us. If Christianity was truly called a philosophy, what should we expect in its champion but that he should be a philosopher? Men in these days read the *Stromata*, and find that it is, on the outside, more like Plato than like Jesus Christ; and thus they make small account of it, because they cannot understand its style, or the reason for its adoption. The grounds of questions and the forms of thought have shifted since the days of the Catechetical School. But Clement's fellow-citizens understood him. The thrifty young Byzantine, for instance, understood him, who had been half inclined to join the Stoics, but had come, in his threadbare pallium, to hear the Christian teacher, and who was told that asceticism was very good and commendable, but that the end of it all was God

and the love of God, and that this end could only be attained by a Christian. The languid but intellectual man of fashion understood him, who had grown sick of the jargon of his Platonist professors about the Perfect Man and the Archetypal Humanity, and who now felt his inmost nature stirred to its depths by the announcement and description of the Word made Flesh. The learned stranger from Antioch or Athens, seeking for the Truth, understood him, when he said that the Christian dogma alone could create and perfect the true Gnostic or Knower; he understood perfectly the importance of the object, provided the assertion were true, as it might turn out to be. Unless Clement had spoken of asceticism, of the Perfect Man, and of the true Gnostic, his teaching would not have come home to the self-denying student, to the thoughtful sage, to the brilliant youth, to all that was great and generous and amiable in the huge heathen society of the crowded city. As it was, he gained a hearing, and, having done so, he said to the Alexandrians, "Your masters in philosophy are great and noble: I honour them, I admire and accept them; but they did not go far enough, as you all acknowledge. Come to us, then, and we will show what is wanting in them. Listen to these old Hebrew writers whom I will quote to you. You see that they treated of all your problems and had solved the deepest of them, whilst your forefathers were groping in darkness. All their light and much more is *our* inheritance. The Truth which you seek, we possess. 'What you worship, without knowing it, that I preach to you.' God's Word has been made Flesh—has lived on this earth, the Model Man, the Absolute Man. Come to us, and we will show you how you may know God through Him, and how through Him God communicates Himself to you." But here he stopped. The "discipline of the secret" allowed him to go no farther in public. The listening Christians knew well what he meant; his pagan hearers only surmised that there was more behind. And was it not much that Christianity should thus measure strength and challenge a contest with the old Greek civilization on equal terms, and about those very matters of intellect and high ethics in which it especially prided itself?

But the contest, never a friendly one save with the dullest and easiest of the pagan philosophers, very soon grew to be war to the knife. We have said that the quiet lovers of literature among the heathen men of science were perfectly ready to admit the Christian philosophy to a fair share in the arena of disputation and discussion, looking upon it as being, at worst, only a foolish system of obtrusive novelties which might safely be left to their own insignificance. But, quite unexpect-

edly and startlingly for easy-going philosophers, Christianity was found, not merely to claim the possession of Truth, but to claim it wholly and solely. And, what was still more intolerable, its doctors maintained that its adoption or rejection was no open speculative question, but a tremendous practical matter, involving nothing less than all morality here and all happiness hereafter; and that the unfortunate philosopher, who in his lofty serenity approved it as right and yet followed the wrong, would have to undergo certain horrors after death, the bare suggestion of which seemed an outrage on the dignity of the philosophical character. This was quite enough for hatred; and the philosophers, as their eyes began to open, saw that Crescens and Celsus were right, and accorded their hatred most freely and heartily.

But Christianity did not stop here. With the old original schools and their off-shoots it was a recognized principle that philosophy was only for philosophers; and this was especially true of Clement's most influential contemporaries, the Neo-Platonists. The vulgar had no part in it, in fact could not come within the sphere of its influence; how could they? How could the sailors who, after a voyage, went to pay their vows in the Temple of Neptune on the quay, or the porters who dragged the grain sacks and the hemp bundles from the tall warehouses to the holds of Syrian and Greek merchantmen, or the negro slaves who fanned the brows of the foreign prince, or the armourers of the Jews' quarter, or the dark-skinned, bright-eyed Egyptian women of the Rhacôtis suspected of all evil from thieving to sorcery, or, more than all, the drunken revellers and poor harlots who made night hideous when the Egyptian moon looked down on the palaces of the Brucheion—how could any of these find access to the sublime secrets of Plato or the profound commentaries of his disciples? Even if they had come in crowds to the lecture-halls—which no one wanted them to do, or supposed they would do—they could not have been admitted nor entertained; for even the honest occupations of life, the daily labours necessary in a city of 300,000 freemen, were incompatible with imbibing the divine spirit of philosophy. So the philosophers had nothing to say to all these. If they had been asked what would become of such poor workers and sinners, they would probably have avoided an answer as best they could. There were the temples and Serapis and Isis and the priests—they might go to them. It was certain that philosophy was not meant for the vulgar. In fact, philosophy would be unworthy of a habitation like the Museum—would deserve to have its pensions stopped, its

common hall abolished, and its lecture-rooms shut up—if ever it should condescend to step into the streets and speak to the herd. It was therefore with a disgust unspeakable, and a swiftly-ripening hatred, that the philosophers saw Christianity openly proclaiming and practising the very opposite of all this. True, it had learned men and respected men in its ranks, but it loudly declared that its mission was to the lowly, and the mean, and the degraded, quite as much as to the noble, and the rich, and the virtuous. It maintained that the true Divine Philosophy, the source of joy for the present and hope for the future, was as much in the power of the despised bondsman, trembling under the lash, as of the Prince-Governor, or the Cæsar himself, haughtily wielding the insignia of sovereignty. *We* know what its pretensions and tenets were, but it is difficult to realise how they must have clashed with the notions of intellectual Paganism in the city of Plotinus—how the hands that would have been gladly held out in friendship, had it come in respectable and conventional guise, were shut and clenched, when they saw in its train the rough mechanic, the poor maid-servant, the negro, and the harlot. There could be no compromise between two systems such as these. For a time it might have seemed as if they could decide their quarrel in the schools, but the old Serpent and his chief agents knew better: and so did Clement and the Christian doctors, at the very time that they were taking advantage of fair weather to occupy every really strong position which the enemy held. The struggle soon grew into the deadly hand-to-hand grapple that ended in leaving the corpse of Paganism on the ground, dead but not buried, to be gradually trodden out of sight by a new order of things.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Christian school of Alexandria was wholly, or even chiefly, employed in controversy with the schools of the heathen. The first care of the Church was, as at all times, the household of the Faith: a care, however, in the fulfilment of which there is less that strikes as novel or interesting at first sight than in that remarkable aggressive movement of which it has been our object to give some idea. But even in the Church's household working there is much that is both instructive and interesting, as we get a glimpse of it in Clement of Alexandria. The Church in Alexandria, as elsewhere, was made up of men from every lot and condition of life. There were officials, civil and military, merchants, shopkeepers, workpeople—plain, hard-striving men, husbands and fathers of families. In the wake of the upper thousands followed a long and wide

train—the multitude who compose the middle classes of a great city; and it was from their ranks that the Church was mainly recruited. They might not feel much interest in the University, beyond the fact that its numerous and wealthy students were a welcome stimulus to trade; but still they had moral and intellectual natures. They must have craved for some kind of food for their minds and hearts, and cannot have been satisfied with the dry, unnourishing scraps that were flung to them by the supercilious philosophers. They must have felt no small content—those among them who had the grace to hearken to the teachings of Clement—when he told them that the philosophy *he* taught was as much for them as for their masters and their betters. They listened to him, weighed his words, and accepted them; and then a great question arose. It was a question that was being debated and settled at Antioch, at Rome, and at Athens, no less than at Alexandria; but at Alexandria it was Clement who answered it. “We believe your Good Tidings,” they said; “but tell us, must we change our lives wholly and entirely? Is everything that we have been doing so far, and our fathers have been doing before us, miserably and radically wrong?” They had bought and sold; they had married and given in marriage; they had filled their warehouses and freighted their ships; they had planted and builded, and brought up their sons and daughters. They had loved money, and the praise of their fellow-men; they had their fashions and their customs, old and time-honoured, and so interwoven with their very life as to be almost identified with it. Some of their notions and practices the bare announcement of the Gospel sufficiently condemned; and these must go at once. But where was the line to be drawn? Did the Gospel aim at regenerating the world by forbidding marriage and laying a ban on human labour; by making life intolerable with asceticism; by emptying the streets and the market-places, and driving men to Nitria and the frightful rocks of the Upper Nile? And what made the question doubly exciting was the twofold fact, first, that in those very days men and women were continually fleeing from home and family, and hiding in the desert; and secondly, that there were in that very city congregations of men calling themselves Christians, who proclaimed that it was wrong to marry, and that flesh-meat and wine were sinful indulgences.

The answer that Clement gave to these questionings is found mainly in that work of his which is called *Pædagogus*, or “The Teacher.” The answer needed was a sharp, a sh^on, and a decisive one. It needed to be like a surgical operation—rapidly performed, completed, with nothing further to be

done but to fasten the bandages, and leave the patient to the consequences, whatever they might be. Society had to be *reset*. We need not repeat for the thousandth time the fact of the unutterable corruptness and rottenness of the whole pagan world. It was not that there were wanting certain true ideas of duty towards the state, the family, the fellow-citizen : the evil lay far deeper. It was not good sense that was wanting ; it was the sense of the supernatural. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," was the formula that expressed the code of popular morality ; and because men could not "eat and drink" comfortably and luxuriously without some sort of law, order, and mutual compact, it followed as a necessary consequence that there must be law, order, and compact. It was not, therefore, that Clement had merely to hold up the Gospel and show them its meaning here and its application there. He had to shift the very groundwork of morality, to take up the very foundations of the moral acts that go to make up Life as viewed in the light of Right and Wrong. He had to substitute heaven for earth, hereafter for here, God for self. And he did so—in a fashion not unknown in the Catholic Church since, as indeed it had been not unknown to S. Paul long before. He simply held up to them the Crucifix. Let any one turn to the commencement of the *Pædagogus*, and he will find a description of what a teacher ought to be. At the beginning of the second chapter he will read these words :—"My children, *our* Teacher is like the Father whose Son He is ; in Whom there is no sin, great or small, nor any temptation to sin ; God in the figure of a man, stainless, obedient to His Father's will ; the Word, true God, who is in the Father, who is at the Father's right hand, true God in the form of a man ; to Whom we must strive with all our might *to make ourselves like*." It sounds like the commencement of a children's retreat in one of our modern cities to hear Clement proclaim so anxiously that the Teacher and Model of men is no other than Jesus, and that we must all become children, and go and listen to Him and study Him ; yet it is a sentence that must have spoken to the very inmost hearts of all who had a thought or care for their souls in Alexandria ; and one can perceive, in the terms used in the original Greek, a conscious adaptation of epithets to meet more than one Platonic difficulty. It was the reconciliation of the True with the Beautiful. The Alexandrians, Greek and Egyptian, with their Greek longings for the Beautiful and their Egyptian tendencies to the Sensible, were not put off by Clement with a cold abstraction. A mathematical deity, formed out of lines, relations, and analogies, such as Neo-Platonism offered, was

well enough for the lecture-room, but had small hold upon the heart. Christianity restored the thrilling sense of a Personal God, which Neo-Platonism destroyed, but for which men still sighed, though they knew not what they were sighing for; and Christianity, by Clement's mouth, taught that the living and lovely Life of Jesus was to be the end and the measure of the life of all. They were to follow Him: "My Angel shall walk before you," is Clement's own quotation. And having thus laid down the regenerating principle—God through Jesus Christ—he descends safely and fearlessly into details. Minutely and carefully he handles the problems of life, and sets them straight by the light of the Life of Jesus.

These details and these directions, as left to us by Clement in the *Pædagogus*, are only what we might anticipate from a Christian teacher to his flock; and yet they are very interesting, and disclose many facts that are full of suggestion to one who reads by the light of the Catholic faith. Who would not like to hear what Clement said to the Church of Alexandria about dress, beauty, feasting, drinking, furniture, conversation, money, theatres, sleep, labour, and housekeeping? We know well that there must have been ample scope for discourse on all these topics. The rich Alexandrians, like the rich Romans, and the rich Corinthians, and the rich everywhere, were fearfully addicted to luxury, and their poorer neighbours followed their example as well as they could. But there were circumstances peculiar to Alexandria that enabled it to outdo the rest of the world in this matter; putting Rome, of course, out of the question. It was the market for India; and seeing that almost everything in the way of apparel came from India, Alexandria had the pick of the best that the world could afford, and seems not to have been behindhand in taking advantage of its privilege. Nobody enjoyed more than the Alexandrian—whether he were a descendant of the Macedonian who came in with the Conqueror, or a *parvenu* of yesterday grown great by his wheat-ships or his silk-bales—to sweep the Heptastadion, or promenade the Great Quay, or lounge in the gardens of the Museum, in what ancient tailors and milliners would call a synthesis of garments, as ample and stiff and brilliant as Indian looms could make them. Then, again, Alexandria was a University town. Two hundred years of effeminate Ptolemies and four hundred of wealthy students had been more than enough to create a tradition of high, luxurious living. The conjunction of all that was to be got for money with any amount of money to get it with, had made Alexandria a model city for carrying out the only maxim which the greater number even of the philosophers themselves

really understood and practically followed: "Let us eat and drink!" Again, a navigable river, a rainless sky, and a climate perhaps the finest in the world, offered both inducements and facilities for parties of pleasure and conviviality in general. It is true the river was only a canal: one thing was wanting to the perfection of Alexandria as a site for an empire-city, viz., the Nile; but that the Canal was a moderate success in the eyes of the Alexandrians may be inferred from the fact that Canopus, where it finished its short course of thirteen or fourteen miles, and joined the Nile, was a perfect city of river-side hotels, to which the boats brought every day crowds of pleasure-seekers. Very gay were the silken and gilded boats, with their pleasant canopies and soothing music; and very gay and brilliant, but not very reputable, were the groups that filled them, with their crowns of flowers, their Grecian attitudinizing, and their ingenious arrangements of fan-working slaves. This was the population which it was Clement's work to convert to purity and moderation.

It is very common with Clement's modern critics, when making what our French allies would call "an appreciation" of him, to set him down as a solemn trifler. They complain that they cannot get any "system of theology" out of his writings; indeed, they doubt whether he so much as had one. They find him use the term "faith" first in one sense and then in another, and they are especially offended by his minute instructions on certain matters pertaining to meat, drink, and dress. To any one who considers what Clement intended to do in his writings, and especially in the *Pedagogus*, there is no difficulty in seeing an answer to a difficulty like this. He did not *mean* to construct a "system of theology," and therefore it is no wonder if his critics cannot find one. He did not even mean to state the broad, general principles of the Gospel: his hearers knew these well enough. What he did mean to do was, to apply these general rules and principles to a variety of cases occurring in every-day life. And yet, as a matter of fact, it is to be observed that he always does lay down broad principles, before entering into details. In the matter of eating, for instance, regarding which he is very severe in his denunciations, and not without reason, he takes care to state distinctly the great Catholic canon of mortification:—"Though all things were made for man, yet it is not good to use all, nor at all times." Again, in the midst of his contemptuous enumeration of ancient wines, he does not forget to say, "You are not robbed of your drink: it is given to you, and awaits your hand;" that which is blamed is excess. He sums up what he has been saying against the voluptuous entertain-

ments then so universal by the following sentence—a novelty, surely, to both extremes of pagan society in Alexandria:—
“In one word, whatever is natural to man must not be taken from him; but, instead thereof, must be regulated according to fitting measure and time.”

In deciding whether Clement was a “solemn trifier,” or not, there is another consideration which must not be omitted, and that is his sense of the humorous. It may sound incongruous when speaking of a Father of the Church, and much more of a reputed mystical Father like Clement, but we think no one can deny that he often supplements a serious argument by a little stroke of pleasantry. As many of his sentences stand, a look or a smile would lighten them up and make them sparkle into humour. Paper and ink cannot carry the tone of the voice or the glance of the eye, and Clement’s voice has been silent and his eye dimmed for many a century; but may we not imagine that at times something of archness in the teacher’s manner would impart to his weighty words a touch of quaintness, and the habitually thoughtful eye twinkle with a gleam of pleasantry? He would be no true follower of Plato if it were not so. Who shall say he was not smiling when he gave out that formal list of wines, of catables, and of scents most affected by the fashionables of those days? He concludes an invective against scandalous feasts by condemning the universal crown of roses as a simple “nuisance:” it was damp, it was cold; it hindered one from using either his eyes or his ears properly. He advises his audience to avoid much curious carving and ornamenting of bed-posts; for creeping things, he says, have a habit of making themselves at home in the mouldings. He asks if one’s hands cannot be as well washed in a clay basin as in a silver one. He wonders how one can dare to put a plain little loaf on a grand “wing-footed” table. He cannot see why a lamp of earthenware will not give as good a light as one of silver. He alludes with disgust to “hissing frying-pans,” to “spoon and pestle,” and even to the “packed stomachs” of their proprietors; to Sicilian lampreys, and Attican eels; shell-fish from Capo di Faro, and Ascrean beet from the foot of Helicon; mullet from the Gulf of Thermae, and pheasants from the Crimea. We hear him contemptuously repeat the phrases of connoisseurs about their wines, the startling variety of which we know from other sources besides his writings: he speaks of the “scented Thasian,” the “aromatic Lesbian,” the “sweet wine of Crete,” the “pleasant Syracusan.” The articles of plate which he enumerates to condemn would be more than sufficient to furnish out a modern wedding break-

fast. To scents he gives no quarter. We have heard a distinguished professor of chemistry assert, in a lecture, that wherever there is scent on the surface there is sure to be dirt beneath; and, from the well-known fact that in Capua there was one whole street occupied by perfumers, he could draw no other inference than that Capua must have been "a very dirty city." It would appear that Clement of Alexandria was much of this opinion. He gives a picture of a pompous personage in a procession, "going along marvellously scented, for the purpose of producing a sensation, and yet, underneath as foul as he could be." He enumerates the absurd varieties of ointments in fashion, and orders them to be thrown away. He is indignant at the saffron-coloured scented robe that the gentlemen wore. He will have no flowing or trailing vestments; no "Attic buskins," no "Persian sandals." He complains that the ladies go and spend the whole day at the perfumer's, the goldsmith's, and the milliner's, just as if he were speaking of "shopping" in the nineteenth century, instead of A.D. 200. He blames the men for frequenting the barbers' shops, the taverns, and the dicing-houses. It is amusing in these days to read of his denunciations of shaving. He has no patience with "hair-haters:" a man without the hair that God gave him is a "base sight." "God attached such importance to hair," he says, "that He makes a man come to hair and sense at the same time." But, in reality, this vehement attack on the "smooth men," as he calls them, points to one of the most flagrant of heathen immoralities, and reveals in the context a state of things to which we may not do more than allude. He condemns luxury in furniture, from "beds with silver feet, made of ivory and adorned with gold and tortoise-shell," down to "little table-daggers," that ancient ladies and gentlemen used indifferently to their food and to their slaves. All this is not very deep, but it is just what Clement wanted to say, and a great deal more useful in its place and connection than a "system of theology." We may add that it is a great deal more interesting to us, who know pretty well what Clement's "system of theology" was, but not so well what were the faults and failings of his Christian men and women in those far-off Alexandrian times.

There is another epithet bestowed upon Clement, more widely and with better authority than that of "trifler." He is called a mystic. He deals in allegorical interpretations of Holy Scripture, in fanciful analogies, and whimsical reasonings; he was carried away by the spirit of Neo-Platonism, and substituted a number of idle myths for the stern realities of the Gospel. It is not our business at present to show, by refer-

ences, that this accusation is untrue; but we may admit at once that it is not unfounded, and we maintain that it points to an excellence, rather than a defect, in his teaching. From the remarks made just now, the reader will be prepared to expect that a teacher in Alexandria in Clement's days *must* have been a mystic. It was simply the fashion; and a fashion, in thought and speech, exacts a certain amount of compliance from those who think or speak for the good of its followers. Neo-Platonism was not extant in his time as a definite system, but ever since the days of Philon its spirit had been the spirit of the Museum. Nature, in its beauty and variety, was an allegory of the soul—so said the philosophers, and the crowd caught it up with eagerness. The natural philosopher could not lecture on Aristotle "*De Animalibus*" without deducing morals in the style of *Æsop*. The moralist, in his turn, could hardly keep up his class-list without embodying his Beautiful and his Good in the æsthetical garb of a myth—the more like Plato the better. The mathematician discoursed of numbers, of lines, and of angles, but the interesting part of his lecture was when he drew the analogy from lines and numbers to the soul and to God. Alexandria liked allegory, and believed, or thought she believed, that the Seen was always a type of the Unseen. Such a belief was not unnatural, and by no means hopelessly erroneous; nay, was it not highly useful to a Christian teacher, with the Bible in his hand, in which he would really have to show them so many things "*per allegoriam dicta*"? Clement took up the accustomed tone. Had he done otherwise, he would have been strange and old-fashioned, whereas he wanted to get the ear of his countrymen, and therefore thought it no harm to fall in with their humour for the mythical; just as good Father Faber preached and wrote like a modern Englishman, and not like an antique Douai controversialist, or a well-meaning translator of "*Sermons from the French*." But, say the objectors, Clement's interpretation of Scripture is so very forced and unnatural. The whole subject of allegorical interpretation of Sacred Scripture is too wide to be entered upon here; but that the Bible, especially the Old Testament, *has* an allegorical sense, no one denies, and the decision of what is the true allegorical sense depends more upon the authority of the teacher than upon the interpretation itself. In the time of Clement, when the Gnostics were attributing the Old Testament to the Evil Principle, there was a special necessity for a warm and loving acknowledgment that it was the voice and the teaching of God to man; and it is no wonder, therefore, that he allows himself, with the brilliant fancy of an Athenian,

even if sometimes with the fantasticalness of an Alexandrian, to extract meanings out of the sacred text which our sober eyes could never have discovered. As it is, we owe to his mysticism no small portion of the eloquence and beauty of his writings; we may instance that charming passage in the *Pædagogus* where he alludes to the incident related in the twenty-sixth chapter of Genesis: "Abimelech king of the Palestines, looking out through a window, saw Isaac playing with Rebecca his wife." Isaac represents the little one of Christ, and is interpreted to be joy; Rebecca is patience; the royal Abimelech signifies heavenly wisdom. The child of Jesus Christ, joyful with a joy that none but that blessed Teacher can give, lovingly sports with his "helpmate," patience, and the wisdom that is from above looks on and wonderingly admires. The beauty of conception and perfection of form that is inseparable from true Greek art, whether in a statue or a medal, an epic or an epigram, is by no means wanting to the first of the Greek Fathers. A reader who should take up the *Pædagogus* for no other than literary reasons would not be disappointed; he would receive, from his reading, a very high idea of the wisdom, the eloquence, and, above all, the saintly unction of the great Catholic doctor and philosopher who first made human science the handmaid of Christian Theology.

The witnessing to the Truth before heathen philosophers and the teaching the children of the Faith might have fully employed both the zeal and the eloquence of Clement. But there was another and a sadder use for words, in the task of resisting the heresies that seemed to grow like foul excrescences from the very growth of the Church herself. Alexandria, the city of Neo-Platonism, was also with nearly as good a title the city of Gnosticism. To examine the history of Gnosticism is not a tempting undertaking. On the one side, it is like walking into a fog, as dense and unpleasant as ever marked a London November; on the other, it is to disturb a moral cess-pool, proverbially better left alone. Of the five groups of the Gnostic family, which seem to agree in little besides worshipping the devil, holding to "emanations," and owing their origin to Simon Magus, the particular group that made Alexandria its head-quarters acknowledged as its leading names Basilides, Valentine, and Mark, each of whom outdid the other in the absurdity of his ravings about eons, generations, and the like, and in the abominableness of his practical licentiousness. Valentine and Mark were contemporaries of Clement, if not personally (Valentine is said to have died A.D. 150), at least in their immediate influence. No one can

tell satisfactorily what made these precious followers of Simon Magus spend their days in patching up second-hand systems out of the rags of cast-off Oriental mysticism. No doubt their jargon appeared somewhat less unnatural in their own days than it does in ours. They lived nearer the times when the wrecks of primeval revelation and history had been wrought into a thousand fantastic shapes on the banks of the Indus, the Euphrates, and the Nile, and when, in the absence of the True Light, men occupied themselves with the theatrical illuminations of Bel, Isis, and Vishnu. But these Gnostics, in the clear dawn of the Gospel, still stuck to the fulsome properties of the devil's playhouse. Unsavoury and dishonest, they deserve neither respect for sincerity nor allowance for originality; they were mere spinners of "endless genealogies," and, with such a fig-leaf apron, they tried to conceal for a while the rankness of the flesh that finally made the very pagans join in hounding them from the earth. The infamous Mark was holding his conventicles in Alexandria about the very time that Pantæus and Clement were teaching. To read of his high-flown theories about eons and emanations, his sham magic, his familiarity with demons, his impositions on the weaker sex, and the frightful licentiousness that was the sure end of it all, is like reading the history of the doings of the Egyptian priests in the Serapeion rather than of those who called themselves Christians. And yet these very men, these deluded Marcosians, gave out to learned and unlearned Alexandria that they alone were the true followers of Christ. We may conceive the heart-breaking work it would be for Clement to repel the taunts that their doings brought upon his name and profession, and to refute and keep down false brethren, whose arguments and strength consisted in an appeal to curiosity and brute passion. And yet how nobly he does it, in that picture of the true Gnostic, or Knower, to which he so often returns in all his extant works!

But philosophers, faithful, and heretics do not exhaust the story of Clement's doings. It lends a solemn light to the memorable history we are noting, to bear in mind that the Church's intellectual war with Neo-Platonist and Gnostic was ever and again interrupted by the yells of the blood-thirsty populace, the dragging of confessors to prison, and all the hideous apparatus of persecution. Which of us would have had heart to argue with men who might next day deliver us to the hangman? Who would have found leisure to write books on abstract philosophy with such stern concrete realities as the scourge and the knife waiting for him in the street? Clement's master began to teach just as one persecution was

ceasing; Clement himself had to flee from his schools before the "burden and heat" of another; these were not times, one would suppose, for science and orderly teaching. Yet our own English Catholic annals can in a manner furnish parallel cases in more than one solid book of controversy and deep ascetical tract, thought out and composed when the pursuivants were almost at the doors. So true it is that when the Church's work demands scientific and written teaching science appears and books are written, though the Gentiles are raging and the peoples imagining their vain things.

Here, for the present, we draw to a close these desultory notes on the Christian Schools of Alexandria. They will have served their purpose if they have but supplied an outline of that busy intellectual life which is associated with the names of Pantænus and Clement. There is another name that ought to follow these two—the name of Origen, suggesting another chapter on Church history that should yield to none in interest and usefulness. The mere fact that in old Alexandria, in the face of hostile science, clogged and put to shame by pestilent heresies, ruthlessly chased out of sight ever and again by brute force—in spite of all this, Catholic science won respect from its enemies without for a moment neglecting the interests of its own children, is a teaching that will never be out of date, and least of all at a time like ours, and in a country where learning sneers at Revelation, where a thousand jarring sects invoke the sacred name of Christ, and where public opinion—the brute force of the modern world, as the rack and the faggot were of the ancient—never howls so loudly as when it catches sight of the One True Church of the Living and Eternal God.

ART. III.—HEDWIGE, QUEEN OF POLAND.

Histoire complète de la Pologne, depuis ses premières origines jusqu'à nos jours. Par C. F. Chevé. 2 vols. Paris : Blériot. 1863.

THE sorrows and sufferings of Poland do not constitute her sole claim to our sympathy and interest. Without dwelling on her title to our gratitude for having been the bulwark and defence of Christendom during the long days when the Turkish empire was still in the zenith of its power, our admiration cannot fail to be attracted by the charm which attaches to the heroism of her children. We may describe it as a combination of the romantic, the patriotic, the chivalrous, and the religious; or, perhaps, to come nearer the mark, its essential attribute is its religiousness. Whether it be owing to the deeply Catholic character of the Poles, to their long habitation on the border-land of the enemy of our faith, or their, so to say, perennial trial in the furnace of affliction, their heroism has always borne the genuine Christian stamp. Not to speak of those whom the Church has raised to her altars, how many of Poland's sons and daughters have performed saintly, or quasi-saintly acts, or, by that one consummating act of mortification and self-renunciation, martyrdom, have gained the crown of sanctity at a bound! This characteristic still survives. The Poland of to-day is the Poland of the past; and, in the struggle of which we are witnessing the disastrous close, she has been giving us an example of the same religious chivalrousness. The revolutionary spirit, indeed, endeavoured to substitute itself for the Catholic; but this was to be expected: wherever the waters are troubled, there the agents of Satan or his tools will fish. May God ever avert from that truly Christian land a misfortune greater than, and incommensurate with, any she has yet had to endure!

The unchanging character which the heroism of this interesting people has ever displayed invests their past history with an abiding significance. As the present reflects the past, so the past elucidates the present; for all that constitutes the true history of a nation is to be sought in its human, not its accidental elements. Accordingly, we have thought that a page out of the annals of a bygone age might not be without interest for many whose eyes are naturally turned to Poland at this time. It exhibits to us a sacrifice on the shrine of

religious patriotism—and patriotism, or love of country, like every other love, to be meritorious must be religious—in the person of Hedwige, the second Polish princess who bore that name. The first, the Duchess Hedwige, is well known as a canonized saint; her namesake has been honoured almost as a saint in the land which owed so much to her, and which has preserved as sacred the memory of her virtues. This spirit of sacrifice has always been a distinguishing virtue of the generous Polish nation, as an ardent champion of their cause has observed. Poland, says M. de Montalembert, “has always suffered, and always persevered in suffering,” resigning herself to her “high and arduous mission of holding the first rank among victim nations.” He sees in her whole history a record of this her characteristic, from the touching sacrifice of Queen Hedwige to the heroic self-devotion of John Sobieski.

The annals of Poland are, we believe, little studied; and few are familiar with more than fragmentary portions of her history. With some, the notion seems to prevail that, however unjustly, she is now suffering from the tyranny of a neighbour who, in former days, when positions were reversed, had much to endure from aggression on her part. But this notion is a patent error to any one acquainted with the real facts of the case. It pleases Russia to recognize the actual Poland only in Warsaw, with its limited territory, the little kingdom of 1815, and to call all the other provinces which fell to her share at the iniquitous partition, not Polish, but Russian. The Poland which was thus dismembered extended from the Dnieper to the Oder, of which Russia appropriated the largest portion. But if Russia ignores the fact, Poland has not forgotten it, and has that living self-consciousness of her own identity which the iron heel of the despot cannot trample out. The present Czar at his first visit to Warsaw said, “Above all, gentlemen, no dreams!” If men asleep think that their dreams are objective realities, when they are awake, they not only think, but know, the realities of their consciousness not to be dreams. There is much talk at the present day of nationalities, and projects that may well be styled dreamy, if not deserving of a worse epithet, have been based upon this newly-invented theory; but if the Poland which for eleven centuries occupied well nigh the whole centre of Europe, and which was the barrier of Christendom for so many years against the Tartar and the Turk, be a dream, what, we may ask, is a reality? Poland was not aggressive. While she fought in self-defence, and in the defence of Christendom, the other Christian nations enjoyed security, and the opportunity, by which they largely profited, for ambitious rivalries and bloody

squabbles amongst themselves. For six centuries Poland battled with the Mogul hordes—which during that time made no less than ninety-one fierce inroads into her territory—and for nearly three centuries presented a resisting front to the Mussulman power; while, as long as she retained her integrity, she made head against schismatic Russia, and checked the colossal growth of the Muscovite empire in the direction of the West. But we must not confound race and nationality, and by so doing foster the error which the usurpation of the name of Russia by Poland's old enemy and modern oppressor first introduced. If we take the limits of Poland in 1772, when they were considerably restricted, but beyond which the Poles do not attempt to extend their present claim for re-integration, we find that, out of a population of above twenty millions, more than two-thirds were not, properly speaking, Polish in race. The national unity of Poland, of which we have something to say by-and-by, was not therefore grounded on race, although the major portion of the population was Slavonic in origin. No less than seven millions and a half were Russians, in whom, however, the Slave element predominated: they were not, be it noted, *Muscovites*, who, as we have just observed, have appropriated the name of Russians; yet even after the assumption of the title of Czar of All the Russias by the sovereigns of that people, they were long known in Europe by no other name than that of Dukes, or Czars, of Moscow, and the country they ruled is invariably called Muscovy in the contemporary histories. We find, in the year 1624, Wladislas IV., King of Poland, in a treaty concluded between him and Michael Federovitch, Grand Duke, or Czar, of Moscow, recognizing that potentate as Czar, Autocrat of all the *Muscovite Russias*, thus, by implication, excluding the Ruthenes, or Russians of Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine. It is the policy, however, of Russia to assert that, when incorporating the eastern provinces of Poland in her empire, she was but re-appropriating her former lawful possessions, which had constituted part of an ancient duchy of Russia or Ruthenia. Names are sometimes more potent than facts; and so her lying assumption of the name of Russia figures as a proof to the unreading and unreflecting public of her right to the title. But what are the real facts? What were Poland's ancient limits? And what was this old duchy of Russia?

Originally a kind of federation of free communities, with a very slender bond of union, Poland received its first consolidation when the peasant Piast, the owner of a little field and a few bee-hives, was called (A.D. 842) to reign over his countrymen and found a dynasty which was destined to have a duration of

five centuries; but the real founder of Polish nationality, so intimately bound up with Catholicism, must be regarded as Boleslas the Great, who, in the part he played in the civilization of Eastern Europe, has been compared to Charlemagne. He flourished at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. Upon his head, at his own request to the Pope, the oil of consecration was first poured by the bishops, with whom he would never converse without baring his regal brow in reverence to the higher sacerdotal dignity; and during his reign it was that the conversion of Poland was finally effected, and its political organization completed. Many persons are scarcely aware of the immense area occupied by Poland in early times. It may be stated as nearly co-extensive with the territory known to the ancients as Sarmatia. M. de Salvandy, in his Polish History, describes it as embracing four great regions. The first was Teutonic Poland, including Bchemia, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Lusatia, Brandenburg, and Silesia. Its eastern and western boundaries were the Elbe and the Oder; its northern and southern the Baltic and the Danube. Here the Slavonic and Teutonic races were mingled, and these countries later went to form portions of the German Empire. The second was what has been called Great Poland, comprehending Pomerania, the Baltic coast where Dantzic now stands, the marshy plains where the Borussi or Prussians settled themselves (long held as a fief of Poland by the Teutonic Knights, afterwards Dukes of Brandenburg, and now constituting part of the Prussian kingdom), the duchy of Mazovia where Warsaw was founded, and all that region which constitutes, so to say, the kernel and elemental portion of Poland. The third was Little Poland, including the district of which Cracow was the chief city, Galicia, and Red Russia (the term *Red* seeming to signify Russia *par excellence*). In the Russian lands were comprised Podolia, the two Volhynias, the Ukraine, and other rich and fertile provinces stretching far away to the frontiers of Hungary, Moldavia, and Bessarabia. The fourth was Lithuanian Poland, containing the great duchy of that name, Courland, Semigallas, and White and Black Russia. The people who occupied this vast territory, which may be computed at about a third part of Europe, found in their simple attachment to their native customs and traditions a connecting bond. If Poland became gradually dismembered, it was not that elements of repulsion and decomposition existed in the several nations which made up its unity. In spite of all its disorders, a public spirit swayed it as a whole towards common ends. Its frontiers became gradually restricted as surrounding nations seized and retained its border provinces, but the Poland

of early times was such as we have described, and such, pretty nearly, it was again under Jagello, only five centuries ago. It is true that, like all the nations in process of formation during the middle ages, Poland, under the dynasty of the Piasts, was usually broken up into many fragments. Boleslas's descendants ruled as dukes over different portions of what had formed a united kingdom under that great man : it was a period of much internal contention ; but at the beginning of the fourteenth century the unity was restored by Ladislas Loketek, or " the Short," a truly patriotic sovereign, to whom Poland owed, as it were, a new existence. The Teutonic Order was called by Poland at the beginning of the thirteenth century to assist in effecting the submission of the Prussian tribes which occupied the shores of the Baltic to the east of the Vistula, with the understood condition that the conquests made should be equally divided. These knights, having undertaken the conversion and subjugation of the pagans, accomplished their work by means of fire and sword, and then turned their arms against Poland, which they sought to deprive of Pomerania, lying west of the Vistula. Long and terrible wars took place with these fierce, greedy, and ambitious knights, who often drew down upon themselves Papal excommunication for their excesses. It is well known how, in 1525, the last Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, apostatized to the Lutheran heresy, and married ; and how, the Order being then secularized, that portion of modern Prussia which occupies the eastern bank of the Vistula was erected into a duchy, owing feudal homage to Poland, and reversible to its dominion in case of the failure of male heirs. All the rest of Prussia, that is to say, Polish Pomerania, remained under the sway of Poland down to 1772 ; and although the independence of the duchy of Prussia was recognized by Poland in 1657, it never accorded its sovereign the title of King until 1762, upon which occasion a letter of thanks (still extant), containing oaths of gratitude and protestations of attachment to the republic,* was written by Frederick II., on which the transaction of 1772 forms a strange commentary.

As for the Ukraine, of which Kief was the capital, it formed in the fourteenth century a portion of the grand duchy of Lithuania. The Lithuanians were descendants, it would appear, of the ancient Heruli, and were a race allied to the Prussians and Courlanders. We first hear of them in the eleventh century, when S. Bruno was martyred by them. These fierce pagans,

* It is hardly necessary to observe that Poland, although ruled by kings, always preserved its title of Republic.

emerging from their forests, conquered a large portion of the Baltic coast. Many of the Russian dukes, weakened by contests with the Tartars, submitted to them. Lithuania and all its dependencies were peaceably united to Poland by the marriage of Jagello with Hedwige in 1386, and, with the exception of Kief and a portion of the Ukraine ceded to Muscovite Russia after an unsuccessful war in 1678, formed an integral portion of the republic until the fatal epoch of 1772. This memorable union forms an era in Polish history: the consolidation thus effected became the source and formed the basis of the subsequent national greatness and power, while the same unvarying spirit of patriotism and of religious self-sacrifice which we have noticed as Poland's characteristic, attended and consecrated it in the person of its young sovereign. No portion of the ancient Polish commonwealth has become more thoroughly identified with and taken up into the national body than Lithuania; and no portion thereof is suffering more cruelly from the present iniquitous persecution. It became a true constituent member of Poland by its free union with that nation, a union which was cemented by its simultaneous admission into the Christian family. The rude, unsophisticated children of the North, despite their practical insubordination, beheld in their chief the impersonation—the summing up, as it were—of all authorities, social and political. The baptism of the monarch was, therefore, commonly, an initiatory national act, followed and confirmed by his people: “himself believed, and his whole house.”

We have described the limits of ancient Poland,* but before proceeding to our immediate topic, the sacrifice of Hedwige, we will stop a moment to inquire what was the origin of Muscovite Russia, and to compare the spirit of the two nations, as well as to offer some general remarks on the evils which resulted to Poland through a temporary deviation from the principles on which her genuine Catholic nationality was founded. This can hardly be viewed as a digression, so intimately are the cause of Poland and the pretensions of Russia united in our minds, and specially at the present moment; and so essentially is Poland's cause a religious one. With what justice, then, could the Dukes or Czars of Muscovy claim to be the representatives of the ancient Dukes of Russia or Ruthenia?

We may notice, by the way, that this very title of Czar is

* For an accurate view of this subject, we would refer our readers to a paper in the *Correspondant* of May, 1863, by M. de Noailles, to which we are indebted for many of our details.

said to have originated in the faulty spelling of the appellation *Kniaz*, or Duke, common to the great dukes of Russia. Peter the Great, so called, it has been asserted, jumped at the error of a copyist, by virtue of which he became a Kaiser or Emperor; but this is clearly a mistake. Ivan IV., commonly known as "the Terrible," undoubtedly bore the title of Czar, which is equivalent to that of Emperor, whatever may be the original derivation of the title—a question which has never been satisfactorily solved. We find it occasionally applied, even at an earlier date, to the Dukes of Muscovy, along with that of Autocrat; but Ivan IV. is generally regarded as the first Czar. Nay, we have documentary evidence that he sought for himself, and for the high title he claimed, ecclesiastical consecration. A diploma long buried in the archives of Moscow, and first published, though in an imperfect state, in 1850, has brought this curious fact to light.* The document is the more remarkable as it contains an open profession by the Patriarch and bishops of the schismatical Greek Church that to the Pope (whom they style Patriarch of Rome), and to the Patriarch of Constantinople, the new Rome, belongs the exclusive privilege of crowning emperors and proclaiming their dignity legitimate in the name of God. Not the clergy alone, but Ivan IV. himself confessed that this privilege pertained to the See of Rome, to which, we may observe, the first place is given, as the original fountain of a power which is claimed for Constantinople only by participation. So anxious, indeed, were the Russian Czars to obtain the confirmation of their dignity from the Holy See, and so imperfectly satisfied were they by the full sanction of their own "ecumenical patriarch," that for a hundred years they persisted in soliciting its recognition from the Popes, who accorded the desired title at last to Peter the Great, having always persevered until that time in styling these sovereigns only Grand Dukes of Moscow. These great dukes of Muscovy had always been distinguished by a special ambition for grandiose titles: Michael Federovitch, in addition to other pompous claims, styled himself King of Germany and Emperor of the whole North.

The race which occupied the region included between the valley of the Elbe and that of the Dnieper was purely Slavonic in its origin. In the second half of the ninth century, Scandinavian adventurers landed on the coasts of Finland, and, spreading themselves over the whole eastern

* Cardinal Pitra, having personally examined the archives of Moscow, has taken an accurate copy of this document.—See *Civiltà Cattolica*, June 18th of this year.

portion of the territory of the Slaves, by violence or fraud imposed their dominion on the tribes settled in that region. These Normans were known throughout the East as Varangians, but the particular tribe which invaded Finland derived its name of Russians from the province of Rosslagen in Sweden, from whence they came. The country conquered by them was accordingly called Russia, or the Russias; but the great bulk of the population remained Slavonic—much as in England the Saxon element prevailed in the admixture resulting from the Norman Conquest. When fresh relays of barbarians ceased to arrive from the north, the fierce, rude Norman princes, ever in bloody strife amongst each other—a strife in which the people took no interest—sought their auxiliaries amongst the savage tribes of the Asiatic border; just as, later, the Dukes of Moscow made use of the Tartars in their western aggressions. But they themselves were first to feel the weight of Tartar rule. In the thirteenth century the Moguls took and burnt Kief. For two centuries and a half these barbarians were the scourge of eastern Europe. The Russian state founded by Norman pirates fell into complete dissolution, and the greater portion, following its Slavonian affinities, was finally united, at the close of the fourteenth century, with the great Slave republic, Poland. It was but the reconstitution of an old unity. One portion, however—and just that portion where the Varangian Russians had established their dominion over tribes of a different race, an Asiatic people settled on the banks of the Volga, and not belonging to the Aryan stock—was to form the nucleus of a new Russian state—a Russia, Asiatic in its origin and in its character. The principality of Souzdal and Vladimir—better known by its later name of Muscovy—was the initial germ of this empire. There, and neither at Kief nor at Novogorod, is its birthplace to be sought. Nay, the princes of Souzdal were long the scourge and pest of their Russian neighbours; and though they succeeded for a brief space in gaining possession of Kief, which they devastated with pagan ferocity, the beginning of the thirteenth century saw them once more confined within the limits of their own Asiatic dominions on the Volga. When the Tartar hordes, under Genghis Khan, invaded Europe, instead of joining the other Russian princes in resisting the flood of barbarism, they submitted, became feudatories of the Moguls, fought under their banners against the Ruthenians, and often made themselves the instruments of their own tyrants' cruelty.* Long

* The inhabitants of Novogorod having refused to pay an impost to the Tartars, the Duke of Souzdal repaired to the place and cut off the noses and ears of all the chief inhabitants.

years of subjection to Asiatic despots deepened in the Muscovites the Asiatic stamp. There is no ignominious act of subserviency to which their sovereigns did not stoop; and the abject submission exacted from them, they of course, in their turn, extorted from their own subjects. What wonder, then, if, when the Grand Dukes of Moscow shook off the Tartar yoke in the fifteenth century, they should have come forth from their two hundred years of servitude, imbued with the genius of the Tartars, and animated by the spirit of Eastern despots? We shall see how utterly opposed is this character to that which the Slavonic race, of which the Poles are the true representatives, pre-eminently exhibited. Be it noted—for with the history of the Muscovites we have here no farther concern—that, when relieved from their bondage, they did not possess one inch of the ancient Slave territory.

Far different, in their free spirit, were even the Ruthenian, as compared with the Muscovite population: the former governed by Norman law, with its pecuniary penalties; the latter subjected to Oriental rule, with its barbarous punishments—criminals being often buried alive, or left to die with their heads alone above ground—their very princes degraded by corporal chastisement and the infliction of the vile knout, the disgraceful invention of which we Europeans are glad to throw back on its true authors, the Moguls. But if the spirit of Norman law was foreign in its character to the semi-Asiatic despotism of Muscovy, much more were the spirit and institutions of the pure Slavonic races repugnant thereto. An intense love of liberty and of their nationality has ever characterized the Poles: they inherit it from their ancestors. This spirit has nothing in it of the rude, the fierce, or the combative. The Polish character is excitable, but humane and forgiving; intrepid, but gentle; frank and disinterested; easy and tolerant even to imprudence; “wise” only “after loss,” as a national proverb has it. Often, indeed, has the carelessness of this people lost what their valour had won. There is no taint of grasping covetousness in their nature, which is liberal and hospitable even to magnificence and profusion. There is no touch of the love of domineering in their lofty and independent spirit—tenacious and unforgetful of its own rights, but respectful and forbearing towards those of others.

The Slavonic races had never passed under Latin rule. In the West of Europe the domination of pagan Rome left an ineffaceable impression upon the legislation and political and social forms of the nations which for so many years were subjected to it. The Church, while engaged in her work of civilization, was forced to content herself with modifying

many of the institutions which she found, and imbuing them with the Christian spirit. Slavery, for instance, which it would have been impossible at once to eradicate, was gradually transformed into serfdom ; and it was long before every vestige of this mildest form of bondage was extinguished. But to the Slavonic races slavery was unknown. When they issued from their primeval forests, we find them distinguished by simple, rustic manners, and a primitive, almost fraternal equality. Christianity consecrated and elevated principles of which they may be said to have had the natural germ. In embracing the Gospel, there was no need for transaction or accommodation with existing customs and complicated adverse institutions. There was a peculiar affinity and preparation for the Evangelical law, and it was consequently taken up all the more intimately into the political and social constitution. A thousand years before the pretended discoveries of 1789, Poland enjoyed all that is true and susceptible of a Christian interpretation in those famous "Principles." She was a Christian democratic republic, or rather, an agglomeration of republics—a vast association of possessors of land ; for, strange to say, the very notion of property, as distinguished from possession, was foreign to the Slavonic ideas ; but that possession was unburdened : the peasant held his land with the same franchises and the same immunities as the noble. The feudal Teutonic element was absent equally with the Latin forms. Utterly opposed, also, was Polish republicanism to its modern synonym, not only in the absence of all centralization, but in the remarkably independent action of all its integral parts ; and, so far from this peculiarity leading to disruption, we find that, so long as this order of things prevailed, the national unity was preserved, in which all had an equal interest, and of which all reaped the benefits.

History chiefly records the disturbances of public order : it is not to be wondered at, then—considering also our imperfect acquaintance with the history itself—that the early Christian *civilization* of Poland—civilization being here taken in its true and highest sense—is a fact very generally unnoticed. Her conversion was late, as compared with that of western Christendom ; but her system, political and social, was much sooner interpenetrated, and more thoroughly moulded, by the Christian spirit. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, we find that a retrograde process had begun, which was to bear bitter fruits. We are met by heresy, serfdom, and pagan institutions in free and Christian Poland. They were all of foreign importation, and were practically, as they are logically, connected. We have adverted to the easy, hospitable, and

tolerant disposition of the Poles : it was this disposition, and no heretical leaning in that Catholic people, which rendered Poland the asylum for every heretic and misbeliever. Originating no heresy herself, she received and harboured all. The Hussite, Socinian, Jew, infidel—all alike found a home and a tacit welcome amongst this kindly and unsuspecting people. This toleration, doubtless, sprang mainly from a careless but generous feeling, and was excusable, moreover, from other causes, amongst which we must reckon as foremost the want of intimate relations between the clergy and the Holy See. It is Peter who confirms his brethren, and makes them faithful and zealous watchmen. We cannot, however, agree with the writer the title of whose work heads this article, and who seems to belong to a party which endeavours to join a fervent admiration of the “modern liberties” with loyal Catholicism, in a commendation of this early tolerance on the part of the Polish nation. He himself is too candid and truthful a historian not to allow, and indeed maintain, that its effects were most disastrous ; and, to escape the natural conclusion, he attempts to draw a distinction between heretics and heretics ; the one class, whom he appears to consider comparatively harmless in their influence on the social state, only seeking to *reform*, the other *denying*, the doctrines of Christianity. But this distinction, surely, is futile, impossible in application, and false in principle. Every heretic denies *some* truth ; and, what is more, we know that his descendants will, in all probability, push their negations farther. The amount of denial is a matter of degree, which may fairly affect our judgment of individuals who have inherited their heretical belief, but cannot be taken as a justification of the voluntary admission of heretics to settle and to multiply amongst an exclusively Catholic population.

The loss of freedom by the lower classes must be traced in a great measure to this cause. In the first place, the nobles were favoured by the dissidents, who lent them their support in order to win political rights for themselves. Gradually the nobles assumed the position of a caste, intrenched on the liberty of the burgesses and peasants, and obtained that overweening preponderance so fatal in the end to their country’s interests. Moreover, Poland was blessed with laws infinitely superior to those of the nations where feudalism and serfdom prevailed, laws which had sprung partly from the peculiarity of the original formation and genius of the nation, but still more from the circumstance of its having been submitted to the action of Christianity, in entire freedom from all the social traditions of a developed pagan constitution. With the admission into her bosom of sects based more or less on

the denial of her constitutive basis, Christianity, what wonder that we find a corresponding development of pagan ideas and principles? Hussites, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Socinians, &c., &c., agreed but in one point—the enslaving of the people—and threw their whole weight and influence, as in Germany, into the scale of the dominant power. Catholics were seduced to second this unhappy reaction, and many causes combined in the same direction. Down to the fifteenth century, although the privileges of the nobles had increased, the inferior classes still retained their immunities, as we find from contracts between Lewis of Hungary (the father of Hedwige) and his subjects. The peasants (*kmetons*), designated as *iobajions* (the Hungarian term for free citizens), are comprehended in the charter of privileges guaranteed to the nobles. Agriculture, reckoned in the rest of Europe at that time as a servile occupation, was in Poland accounted an honourable profession. Again, in 1453, we find Casimir Jagello confirming the privileges of the Polish people to all classes of the community. The first attack upon the liberties of the peasant is contemporary with the spread of the Hussite heresy; and as sectarians of every denomination crowded into Poland and settled there, favoured, as we have said, by the carelessness or mistaken hospitality of an imprudent people, the chains from which centuries of Catholicism had just well nigh succeeded in loosing the bondsmen of the West, began to be riveted on the free tillers of Poland's soil. Their rights, first limited, were all at last withdrawn. They were burdened with imposts; and their representatives, as well as those of the burgesses, who had always sat both in the Provincial Assemblies and in the General Diets, were deprived of all share in the national legislation and municipal administration. With the spread of Socinianism, doctrines most repulsive to Christianity gained acceptance amongst the nobility, who openly proclaimed their absolute right over their peasantry, now tethered to the soil. They gave them the opprobrious name of *chlop*, the refuse of the earth, and asserted a right of killing them at pleasure, *like so many dogs*; the comparison, be it observed, being literally their own. As there was nothing in Polish law to sanction this assault on the liberties of the people, recourse was had to Roman law, so great a favourite with despots. In far earlier times, kings, even in free Poland, had felt instinctive longings to introduce this jurisprudence, based on pagan principles, but the nobles in those days resisted with all their might, and successfully resisted. Now they invoked in their own favour what they had then repelled in self-defence. Along with Roman law the governing classes were seized

with a positive passion for the institutions, names, and language of classical times. Nowhere was this mania carried to so ridiculous, so incredible a length. Idolatrous Rome seemed reconstituted in all its forms, bringing with them the fatal canker of slavery. Before us we see two races: one noble and free, absorbing all rights, political and social; the other possessing absolutely nothing, not even its personal liberty. Humanity had gone back sixteen centuries. Even the old pagan law which gave the father power of life and death over the members of his family was reintroduced. M. Chev  remarks that this resuscitation of paganism was peculiarly pernicious in Poland, because it may be said to have been introduced in the character of a heresy, substituting itself for a hitherto Christian organization.

By the importation of heresy in doctrine, Poland lost her Christian unity; and by that of paganism in law and constitution, she lost her political and social unity, and her principle of cohesion. She awoke in time to retrace her steps, and ward off for another three hundred years the threatening dissolution, nay, to assume an externally flourishing aspect. The first reaction was against the first wrong step—it was in favour of Catholicism. At the diet of Lublin, held in the middle of the sixteenth century, the heretics had obtained a recognition of equal political rights. Their incorrigible turbulence, however, which had inflicted such untold miseries on Poland, led, a century later, to laws obliging Socinians or Anabaptists to evacuate the country, as well as to other resolutions limiting the exercise of regal power to Catholics, and, later again, excluding dissidents from seats in the Diet. Thus necessity at last led to the adoption in tolerant Poland of the repressive system, so much at a discount in modern opinion: a circumstance which may serve to prove that the anti-social and aggressive character of the sects was inherent in the spirit of religious revolt, and was not forced upon them by persecution, as some allege in justification of their violence elsewhere.

An extraordinary revival of devotion, owing in a large measure to the labours of the Jesuits, took place at the same time, together with innumerable conversions from the schismatic and heretical bodies. Pious pilgrimages multiplied, especially to the favoured sanctuary of Poland's adopted Queen, Our Lady of Czenstochova.* The land of S. Stanislas reasserted her Catholicism, political paganism

* The Diet, in gratitude for the great victory achieved at Our Lady's of Czenstochova, in 1655, proclaimed the Blessed Virgin Queen of Poland.

disappeared, and once more religious faith and patriotism were united and, so to say, identified.

The wretched state of the peasantry was an evil which resisted the reaction much more obstinately than heresy. From the very commencement of the favourable turn, their cause was taken in hand by the clergy, but too many influences and interests were at that time dominant for them to meet with much hearty co-operation. It is not till a century later that these efforts bore fruit in the domain of facts. The process of enfranchisement was, however, unfortunately arrested by Russia, who saw in it the salvation of Poland; nevertheless, Divine Providence seems to have permitted this generous people to repair their fault previous to their extinction as an independent nation, and the inviolability of the peasants' freedom and of their rights of property was proclaimed by the constitution of 1791. It was too late.

We must not allow ourselves to be tempted to do more than thus briefly advert to the original causes of Poland's misfortunes, and the recovery of her ancient Catholic spirit, to which we look hopefully as the agent of her ultimate resurrection as a nation. Our immediate theme carries us back to the days of her prosperity, and to that peaceful union with Lithuania which contributed so much to her future grandeur and security, the cementing bond of which was the conversion of a pagan people to Christianity, and the price paid, the heroic self-sacrifice of her young queen Hedwige.

Hedwige was the youngest daughter of Lewis, nephew and successor to Casimir the Great, who, on account of the preference he evinced for his Hungarian subjects, drew upon himself the continued ill-will of the nation he was called upon to govern. Finding he was unable to cope with the numerous factions everywhere ready to oppose him, he, not without many humiliating concessions to the nobles of Poland, induced them to elect as his successor his daughter Maria, wife of Sigismund, Marquis of Brandenburg (afterwards Emperor), and having appointed the Duke of Oppelen regent of the kingdom, retired to his native Hungary, unwilling to relinquish the shadow of the sceptre which continually evaded his grasp.

On his death, which happened in 1382, Poland became the theatre of intestine disorders fomented by the turbulent nobles, who, notwithstanding the allegiance they had sworn to the Princess Maria, refused to allow her even to enter the kingdom. Sigismund was not, however, inclined thus easily to forego his wife's claims; and as the Lord of Mazovia at the same time

aspired to the vacant throne, many of the provinces became so desolated by civil war that the leaders of the adverse factions threw down their arms, and simultaneously agreed to offer the crown to the Princess Hedwige, then residing in Hungary under the care of her mother Elizabeth. By no means approving of a plan which thus unceremoniously excluded her eldest daughter from the throne, the Queen Dowager endeavoured to oppose injustice by policy. Hedwige was at the time only fourteen years of age, and the deputies were informed that, as the princess was too young to undertake the heavy responsibilities of sovereignty, her brother-in-law Sigismund must act in her stead until such time as she herself should be considered capable of assuming the reins of government. This stratagem did not succeed; the Duke was not allowed to cross the frontiers of Poland, and Elizabeth found herself compelled to part with her daughter, if she would not see the crown placed on the brow of whomever the Diet might elect.

Now commenced the trials of the young Hedwige, who was thus early called upon to exercise those virtues of heroic fortitude, patient endurance, and self-denial which rendered her life a sort of continual martyrdom, a sacrifice daily offered up at the shrines of religion and patriotism. At the early age of four years she had been affianced to William Duke of Austria, who, in accordance with the custom of the times, had been educated in Hungary; his affection for his betrothed growing with his growth, and increasing with his years. Ambition had no charms for Hedwige; her fervent piety, shrinking modesty, and feminine timidity sought to conceal, not only her extraordinary beauty, but those rare mental endowments of which she was possessed. Bitter were the tears shed by this gentle girl, when her mother, alarmed at the menaces of the Polish nobles, informed her she must immediately depart for Cracow, under the protection of Cardinal Demetrius, Bishop of Strigonia, who was pledged to deliver her into the hands of those whom she was disposed to regard rather as her masters than as her subjects. There had been one stipulation made, which, had she been aware of its existence, would have added a sharper pang to the already poignant anguish of Hedwige: the Poles required that their young sovereign should marry only with the consent of the Diet, and that her husband should not only reside constantly in Poland, but pledge himself never to attempt to render that country dependent on any other power. Although aware of the difficulties thus thrown in the way of her union with Duke William, her mother had subscribed to these conditions;

and Hedwige, having been joyfully received by the prelates and nobles of her adopted country, was solemnly crowned in the Cathedral of Cracow, October 15, 1385, being the festival of her patron, S. Hedwige. Her youth, loveliness, grace, and intellectual endowments won from the fierce chieftains an enthusiastic affection which had been denied to the too yielding Lewis; their national pride was flattered, their loyalty awakened, by the innocent fascinations of their young sovereign, and they almost sought to defer the time which, in her husband, would necessarily give them a ruler of sterner mould. Nor was Hedwige undeserving of the exalted station she had been compelled to fill: a worthy descendant of the sainted Lewis, her every word and action was marked by a gravity and maturity which bore witness to the supernatural motives and heavenly wisdom by which it was inspired; and yet, in the silence of her chamber, many were the tears she shed over the memory of ties severed, she feared, for ever. Amongst the earliest candidates for her hand was Ziemovit, Duke of Mazovia, already mentioned as one of the competitors for the crown after the death of her father; but the Poles, still smarting from the effects of his unbridled ambition, dismissed his messengers with a refusal couched in terms of undisguised contempt. The question of her marriage once agitated, the mind of Hedwige naturally turned to him on whom her heart was unalterably fixed, and whom from her childhood she had been taught to consider as her future husband; but an alliance with the house of Austria formed no part of Polish policy, and neither the wishes nor the entreaties of their queen could induce the Diet to entertain the idea for a moment; in short, their whole energy was employed in bringing about a union which, however disagreeable to the young sovereign, was likely to be in every way advantageous to the country and favourable to the interests of religion.

Jagello, the pagan duke of Lithuania, was from his proximity and the extent of his possessions (comprising Samogitia and a large portion of Russia*) a formidable enemy to Poland. Fame was not slow in wafting to his ears rumours of the beauty and accomplishments of Hedwige, which being more than corroborated by ambassadors employed to ascertain the truth, the impetuous Jagello determined to secure the prize, even at the cost of national independence. The idolatry of the Lithuanians and the early betrothal of Hedwige to Duke William were the chief obstacles with which he had to contend; but,

* The territories, as we have noticed, of many of the Russian or Ruthenian dukes which were conquered by the Lithuanian pagans.

after a brief deliberation, an embassy was despatched, headed by Skirgello, brother to the grand-duke, and bearing the most costly presents; Jagello himself being with difficulty dissuaded from accompanying them in person. The envoys were admitted into the presence of the council, at which the queen herself presided, and the prince proceeded to lay before the astonished nobles the offers of the barbarian suitor, offers too tempting to be weighed in the balance against such a trifle as a girl's happiness, or the violation of what these overbearing politicians were pleased to term a mere childish engagement, contracted before the parties were able to judge for themselves. After a long harangue, in which Skirgello represented how vainly the most illustrious potentates and the most powerful rulers had hitherto endeavoured to effect the conversion of Lithuania, he offered as "a tribute to the charms of the queen," that Jagello and his brothers, together with the princes, lords, and people of Lithuania and Samogitia, should at once embrace the Catholic faith; that all the Christian captives should be restored unransomed; and *the whole of their extensive dominions be incorporated with Poland*; the grand-duke also pledging himself to reconquer for that country Pomerania, Silesia, and whatever other territories had been torn from Poland by neighbouring states; and, finally, promising to make good to the Poles the sum of two hundred thousand florins, which had been sent to William of Austria as the dowry forfeited by the non-fulfilment of the engagement entered into by their late king Lewis. A murmur of applause at this unprecedented generosity ran through the assembly; the nobles hailed the prospect of so unlooked-for an augmentation of national power and security; and the bishops could not but rejoice at the prospect of rescuing so many souls from the darkness of heathenism, and securing at one and the same time the propagation of the Catholic faith and the peace of Poland. But the queen herself shared not these feelings of satisfaction: no sooner had Skirgello ceased than she started from her seat, cast a hasty glance round the assembly, and, as if reading her fate in the countenances of the nobles, buried her face in her hands and burst into a flood of tears. All attempts to soothe and pacify her were vain: in a strain of passionate eloquence which was not without its effect, she pleaded her affection for Duke William, the sacred nature of the engagement by which she was pledged to become his wife, pointed to the ring on her finger, and reminded an aged prelate who had accompanied her from Hungary, that he had himself witnessed their being laid in the same cradle at the ceremony of their betrothal. It was impossible to

behold unmoved the anguish of so gentle a creature ; not a few of the younger chieftains espoused the cause of their sovereign ; and, at the urgent solicitation of Hedwige, it was finally determined that the Lithuanian ambassadors, accompanied by three Polish nobles, should repair to Buda for the purpose of consulting her mother, the Queen of Hungary.

But Elizabeth, though inaccessible to the temptations of worldly ambition, was too pious, too self-denying, to allow maternal affection to preponderate over the interests of religion. Aware that the betrothal of her daughter to the Duke of Austria had never been renewed from the time of their infancy, she, without a moment's hesitation, replied that, for her own part, she desired nothing, but that the queen ought to sacrifice every human feeling for the glory of Christianity, and the welfare of Poland. To Hedwige herself she wrote affectionately, though firmly, bidding her lay every natural inclination at the foot of the cross, and desiring her to praise that God who had chosen so unworthy an instrument as the means by which the pure splendour of Catholicity should penetrate the darkness of Lithuania and the other pagan nations. Elizabeth was aware of the real power of religion over the mind of her child, and doubted not but that, after the first paroxysm of grief had subsided, she should be able to overcome by its means the violence of her daughter's repugnance to the proposed measure. In order to give a colour of impartiality to their proceedings, a diet was convoked at Cracow, immediately on the return of the embassy, to deliberate on the relative claims of Jagello, William of Austria, and the Dukes of Mazovia and Oppelen ; all of whom aspired to the hand of Hedwige and the crown of Poland. The discussion was long and stormy, for amongst those nobles more immediately around the queen's person there were many, including a large body of ecclesiastics, who, although convinced that no lawful impediment existed to the marriage, yet shrank from the cruelty of uniting the gentle princess to a barbarian ; and these failed not to insist upon the insult which would be implied by such a choice to the native Catholic princes. The majority, however, were of a different opinion, and at the close of the diet it was decided that an ambassador should be despatched to Jagello, inviting him to Cracow for the purpose of continuing the negotiations in his own person.

But William of Austria was too secure in the justice of his cause and the affection of his betrothed to resign his pretensions without an effort ; and his ardour being by no means diminished by a letter which he received from the queen herself, imploring him to hasten to her assistance, he placed

himself at the head of a numerous retinue, and, with a treasure by which he hoped to purchase the goodwill of the adverse faction, appeared so suddenly at Cracow as to deprive his opponents of their self-possession. The determination of Hedwige to unite herself to the object of her early and deep affection was loudly expressed; and as there were many powerful leaders—among others, Gniewosz, Vice-chamberlain of Cracow—who espoused her cause, and rallied round Duke William, the Polish nobles, not daring openly to oppose their sovereign, were on the point of abandoning the cause of Jagello; when Dobeslas, Castellain of Cracow, one of the staunchest supporters of the Lithuanian alliance, resolved at any risk to prevent the meeting of the lovers, and actually went so far as to refuse the young prince admission into the castle, where the queen at the time was residing, not only drawing his sword, but dragging the duke with him over the drawbridge, which he commanded to be immediately lowered. William, thus repulsed, fixed his quarters at the Franciscan monastery; and Hedwige, fired by the insult, rode forth accompanied by a chosen body of knights and her female attendants, determined by the completion of her marriage to place an insuperable bar between her and Jagello.

In the refectory of the monastery, the queen and the prince at length met; and, after several hours spent in considering how best to avert the separation with which they were threatened, it was arranged that William should introduce himself privately into the castle of Cracow, where they were to be united by the queen's confessor. Some time elapsed before this plan could be carried into execution; for although even Dobeslas hesitated to confine his sovereign within her own palace, the castle gates were kept shut against the entrance of the Duke of Austria. Exasperated at this continued opposition, and her affection augmented by the presence of its object, from whom the arrival, daily expected, of Jagello would divide her for ever, Hedwige determined to admit the prince disguised as one of her household; and a day was accordingly fixed for the execution of this romantic project. By some means or other the whole plan came to the knowledge of the vigilant Castellain; the adventurous prince was seized in a passage leading to the royal apartments, loaded with insult, and driven from the palace, within the walls of which the queen now found herself a prisoner. It was in vain she wept, and implored to be allowed to see her betrothed once more, if only to bid him farewell; her letters were intercepted, her attendants became spies on her movements, and, on the young prince presenting himself before the gates, his life was threatened by

the barons who remained within the fortress. This was too much ; alarmed for her lover's safety, indignant at the restraint to which she was subjected, the passion of the girl triumphed over the dignity of the sovereign. Quitting her apartment, she hurried to the great gate, which, as she apprehended, was secured in such a manner as to baffle all her efforts ; trembling with fear, and eager only to effect her escape, she called for a hatchet, and, raising it with both hands, repeatedly struck the locks and bolts that prevented her egress. The childish simplicity of the attempt, the agony depicted in the beautiful and innocent countenance of their mistress, so touched the hearts of the rude soldiery, that, but for their dread of the nobles, Hedwige would through their means have effected her purpose. As it was, they offered no opposition, but stood in mournful and respectful silence ; when the venerable Demetrius, grand-treasurer of the kingdom, approached, and, falling on his knees, implored her to be calm, and to sacrifice her own happiness, if not to the wishes of her subjects and the welfare of her country, at least to the interests of religion. At the sight of that aged man, whose thin white hairs and sorrowful countenance inspired both reverence and affection, the queen paused, and, giving him her hand, burst into an agony of tears ; then, hurrying to her oratory, she threw herself on the ground before an image of the Blessed Virgin, where, after a sharp interior conflict, she succeeded in resigning herself to what she now believed to be the will of God—embracing for His sake the heavy cross which she was to bear for the remainder of her life.

Meanwhile Duke William, to escape the vengeance of the wrathful barons, was compelled to quit Poland, leaving his now useless wealth in the charge of the Vice-chamberlain, who still apparently continued his friend. Not long after his departure, Jagello at the head of a numerous army, and attended by his two brothers, crossed the frontiers, determined, as it seemed, to prosecute his suit. At the first rumour of his approach, the most powerful and influential among the nobles repaired to Cracow, where prayers, remonstrances, and even menaces were employed to induce the queen to accept the hand of the barbarian prince. But to all their eloquence Hedwige turned a deaf ear : in vain did agents, despatched for the purpose, represent the duke as handsome in person, princely and dignified in manner ; her conscience was troubled, duty had enlisted on the same side as feeling, and the contest again commenced. Setting inclination aside, how dared she break the solemn compact she had made with the Duke of Austria ? She persisted in regarding her proposed marriage

with Jagello as nothing short of an act of criminal infidelity; and, independently of the affliction of her heart, her soul became a prey to the most violent remorse. To obtain the consent of Duke William to their separation was of course out of the question; and before the puzzled council could arrive at any decision, Jagello entered Cracow, more in the style of a conqueror than a suitor, and repaired at once to the castle, where he found the queen surrounded by a court surpassing in beauty and magnificence all that his imagination had pictured. Pale as she was from the intensity of her sufferings, he was dazzled, almost bewildered, by the childlike innocence and winning loveliness of Hedwige; and his admiration was expressed the following day by the revenues of a province being laid at her feet in the shape of jewels and robes of the most costly description. But the queen was more obdurate than ever. With her knowledge and consent, Duke William had returned to Cracow, though compelled to resort to a variety of disguises to escape the fury of the barons, now determined to put an end to his pretensions and his existence together; and it is said that, in order to avoid his indefatigable enemy Dobeslas, he was once compelled to seek refuge in a large chimney. Forced eventually to quit the capital without seeing Hedwige, he still loitered in the environs; nor did he return to Austria until her marriage with Jagello terminated those hopes which he had cherished from his earliest infancy. In order to quiet the queen's religious scruples, a letter is said to have arrived from Rome, in which, after pronouncing that the early betrothal involved no impediment to the marriage, the Holy Father placed before her the merits of the offering she was called upon to make; reminding her of the torments so cheerfully suffered by the early martyrs for the honour of God, and calling upon her to imitate their example. This statement, however, is not sufficiently authenticated.

After the severest interior trials, days spent in tears, fasting, and the most earnest petitions to the throne of Divine grace, the queen received strength to consummate the sacrifice demanded from her. Naturally ardent and impulsive, and at an age when every sentiment is freshest and most keen, she was called upon to extirpate from her heart an affection not only deep but legitimate, to inflict a wound on the object of her tenderest love, and, finally, to transfer her devotion to one whom she had hitherto regarded with feelings of unqualified aversion. The path of highest, because self-sacrificing duty, once clear before her, she determined to act with generosity towards a God from whom she had received so much: her beauty, talents, the

virtues with which she was adorned, were so many precious gifts to be placed at the disposal of Him by whom they had been bestowed. Covering herself with a thick black veil, she proceeded on foot to the Cathedral of Cracow, and, repairing to one of the side chapels, threw herself on her knees, where for three hours, with clasped hands and streaming eyes, she wrestled with the violent feeling that struggled in her bosom. At length she rose with a detached heart, having laid at the foot of the cross her affections, her will, her hopes of earthly happiness; offering herself, and all that belonged to her, as a perpetual holocaust to her crucified Redeemer, and esteeming herself happy so that by this sacrifice she might purchase the salvation of those precious souls for whom He had shed His Blood. Before leaving the chapel she cast her veil over the crucifix, hoping under that pall to bury all of human infirmity that might still linger round her heart, and then hastened to establish a foundation for the perpetual renewal of this type of her "soul's sorrow." This foundation yet exists: within the same chapel the crucifix still stands, covered by its sable drapery, being commonly known as *the Crucifix of Hedwige*.

The queen's consent to the Lithuanian alliance endeared her still more to the hearts of her subjects, who regarded her as a martyr to the peace of Poland. On the 14th of February, 1386, her marriage was celebrated with becoming solemnity; Jagello having previously received the sacrament of baptism; shortly afterwards, he was crowned, in the presence of Hedwige, under his Christian name of Wladislas, which he had taken in deference to the wishes of the Poles. The unassuming piety, gentle disposition, and great learning of the young queen commanded at once the respect and admiration of her husband. So great, indeed, was his opinion of her prudence, that, being obliged to march into Upper Poland to crush the rebellion of the Palatine of Posnia, he took her with him in the capacity of mediatrix between himself and the disaffected leaders who had for months desolated that province. This mission of mercy was most acceptable to Hedwige; after the example of the sainted Elizabeth of Hungary, her generosity towards the widows, orphans, and those who had lost their substance in this devastating war, was boundless; whilst ministering to their wants, she failed not, at the same time, to sympathize with their distress; and, like an angel of peace, she would stand between her husband and the objects of his indignation. On one occasion, to supply the necessities of the court, so heavy a contribution had been laid upon the peasants that their cattle did not escape; watching their opportunity, they, with their wives and children, threw them-

selves in the queen's path, filling the air with their cries, and conjuring her to prevent their utter ruin. Hedwige, deeply affected, dismounted from her palfrey, and, kneeling by their side, besought her husband not to sanction so flagrant an act of oppression; and when the satisfied peasants retired fully indemnified for their loss, she is said to have exclaimed, "Their cattle are restored, but who will recompense them for their tears?" Having reduced the country to obedience, it was time for Wladislas to turn his attention to his Lithuanian territories, more especially Russia Nigra, which, although governed by its own princes, was compelled to do homage to the house of Jagello. Pomerania, which by his marriage articles he was pledged to recover for Poland, had been usurped by the Teutonic Knights, who, sensible with how formidable an opponent they had to contend, endeavoured to frustrate his intentions, first by carrying fire and sword into Lithuania, and then by exciting a revolution in favour of Duke Andrew, to whom, as well as to the heathen nobles, the alliance (by which their country was rendered dependent on Poland) was displeasing. Olgerd, the father of Wladislas, was a fierce pagan, and his thirteen sons, if we except the elder, inherited his cruelty, treachery, and rapacity. The promised revolution in religion was offensive to the majority of the people; and, to their shame be it spoken, the Teutonic Knights (whose Order was first established to defend the Christian faith against the assaults of infidels) scrupled not to adopt a crooked policy, and, by inciting the Lithuanians against their sovereign, threw every impediment in the way of their conversion. Before the king had any suspicion of his intentions, the grand-master had crossed the frontiers, the duchy was laid waste, and many important fortresses were already in the hands of the Order.

Wladislas, then absent in Upper Poland, despatched Skirgello into Lithuania, who, though haughty, licentious, and revengeful, was a brave and skilful general. Duke Andrew fled before the forces of his brother, and the latter attacked the Knights with an impetuosity that compelled them speedily to evacuate their conquests. The arrival of the king, with a number of learned prelates and a large body of clergy, proved he was quite in earnest regarding the conversion of his subjects, hitherto immersed in the grossest and most degrading idolatry. Trees, serpents, vipers were the inferior objects of their adoration; gloomy forests and damp caverns their temples; and the most disgusting and venomous reptiles were cherished in every family as household gods. But, as with the eastern Magi, fire was the principal object of the Lithuanian worship; priests were appointed whose office it

was to tend the sacred flame, their lives paying the penalty if it were allowed to expire. At Wilna, the capital of the duchy, was a temple of the sun; and should that luminary chance to be eclipsed, or even clouded, the people fled thither in the utmost terror, eager to appease the deity by rivers of human blood, which poured forth at the command of the Ziutz, or high priest, the victims vying with each other in the severity of their self-inflicted torments.

As the most effectual method of at once removing the errors of this infatuated people, Wladislas ordered the forests to be cut down, the serpents to be crushed under the feet of his soldiers, and, after extinguishing with his own hand the sacred fires, he caused the temples to be demolished; thus demonstrating to the Lithuanians the impotency of their gods. With the cowardice ever attendant on ignorance and superstition, the pagans cast themselves with their faces to the earth, expecting to see the sacrilegious strangers blasted by the power of the profaned element; but, no such results following, they gradually lost confidence in their deities, and of their own free will desired to be instructed in the doctrines of Christ. Their theological knowledge was necessarily confined to the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and a day was fixed for the commencement of the ceremony of baptism. As, on account of the number of catechumens, it was impossible to administer the sacrament to each individual separately, the nobles and their families, after leaving the sacred font, prepared to act as sponsors to the people, who, being divided into groups of either sex, were sprinkled by the bishops and priests, every division receiving the same name.

Hedwige had accompanied her husband to Lithuania, and was gratified by witnessing the zeal with which he assisted the priests in their arduous undertaking; whilst Wladislas, aware of the value of his young auxiliary, was not disappointed by the degree of enthusiastic veneration with which the new Christians regarded the sovereign who, at the age of sixteen, had conferred upon them peace and the light of the true faith. Hedwige was admirably adapted for this task: in her character there was no alloy of passion, pride, or frivolity; an enemy to the luxury and pomp which her sex and rank might have seemed to warrant, her fasts were rigid and her bodily mortifications severe. Neither did her fervour abate during her sojourn in the duchy. By her profuse liberality the Cathedral of S. Stanislas of Wilna was completed. Nor did she neglect the other churches and religious foundations which, by her advice, her husband commenced in the principal cities of his kingdom. Before quitting Lithuania, the queen's heart was

wrung by the intelligence she received of a domestic tragedy of the deepest dye. Her mother, the holy and virtuous Elizabeth of Hungary, had during a popular insurrection been put to a cruel death; whilst her sister Maria, who had fallen into the power of the rebel nobles, having narrowly escaped the same fate, was confined in an isolated fortress, subject to the most rigorous and ignominious treatment.

Paganism being at length thoroughly rooted out of Lithuania, a bishopric firmly established at Wilna, and the seven parishes in its vicinity amply supplied with ecclesiastics, Wladislas, preparatory to his return to Poland, appointed his brother Skirgello viceroy of the duchy. This was a fatal error. The proud barbarians, little disposed to dependence on a country they had been accustomed to despoil at pleasure, writhed under the yoke of the fierce tyrant, whose rule soon became odious, and whose vices were rendered more apparent by the contrast which his character presented to that of his cousin Vitowda, whom, as a check upon his well-known ferocity, Wladislas had designated as his colleague. Scarcely had the court returned to Poland, when the young prince, amiable, brave, and generous, by opposing his cousin's unjust and cruel actions, drew upon himself the vengeance of the latter, and, in order to save his life, was obliged to seek refuge in Pomerania, from whence, as his honour and patriotism alike forbade his assisting the Teutonic Knights in their designs upon his country, he applied to the king for protection.

Wladislas, of a weak and jealous disposition, was, however, at the time too much occupied in attending to foul calumnies uttered against the spotless virtue of his queen to give heed to the application. Notwithstanding the prudence of her general conduct, and the tender devotion evinced by Hedwige towards her husband, the admiration which her beauty and sweetness of disposition commanded from all who approached her was a continual thorn in his side. Her former love for the Duke of Austria and repugnance to himself haunted him night and day, until he actually conceived suspicions injurious to her fidelity. In the polluted atmosphere of a court there were not wanting those who, for their own aggrandisement, were base enough to resort to falsehood in order to destroy an influence at which the wicked alone had cause to tremble. It was whispered in the ear of the unfortunate monarch that his queen had held frequent, and of course clandestine, interviews with Duke William, until, half frantic, he one day publicly reproached her, and, turning to the assembled bishops, wildly demanded a divorce. The proud nobles indignantly interposed,

many a blade rattled in its sheath, eager to vindicate the innocence of one who, in their eyes, was purity itself; but Hedwige calmly arose, and with matronly dignity demanded the name of her accuser, and a solemn trial, according to the custom of her country. There was a dead silence, a pause; and then, trembling and abashed before the virtue he had maligned, the Vice-chamberlain Gniewosz, before mentioned as the friend of Duke William (whose wealth he had not failed to appropriate), stepped reluctantly forward. A murmur of surprise and wrath resounded through the council-chamber; many a sword was drawn, as though eager for the blood of the offender; but, the ecclesiastics having at length calmed the tumult, the case was appointed to be judged at the diet of Wislica.

The queen's innocence was affirmed on oath by herself and her whole household, after which the Castellain, John Tenczynski, with twelve knights of noble blood and unsullied honour, solemnly swore to the falsehood of the accusation, and, throwing down their gauntlets, defied to mortal combat all who should gainsay their assertion. None, however, appeared to do battle in so bad a cause; and the convicted traitor, silenced and confounded, sank on his knees, confessed his guilt, and implored the mercy of her he had so foully aspersed. The senate, in deference to the wishes of Hedwige, spared his life; but he was compelled to crouch under a bench, imitate the barking of a dog and declare that, like that animal, he had dared to snarl against his chaste and virtuous sovereign.* This done, he was deprived of his office, and banished the court; and Wladislas hastened to beg the forgiveness of his injured wife.

Meanwhile Prince Vitowda, despairing of assistance and pressed on all sides, after much hesitation joined the Teutonic Knights in an incursion against Lithuania. The country was invaded by a numerous army, the capital taken by storm, abandoned to pillage, and finally destroyed by fire; no less than fourteen thousand of the inhabitants perishing in the flames, besides numbers who were massacred without dis-

* This was a portion of the punishment specially awarded by the penal code of Poland to the crime of calumny. Like many other punishments of those ages, it was symbolical in its character. (See the valuable work of Albert du Boys, "*Histoire du Droit Criminel des Peuples Modernes*," liv. II. chap. vii.) Similar penalties had been common in Poland from early times. Thus we find Boleslas the Great inviting to a banquet and vapour bath nobles who had been guilty of some transgression; after the bath he administered a paternal reproof and castigation. Hence the Polish proverb, "to give a person a bath."

tion of sex or age. Fortunately the upper city was garrisoned by Poles, who determined to hold out to the last. The slight fortifications were speedily destroyed; but, being immediately repaired, the siege continued so long that Skirgello had time to assemble an army before which the besiegers were eventually obliged to retreat. Vitowda, now too deeply compromised to draw back, though thwarted in his designs on Upper Wilna, gained possession of many of the frontier towns, and, encouraged by success, aimed at nothing less than the independent sovereignty of Lithuania. He was, however, opposed during two or three campaigns by Wladislas in person, until, wearied of the war, the king had the weakness not only to sue for peace, but to invest Vitowda with the government of the duchy. This, as might be expected, gave great umbrage to Skirgello, and to another brother, Swidrigal, so that Lithuania, owing to the ambition of the rival princes, became for some time the theatre of civil discord.

Among her other titles to admiration, we must not omit to mention that Hedwige was a munificent patroness of learning. She hastened to re-establish the college built by Casimir II., founded and endowed a magnificent university at Prague, for the education of the Lithuanian youth, and superintended the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Polish, writing with her own hands greater part of the New Testament. Her work was interrupted during her husband's absence by the attack of the Hungarians on the frontiers of Poland, and it was then that, laying aside the weakness of her sex, she felt herself called upon to supply his place. A powerful army was levied, of which this youthful heroine assumed the command, directing the councils of the generals, and sharing the privations of the meanest soldier. When she appeared on horseback in the midst of the troops, nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of these hardy warriors; and the simplicity with which they obeyed the slightest order of their queen was touching in the extreme. Hedwige led her forces into Russia Nigra, and, partly by force of arms, partly by skilful negotiations, succeeded in reconquering the whole of that vast province, which her father Lewis had detached from the Polish crown in order to unite it to that of his beloved Hungary. This act of injustice was repaired by his daughter, who thus endeared her name to the memory of succeeding generations. The conquering army proceeded to Silesia, then usurped by the Duke of Oppelen, where they were equally successful; so that Wladislas was indebted for the brightest trophies of his reign to the heroism of his wife.

Encouraged by her past success, he determined to reconduct

her into Lithuania, in hopes by her means to settle the dissensions of the rival princes. Accordingly, in the spring of 1393, they proceeded thither, when the disputants, subdued by the irresistible charm of her manners, agreed to refer their claims to her arbitration. Of a solid and mature judgment, Hedwige succeeded in pacifying them; and then, by mutual consent, they entered into a solemn compact that in their future differences, instead of resorting to arms, they would submit their cause unreservedly to the arbitration of the young Queen of Poland.

Notwithstanding its restoration to internal tranquillity, this unfortunate duchy was continually laid waste by the Teutonic Knights; and Wladislas, determined to hazard all on one decisive battle, commanded forces to be levied not only in Lithuania but in Poland. Before the preparations were completed, an interview was arranged to take place between the king and the grand master, Conrad de Jungen, but the nobility, fearing lest the irritable temper of Wladislas would prove an insurmountable obstacle to all accommodation, implored him to allow the queen to supply his place. On his consent, Hedwige, accompanied by the ecclesiastics, the barons, and a magnificent retinue, proceeded to the place of rendezvous, where she was met by Conrad and the principal knight-commanders of the Order. The terms she proposed were equitable, and more lenient than the Teutonic Knights had any reason to expect; but, under one trifling pretext or another, they refused the restitution of the usurped territories on which the king naturally insisted, and the queen was at length obliged to return, prophesying, says the chronicler, that after her death their perversity would receive its deserved punishment at the hands of her husband. Her prediction was fulfilled: some years afterwards, on the plains between Grunnervaldt and Tannenberg, the grand master with fifty thousand knights was slain, and by this decisive victory the Order was placed at the mercy of Poland, though, from the usual indecision of its king, the fruits of this splendid action were less than might have been expected.

Until her early death, Hedwige continued the guardian angel of that beloved country for which she had made her first and greatest sacrifice; and it is likely that but for her watchfulness its interests would have been frequently compromised by the Lithuanian union. Acting on this principle, she refused to recognize the investiture of her husband's favourite, the Palatine of Cracow, with the perpetual fief of Podolia; and, undazzled by the apparent advantages offered by an expedition against the Tartars headed by the great Tamerlane, she

forbade the Polish generals to take part in a campaign which, owing to the rashness of Vitowda, terminated so fatally.

It was shortly after her unsuccessful interview with the Teutonic Knights that, by the death of her sister Maria, the crown of Hungary (which ought to have devolved on her husband Sigismund) became again an object of contention. The Hungarians, attracted by the report of her moderation, wisdom, and even military skill—not an uncommon accomplishment in females of those times—determined to offer it to Hedwige; but her brother-in-law, trusting to her sense of justice, hastened to Cracow, praying her not to accept the proposal, and earnestly soliciting her alliance. The queen, whom ambition had no power to dazzle, consented, and a treaty advantageous to Poland was at once concluded.

Hedwige was a good theologian, and well read in the fathers and doctors of the Church; the works of S. Bernard and S. Ambrose, the Revelations of S. Bridget, and the sermons of holy men, being the works in which she most delighted. In Church music she was an enthusiast; and not long after the completion of the Convent of the Visitation, which she had caused to be erected near the gates of Cracow, she founded the Benedictine Abbey of the Holy Cross, where office was daily recited in the Slavonian language, after the custom of the Order at Prague. She also instituted a college in honour of the Blessed Virgin, where the Psalms were daily chanted, after an improved method, by sixteen Canons.

It was towards the close of the year 1398 that, to the great delight of her subjects, it became evident that the union of Wladislas and Hedwige would at length be blessed with offspring. To see the throne filled by a descendant of their beloved sovereign had been the dearest wish of the Polish people, and fervent had been the prayers offered for this inestimable blessing. The enraptured Wladislas hastened to impart his expected happiness to most of the Christian kings and princes, not forgetting the Supreme Pontiff, Boniface IX., by whom the merits of the young queen were so well appreciated that, six years after her accession, he had addressed to her a letter, written with his own hand, in which he thanked her for her affectionate devotion to the Catholic Church, and informed her that, although it was impossible he could accede to all the applications which might be transmitted to the Holy See on behalf of her subjects, yet, by her adopting a confidential sign-manual, those requests to which she individually attached importance should be immediately granted. The Holy Father hastened to reply in the warmest terms to the king's communication, promising to

act as sponsor to the child, who, if a boy, he desired might be named after himself.

Unfortunately, some time before the queen's delivery, it became necessary for her husband to quit Cracow, in order to direct an expedition against his old enemies the Teutonic Knights. During his absence, he wrote a long letter, in which, after desiring that the happy event might be attended with all possible magnificence, he entered into a minute detail of the devices and embroidery to be used in the adornment of the bed and chamber, particularly requesting that the draperies and hangings might not lack gold, pearls, or precious stones. This ostentatious display, though excusable in a fond husband and a powerful monarch about to behold the completion of his dearest wishes, was by no means in consonance with Hedwige's intense love of Christian simplicity and poverty. We find her addressing to her husband these few touching words, expressing, as the result proved, that presentiment of her approaching end which has often been accorded to saintly souls: "Seeing that I have so long renounced the pomps of this world, it is not on that treacherous couch—to so many the bed of death—that I would willingly be surrounded by their glitter. It is not by the help of gold or gems that I hope to render myself acceptable to that Almighty Father who has mercifully removed from me the reproach of barrenness, but rather by resignation to His will, and a sense of my own nothingness." It was remarked after this that the queen became more recollected than ever, spending whole hours in meditation, bestowing large alms, not only on the distressed of her own country, but on such pilgrims as presented themselves, and increasing her exterior mortifications; wearing a hair shirt during Lent, and using the discipline in a manner which, considering her condition, might have been deemed injudicious. She had ever made a point of spending the vigil of the anniversary of her early sacrifice at the foot of the veiled Crucifix, but on this occasion, not returning at her usual hour, one of her Hungarian attendants sought her in the Cathedral, then but dimly lighted by the massy silver lamp suspended before the Tabernacle. It was bitterly cold, the wind was moaning through the long aisles, but there, on the marble pavement, in an ecstasy which rendered her insensible to bodily sufferings, lay Hedwige, she having continued in this state of abstraction from the termination of Complin, at which she invariably assisted.

At length, on the 12th of June, 1399, this holy queen gave birth to a daughter, who was immediately baptized in the Cathedral of Cracow, receiving from the Pope's legate, at the

sacred font, the name of Elizabeth Bonifacia. The babe was weak and sickly, and the condition of the mother so precarious that a messenger was despatched to the army urging the immediate return of Wladislas. He arrived in time to witness the last sigh of his so ardently desired child, though his disappointment was completely merged in his anxiety for his wife. By the advice of the physicians it had been determined to conceal the death of the infant, but their precautions were vain. At the very moment it occurred, Hedwige herself announced it to her astonished attendants, and then humbly asked for the last sacraments of the Church, which she received with the greatest fervour. She, however, lingered until the 17th of July, when, the measure of her merits and good works being full, she went to appear before the tribunal of that God whom she had sought to glorify on earth. She died before completing her twenty-ninth year.

A few days previously she had taken a tender leave of her distracted husband ; and, mindful to the last of the interests of Poland, she begged him to espouse her cousin Anne, by whose claim to the throne of the Piasts his own would be strengthened. She then drew off her nuptial ring, as if to detach herself from all human ties, and placed it upon his finger, and although, from motives of policy, Wladislas successively espoused three wives, he religiously preserved this memorial of her he had valued the most ; bequeathing it as a precious relic (and a memento to be faithful to the land which Hedwige had so truly loved) to the Bishop of Cracow, who had saved his life in battle. Immediately after her funeral, he retired to his Russian province, nor could he for some time be prevailed upon to return and assume the duties of sovereignty.

There was another mourner for her loss, William of Austria, who, notwithstanding the entreaties of his subjects, had remained single for her sake. He was at length prevailed upon to espouse the Princess Jane of Naples, but did not long survive the union.

The obsequies of Hedwige were celebrated by the Pope's legate with becoming magnificence. All that honour and respect from which she had sensitively shrunk during life was lavished on her remains ; she was interred in the Cathedral of Cracow on the left of the high altar ; her memory was embalmed by her people's love, and was sanctified in their eyes. Numerous miracles are said to have been performed at her tomb : thither the afflicted in mind and body flocked to obtain through her intercession that consolation which during life she had so cheerfully bestowed. Contrary to the

general expectation, she was never canonized;* her name, however, continued to be fondly cherished by the Poles, and by the people who under God were indebted to her for their first knowledge of Christianity, and of whom she might justly be styled the Apostle. On her monument was graven a Latin inscription styling her the "Star of Poland," enumerating her virtues, lamenting her loss, and imploring the King of Glory to receive her into His heavenly kingdom.

The life of Hedwige is her best eulogium. As it has been seen, she combined all the qualities not only of her own, but of a more advanced age. The leisure which she could snatch from the affairs of government she employed in study, devotion, and works of charity. True to her principles, she at her death bequeathed her jewels and other personal property in trust to the Bishop and Castellain of Cracow, for the foundation of a college in that city. Two years afterwards her wishes were carried into effect, and the first stone was laid of the since celebrated University.

Wladislas survived his wife thirty-five years. In his old age he was troubled by a return of his former jealousy, thereby continually embittering the life of his queen, a Lithuanian princess, who, although exculpated by oath, as Hedwige had formerly been, was less fortunate, inasmuch as she was the continual victim of fresh suspicions. The latter years of his reign were much disturbed by the hostilities of the Emperor Sigismund, and by the troubles occasioned in Lithuania by the rebels, who had again combined with the Teutonic Knights.

Wladislas died in 1434, at the age of eighty years. It is said that he contracted his mortal sickness by being tempted to remain exposed too long to the night air, captivated by the sweet notes of a nightingale. Notwithstanding his faults, this monarch had many virtues; his piety was great, and he practised severe abstinences; and although he at times gave way to a suspicious temper, his general character was trusting, frank, and generous even to imprudence. His suspicions, in fact, did not originate with himself. They sprang, in the case of both his wives, from the tongues of calumniators, to whom he listened with a hasty credulity. He raised the glory and extended and consolidated the dominion of Poland. He was succeeded by his son, a child of eleven years, who had previously been elected to the throne, but not until Jagello had confirmed and even enlarged the privileges of the nobles.

* Polish writers give her the title of saint, though her name is not inserted in the Martyrologies.—Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, October 17th.

His tardy consent, at the diet of Jedlin, roused their pride, so that it was not until four years later that they solemnly gave their adhesion.

It has not been our purpose, as we have said, to give more than a page out of the Polish annals illustrative of the patriotic and Christian spirit of sacrifice for which Poland's daughters have, down to the present day, been no less noted than her sons. The mind naturally reverts to the late cruel struggle in which this generous people has once more succumbed to the overwhelming power of Russia, and her unscrupulous employment of the gigantic forces at her command. Europe has looked on apathetically, and after a few feeble diplomatic remonstrances, has allowed the sacrifice to be completed. But the cause of Poland is essentially the cause of Catholicism and of the Church; and this, perhaps, may account for the small degree of sympathy it has awakened in European governments. Russia's repression of her insurgent subjects became from the first a religious persecution. Her aim is not only to Russify, but to de-Catholicize Poland. The insurrection, quenched in blood, has been followed by a wholesale deportation of Poles into the eastern Russian provinces, where, with their country, it is hoped they will, ere long, lose also their faith. These are replaced by Russian colonists transplanted into Poland. To crush, extirpate, and deport the nobility—to leave the lower class alone upon the soil, who, deprived of their clergy—martyred, exiled, or in bonds—may become an easy conquest to the dominant schism—such is the plan of the Autocrat, as we have beheld it actively carried out with all its accompanying horrors of sacrilege and ruthless barbarity. One voice alone—that of the Father of Christendom—has been raised to stigmatize these revolting excesses, and to reprove the iniquity of “persecuting Catholicism in order to put down rebellion.”* The same voice has exhorted us to pray for our Polish brethren, and has encouraged that suffering people to seek their deliverance from the just and compassionate Lord of all.

* The terms of the Holy Father's address have been strangely exaggerated in many continental journals, where he is made to refer to the subject politically, and loudly to proclaim the justice of the Polish insurrection in that regard. The Pope entirely restricted his animadversions on the Czar to his persecution of the faith of his subjects.

ART. IV.—SURNAMES, IN RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

English Surnames, and their Place in the Teutonic Family. By ROBERT FERGUSON, author of "The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland." Routledge & Co. : London and New York. 1858.

HOMO sum: nihil humanum a me alienum puto. On this ground it will not be mere trifling to invite our readers' attention to the names attaching to the different members of the human family, and to the principles of choice which have determined their adoption. Names are not only a necessity in the condition of social man: they also contain a significance, and may be made the materials of a history. You might as well say that the colour of the skin, the character of the hair, or the facial angle has nothing to do with ethnology, as that the rise and progress of surnames can be ignored by the philosophical historian. Nay, we hold that the surnames of the human race, with their points of assimilation or diversity, rank high among the elements of which that race's annals are to be composed. "What is in a name?" is the unreasoning exclamation of one whose judgment was warped while uttering it. There is no reason in the abstract nature of things why Montague rather than Capulet should excite feelings of anger and hate. But the same may be said of many words correlative to each other, innocent in sound, but passion-stirring from their history. What can well be less diverse in utterance, or more akin in meaning, than Federal and Confederate? Yet the names even now represent a sanguinary, internecine, all but interminable strife. And so of family names. At first sight they may present nothing but what appears trivial, inexpressive, and fortuitous; as a fossil is only an oddly-shaped stone, and an arrow-head found in a barrow only a rudely-chipped flint. Yet that fossil, to the eye of science, represents a stratum, and so an epoch in the physical history of the world; and that rude arrow-head, in the hand of an infidel lecturer, may serve to point a shaft that shall be aimed against a cosmogony divinely revealed. No; history can as little dispense with the investigation of surnames as with blazonings, pedigrees, national physiognomies, family chronicles, parish registers, or tombstones.

Mr. Ferguson's book is an interesting one, alike from the subject it treats of, and from his mode of dealing with it, which is plain, condensed, and therefore full of information, and most suggestive. He does not profess a comprehensive view of his subject, but adheres with great tenacity to his text. The Teuton, and the Teuton only, is the hero of his tale; and so far well. Yet it is to be considered that this united empire embraces no small portion of the Celtic family beside, in the millions of the children of green Erin, the Britons of the Principality, the Scottish Highlander, and the distinctive Celt of Cornwall. We could have wished, therefore, that Mr. Ferguson, beside the concentrated use of his archæological spectacles, one lens of which is screwed to the focus of the "Old Norse," and the other to that of the "Old High German," had treated us now and then to a glance through some telescope of wider range. If he had been less exclusively Scandinavian, he could have produced a more valuable book. When we add that he fails to give us any collateral illustrations from the classical languages, and from those of the Franks or Slavonians, we have nearly complied with the unfavourable part of the critic's duty.

Indeed, in the points on which we shall venture to differ from him, it will be seen that this exclusiveness of Mr. Ferguson's is one main ground of the difference. In his zeal for the Old Norse, he traces up into that or some kindred root names which have a more obvious meaning and credible origin associated with later times. He reminds one of the learned Hammond's Exposition of the New Testament, in which almost everything is referred to the Gnostics and the Jews; so that if you chance to be neither Jew nor Gnostic, it would seem as if few passages of the New Testament were written with any reference to you. Thus, Mr. Ferguson appears even to cast a doubt on the surname Scott, as denoting its possessor to belong to that Celtic race, because he is able to tell us that "the Old Norse has *skotti*, a runner, and *skottskr*, which means both a Scotchman, and also one who is swift-footed—this has been supposed to be the origin of the people's name. Or Scott *might be* from *skot*, a dart, like several names of the same class referred to in a preceding chapter" (pp. 256-7). We are tempted to say, as Dr. Newman says against Mr. Kingsley, "May or may not, it wasn't;" or as Edie Ochiltree says to the Antiquary, who is proving the ditch to have been a Roman camp, "Prætorian here, Prætorian there, I mind the biggin' o't!" For Mr. Ferguson is reasoning as though there were no such language upon earth as the Celtic, or no such word in the Celtic as *Sciôt*, the name of a

race as wide-spread as that of the Norsemen, and of greater antiquity; or no proof that the said Sciots swarmed from their original Erin and settled themselves in North Britain, carrying with them their name, and giving it to the land of their adoption. And really, considering the evidence for all these facts, to say that the Scot derives his name from the Norse for a runner, is somewhat like saying that the Franks were so called from their open character, or Hungary from the frequent famines or voracious appetite of its inhabitants, or Wales from the abundance of cetaceous fish taken on its coast. The Scots were runners, if you please, for they over-ran; but they ran in an opposite direction to the Norsemen, and frequently met them in battle, without understanding so much of their language as a Welsh regiment in the war against Napoleon is said to have understood that of the Breton soldiers ranged under the French eagles. We take the Norse *Skotti*, then, to be no etymon, but a mere coincidence of sound; and we take Mr. Ferguson's carefulness to prove his point to be (as Lord Bacon would have said, though with a little stretch of his meaning) an instance of the *idolon tribus* and the *idolon specûs* coexisting.

Mr. Ferguson divides English surnames into those signifying man and woman; those derived from or connected with Teutonic mythology, or hero-worship; those taken from animals, or from trees, plants, metals, &c.; or from war, arms, and warlike occupations; or such names as express peace, friendship, and affection; or are derived from relationship; or from nationality; or Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon, or Scandinavian names; or patronymics and diminutives; or names derived from physical characteristics; or from mental and moral qualities; or from office and occupation; or from the sea and sea-life; or, lastly, local surnames. All this constitutes an engaging bill of fare; and Mr. Ferguson's familiar acquaintance with the ancient dialects from which he draws his materials, secures for us a book interesting at every turn, and on the whole, we doubt not, trustworthy. We say on the whole, because we have to guard ourselves against the one-sidedness of which we have complained, and which is bent on proving that "there is nothing like leather."

It is invidious to notice omissions, where so much is given that is really valuable. But when Mr. Ferguson is deriving (p. 46) Fawcett and Fossitt from Forseti, the Scandinavian "God of judgment," we see no reason for his not including the more obvious form, Forsyth: and when noticing (p. 70) places named after a kindred etymon with the Old High German Rumbold, he might fitly have added to the village Rumsby and

the island Rumsey, the purer Saxon form Rumboldswyke, a local name found near Chichester. Connell is surely a name sufficiently well known among the Celts of Ierne to demand a notice of its possible Celtic origin, whereas he classes it generally with Hacon, King, Ching, Coney, Kenrick, and Cunningham; merely telling us (p. 81) that it "may be the same as the Old Norse name Konall, formed from *Konr* and the augmentative *all*." These instances may be taken in evidence that the book has been rather hastily composed. We cannot but think that, with the author's manifest power of research and observation, a careful revision of the sheets, before they passed into the printer's hands, would have enriched them with much additional matter. We could, of our own knowledge, supplement him again and again.

Moreover, it is not stretching a point to say, that had Mr. Ferguson possessed the advantage of being a Catholic, he would have been a more complete etymologist. He has two interesting chapters on surnames, relative to Teutonic mythology and hero-worship; but when Christianity comes in, his occupation appears to be gone. His hagiology concerns itself mainly with Odin and Thor; Hödr, a son of Odin, "blind, but of great strength;" and Hnikar or Nikar, "a water spirit or demon." It is true that the Norsemen, the Icelanders, the Angles and Jutes, were as heathen as heathen could be. True, that their old misbeliefs were perpetuated in the names they bore and transmitted to their children; that Weedon and Gooden derive from Woden, Whish from Oski, Veal (the Mrs. Veal of De Foe's celebrated Introduction to "Drelincourt on Death") from the "Old Norse *vili*, and the corresponding Old Saxon *wiljo*;* Thunder, Thorburn, Thurgood, Thurtle, Turpin, from Thor; and so forth. But what an interesting chapter might he have written on the process by which these paganisms were supplanted or modified by names derived from the faith! We shall endeavour, in a very poor way, to supply a few suggestions of that kind; but we would fain have seen the subject in hands so capable as Mr. Ferguson's of working up materials which he has unconsciously passed by.

An instance of this one-sidedness may be seen in his treatment of the name Anderson, which he will not accept as "the son of Andrew." Now, inasmuch as S. Andrew is undoubtedly

* From whom also — startling fact — Mr. Ferguson insists on deducing Wills, Wilson, Wilkes, Wilkins, and Willoughby, though the first four, on the very face of them, to our un-Norselike eye, and with all deference to the Icelandic *Landnamabok* (Mr. Ferguson's manual by day and pillow by night), are patronymics, and the last a local surname.

the patron saint of Scotland, it is about as likely, *a priori*, to find his name a common and favourite one in that country as the name of David in Wales, or even Patrick in Ireland. Yet, on Mr. Ferguson's principle, which we might state as *aut Nordmannus aut nullus*, if we were to adduce the popularity of the Welsh name (corrupted though it be into Taffy) in proof of the cultus of S. David, he would probably discredit it, and run up David into some Icelandic root, found in the Landnamabok. Let us hear how he treats the Scottish name. Speaking of patronymics, he says:—

The last name, Anderson, is generally considered a corruption of Andrew-son. This, however, is scarcely correct, *because* [!] we have also the name Anders—uncommon, certainly, though common enough in Denmark, whence it is probably derived. Whether Anders is a corruption of Andrew may be a question—I have not met with it prior to the introduction of Christianity, which makes it more probable that it is—but in its present form it has existed for from four to five hundred years (p. 286).

Loose reasoning this; as we need scarcely stay to prove by any process of Blot *one*, and so forth. The whole statement would have been fairer logic, and (we cannot but think) better etymology, in the hands of a Catholic writer who accepted as a first principle the likelihood that the name of a special evangelizer and patron of a particular country would occur often among its inhabitants. So again, when Mr. Ferguson (p. 267) makes Bennett a diminutive of "the Old Saxon Benno, probably from *ben*, a wound," he is writing as if no such person as S. Benedict had ever existed; as if the contracted form of his name was not as familiar as that of Austin for Augustine; as if the Church of S. Bennet Fink—the last syllable as Old Saxon as even *he* could wish—was not removed from Southwark a few years ago to make room for the terminus of the Kentish railway. So true is it, that to ignore the hagiology of the Church is to ignore a good part of the history of the world.

Take again his treatment of the names Pilgrim and Bishop. To Mr. Ferguson's ear they are as Norse and as pagan as possible. Pilgrim, with him, appears to have no relation to *pellegrino*, the softened form of *peregrinus*. He does not even refer to the German form *pilger*; and it is amusing to see to what a source he carries up a name which we should have thought plainly indicative of a Christian idea:—

Bill, Pill, &c. The name of the goddess Bil, Grimm explains to mean *lenitas*, *placiditas*. To this etymon Förstemann refers the Old German names Bilo, Billing, Pillunc, &c., but does not seem to connect them with the goddess. Some of the compounds, however, (formed with *grim*, fierce, *hild*, war, &c.)

fall in very badly with this meaning, and perhaps the derivation which I have suggested (p. 113), from Anglo-Saxon *bil*, an axe, sword, bill, may be more suitable for some of them, particularly as most of them seem to be Saxon. From one of these compounds, Bilgrim, or Pilgrim, *a name of the eighth century*, common in both forms, may be in some cases our name Pilgrim. (*Addenda et Corrigenda*, p. 391.)

But with Mr. Ferguson every modern form is a corruption of some old root, imbedded among the northern races long before they embraced Christianity. Biscop has no more relation to Bishop than Chiesa (a name he once saw—and small wonder—over a shop-door in Liverpool, if we remember) has to do with the Italian. We hazard a conjecture, that if he were as well acquainted with Ireland as with England, he would derive Bianconi from Björn-König: an etymology at least as plausible as some which we find in his pages.

To go off, however, at our own tangent, and availing ourselves of the old logical maxim that “the greater the extension, the less the comprehension,” we offer to our readers a division of the subject for which we do not claim that it is complete or exhaustive. A man’s name is derivable from the place whence the founder of his family has come; some personal peculiarity attaching to him; the trade or employment he followed; his father’s name; or, lastly, a religious motive.

To take these in order:—

1. An emigrant, whether led by adventure or forced by invasion to leave his native country, would naturally cherish the memory of the place whence he came, and delight to perpetuate it in himself and his descendants. He would also as naturally be named after it by those among whom he took up his abode; whether in a semi-opprobrious way, with a jealousy of the foreigner, or simply as a mode of distinguishing him. Do we not speak of William the Dutchman? So we have the whole race of Scott (or Scot, as it was formerly spelt), whose name indicates that they came from Ireland, the home of the Gael Sciôt Iber. Sir Walter has immortalized his family name, not only by his own genius, but by his notice of his Scotch cousin, “the wizard, Michael Scot;” and as to Scotus Erigena, he is (as it were) double-Scotted: a pleonasm for which we can only account by supposing that in his day, the middle of the ninth century, the present Scotland had partly assumed that name; and thus it became necessary to explain that, though the writer in question was indeed a Scot, yet he was a Scot fresh from Ireland, and not derived from those already settled in Scotland. The surnames English and England would furnish quite as interesting a chapter.

Under this same head, we come across the tribe of Walsh, Walshe, or Welshman : the last a more uncommon form, but really existing. These, in fact, derive their name from the very circumstance of their being *foreigners*. *Wal*, or *Gal*, is a root "cropping up" in several languages, denoting a stranger. It was simply Latinized into Gallia, when that "land of the stranger" Teuton, who had driven the original Celt into a corner (the modern Brittany), became in turn a Roman province. It gave a name to a whole principality in Great Britain, when the invading Saxon drove the Celt, retreating westward, into the Welsh mountains; and Wales, the *pays de Galles*, was stamped for ever as the land of the Celtic "stranger." Gael is the name of the Scottish highlander, as distinct from the invading lowland Sassenach. The root comes up on the east coast of Ireland, in the territory of the Fingal, or light-haired stranger; a Danish invasion and settlement. We meet with it in the west of the island, in Galway, where it has reference to the old Spanish colonies. It distinguishes Portugal, the seaboard of the Celtic stranger, from the Spain of his Gothic invader. We suspect the Galtees, or range of mountains looking towards Limerick at one extremity and Waterford at the other, to have been named from some local expulsion and occupation by strangers; and the dwellers in their fastnesses are said to present the features of a peculiar race. The Walloon in the heart of Flanders, the Wallack on the banks of the Danube, are further illustrations of the same word. Nay, every time we crack walnuts we are appropriating a production (*wallæ nuces*) derived originally from a foreign country. But we forbear; fearing to be involved in the controversy detailed in the "Antiquary," which led to such high words between Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck and Sir Arthur Wardour, on the meaning of the word "*Ben-val*." Only, before we dismiss the Walshes and Welches, together with their cousins the Wallises, and their collateral branches the Galtons, Gallweys, perhaps the Waltons, and so on up to Walafridus Strabo, we would quote an ancient poem in illustration of the history of this word. For, to speak quite gravely, we hold that

Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief :

Taffy came to my house, and stole a piece of beef, &c.

was, on the day when first it was sung, not a mere nursery rhyme, as now, but an hereditary expression of bad feeling on the part of the expellers towards the expelled. *Odioso quem læseris* is, unhappily, an old principle in human nature; and we have here an indication of it as patent as the "mere Irish"

of Cromwellian documents, the "no Irish need apply" of Dublin advertisements, or that well-known, truculent dictum, that special subjugated races, in relation to their subduers, were "aliens in race, aliens in language, aliens in religion." The "piece of beef" may as probably refer to some reprisals in the way of black-mail, by which Taffy would from time to time indemnify himself for his unjust expulsion: a kind of border-chivalry almost as common on the frontier between the Principality and the Welsh Marches as on the debatable land of the Northumbrian and Scottish border. Doubtless, any one learned in Welsh lyrics would meet with some contemporary and very guttural nursery-rhyme, wherein the infants of the Principality were taught to cast wholesale aspersions on the national honesty of the Teuton.

The family of Danvers affords another instance of a surname derived from the place of its extraction; and probably the family records contain some notice of the time when the first founder of the English branch came over from Antwerp. D'Agincourt is the name of an English æsthetic writer of the present day; but we can scarcely doubt it was an honourable distinction borne away from that great battle-field. French, too, and Fleming, or Le Fleming, were importations; so was Norman, and, perhaps, North; certainly Britton, or Le Breton. In England itself, owing to the comparatively prosperous, and therefore settled, condition of the people, families remained in their aboriginal place, instead of carrying their names elsewhere. They became, in fact, in a lower grade than that to which the title is applied, *So-and-So of that ilk*. Thus, Reigate in Surrey was formerly called Churchfield, and is set down as such, we believe, in Domesday Book: a numerous family named Churchfield, of the labouring class, flourishes in it to this day. Indeed, the permanence of English families is a remarkable feature in the social condition of the rural districts. We know an instance in Sussex, where a small farmer occupies to-day the farm which his ancestors can be proved to have held from a period before the Conquest. Would that so happy a condition of things could be universally predicated of the United Kingdom! Still, even in England, we have Newcomen, Newman, Strange, Guest, and others; though it is impossible to determine, except through the records belonging to each family, whether such names denote immigrants from foreign countries, or new neighbours from other parts of the island. Lestrangle would seem to indicate the former; especially as one family so called was settled at Hunstanton in Norfolk, a ready point of debarkation from the Continent.

We have still to notice surnames of *locality*, generic and specific. The way in which both these kinds grew up is simple enough. In the second case, a farmer or peasant wanders to some other than his native place, settles, and founds a family. Call him Richard, and say that he comes from Burton; or suppose him John from Westwood, or Giles from Ashford. He is of course called by his new neighbours after the name of the place whence he came, to distinguish him from the Richards, Johns, Gileses among themselves; and his descendants become Burtons, Westwoods, and Ashfords, to the end of the chapter. We believe such to be the origin of no small proportion of surnames in England. Whence does Mr. Carlyle derive, not his English, for that was born with himself, at least in *posse*, but his English name? Did his ancestors come from "where the sun shines fair on Carlisle wall"? We only wish that, as he has duly inherited his father's name, he would dutifully write his mother tongue. Then, as to the generic, Allan-a-dale, of Sherwood notoriety, and Antony-a-Wood, of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* at a later date, stand as instances of the original surname which generally reaches us in a more contracted form. And there is scarcely a feature of natural scenery which has not given rise to some family name. Hence the Crofts, Thorntons, Milbankes, Thorneycrofts, Meadoweses, Oakeleys, Littledales, Cliffes, Thornhills, Greenhills, Greenacres. Hence Rivers, Field, Flood, Rock, Stone, Grove, Moor, Hill, Dale, Brook, Ford, and Wood—who, by the way, has his cousin German in Bosch, Englished into Busk. Add to these, Eastlake, Easthope, Warren, Barrow, Coleridge, Fallowfield, Bloomfield, Dryden, Buckland, Doddridge, Churchill, Stopford, and others. Appleyard is a local surname. Lord Portman's ancestors probably came from the seaside, though settled at Orchard Portman. Plumptre looks like Plum-tree evaded—"Priscian a little scratched." Plumridge is plainer. Some of these local designations, as is natural, have become more or less obsolete, though the surname derived from them continues. This is the case with Hurst, Elmhurst, Shaw, Frith, Combe, Thorpe, Wickham, Holmes, Thwaite, and Howe. Of the two last-named, Mr. Ferguson says (p. 49) that "Thwaite signifies a piece of ground cleared in a forest, and is most generally combined with a proper name—we may presume that of the settler who cleared the spot for the purpose of agriculture, or for his own habitation." And How, he says (*ibid.*), is the Old Norse *haugr*, a grave-mound. Glancing for a moment at France, we have Dubois, Dumont, Dupré, Duchâtel, Le Forêt, Duchesne, Desmarests, Destombes, and many others.

These surnames of locality must not be confounded with the names of monastic or other writers who have been denoted by their place of birth or residence; as, William of Malmesbury, Roger de Hoveden, Adam de Marisco, Giraldus Cambrensis. Monks, who lost their family names on their religious profession, would naturally be distinguished in this way; as to others, the custom may have arisen from a laudable wish on the part of the author that his native place should share in his own celebrity. Or it was a distinction conferred by others, rather than assumed by himself. The "father of history" is Herodotus of Halicarnassus; and so we have Diodorus Siculus, T. Livius Patavinus, Terentius Afer. But, as all these places were held at the time to be more or less on the outskirts of civilization, the title may have been conferred as a note of praise, partly of admiration, that the writer, though a barbarian born, could nevertheless write like a Greek or Roman. So we call Hogg "the Ettrick shepherd," when speaking of his poetry: and so Washington Irving gives an amusing account of the astonishment exhibited in the London circles on his first appearance as an author, at finding that a demi-savage, as every one was then reckoned who came from the backwoods of America, could actually wield a pen in his hand, instead of wearing it as a feather in his scalp-lock.

2. Personal qualities or peculiarities have been an extensive source of names. Whether we choose to describe it as barbarism or simplicity, certain it is that our ancestors had no difficulty in calling a spade a spade, in designating a bald man as bald, or a fat man as fat. Even kings on their thrones did not escape these personal remarks on the part of their subjects; nay, the very elevation on which they stood only made the personality, and the cause of it, more conspicuous. We have yet to learn whether Charles le Chauve, Louis le Gros, Pepin le Bref, William Rufus, John Lackland, Richard Crookback, Louis and Michael the Stammerers, Pharaoh *Necho* (the Wounded, or the Lame), were so called during their lifetime, or to their very face. The trade of flattery is probably as old as that of king-craft; and while August der Starke, Louis le Débonnaire, Felipe el Hermoso, Edwin the Fair, Henry Beauclerc, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Xerxes Longimanus (*an nescis longas regibus esse manus?*), were addressed by those epithets in the way of compliment, perhaps the simplicity of the age did not go so far as to single out the personal defects of royalty for the "style and title" of a personal address. In lower ranks, however, no such reticence was observed. If a worthy man had no manor or lordship from which to derive a title, he ran an alarming chance, not only of obtaining, but

of transmitting indelibly to his descendants in a more fastidious age,* such a designation as Cruickshank, Sheepshanks, Woolley, Turpin, Crump, Crouch, Cronk, Short, Legras, Little, Thicknesse, Thynne, Bigge, Burley, Whytehead (some *bene nota canities*), Bossuet, Hardman—though that, like Hardicanute, was perhaps on the side of praise—Calvin, Schwartz, Lenoir, Black, Blackett, and—without one redeeming point—Blackall.†

There is, however, a brighter side to the subject. Personal prowess, warlike qualities, and other marks of distinction in

* Sir W. Scott's great-grandfather (as the reader may remember) was well known in Teviotdale by the surname of *Beardie*, "derived from a venerable beard which he wore, unblemished by razor or scissors, in token of his respect for the banished dynasty of Stuart." Had he lived in a ruder and remoter age, he might have transmitted his cognomen to his posterity, and the "Author of Waverley" would have been known to all future time as *Sir Walter Beardie*. He himself, however, has informed us (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 144) that "surnames were of very late introduction into Scotland," and that "previously they were mere personal distinctions peculiar to the person by whom they were borne, and dying along with him. When the surname was derived from property, it became naturally hereditary at a more early period, because the distinction applied equally to the father and the son. The same happened with patronymics, both because the name of the father is usually given to the son, and also because a clan often takes a sort of general patronymic from one common ancestor, as Macdonald, &c. Epithets merely personal are much longer of becoming a family distinction." The biographer adds that the record of the oaths of fealty tendered to Edward I. during his Scotch usurpation, furnishes very strong confirmation of this view. For even "the towns' people have, with few exceptions, designations apparently indicating the actual trade of the *individual*, and in many instances there is distinct evidence that the plan of transmitting such names had not been adopted. For example, Thomas the Tailor is described as son of Thomas the Smith, or *vice versa*."

† It must be confessed that the Romans—the only people of antiquity, by the way, who had family surnames, properly so called—were not behind in these personalities. Ovidius Naso is a title well borne out by the profiles of the great elegiac poet that have come down to us. Besides, we have Balbus, Scaurus, Cæcilius, Dentatus, Claudius, Crassus, Strabo, Nævius, &c. Scipio may perhaps be included, as descended from an ancestor who, like the ænigmatic man of the Sphinx's problem, needed the adventitious support of a stick. In that case, he has his English parallel in Crouch and Crutchley; unless these refer (as is more than likely) to the Crusades. Scevola was, under the circumstances, a title of honour; though his first name, Mutius, like Tacitus, had a smack of blame about it, in days when every citizen was supposed, as a matter of course, to be a ready speaker. Horace seems to indicate that these names from personal defects, so far from being looked on in an offensive light, were rather given by parents as terms of endearment:—

"Hunc Varum distortis cruribus, illum
Balbutit Scaurum, pravis fultum male telis."

But the more fastidious and sensitive Greeks allowed of no such unfavourable personalities, and were wholly on the complimentary side.

peace or battle, were enshrined in a hereditary name. We are uncertain whether the celebrated Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosse-tête, or *Grout-head*, as he was inelegantly Englished, was so called in complimentary allusion to a capaciousness of brain-pan, such as distinguished the first Napoleon, Lord Campbell, Bacon, Macaulay, and others. But the meaning of Long, Strong, Starkey, Longfellow, Strongbow, Longsword, Cœil De Bœuf (which Scott confesses as the original of his Front De Bœuf), Armstrong, Strong-i'-th'arm, Fortinbras, Greatheart, Turnbull, perhaps Bull himself, is more evident. Considering the national character for pertinacity, we wonder there was no Headstrong. Lightfoot and Golightly are more equivocal, as far as valour is concerned. Shakespeare and Breakspeare, together with Gauntlett, speak for themselves. Freemantle looks like an honourable badge; as William Tell might have been called Freecap. We only hesitate about Metcalfe. In that perilous *rencontre*, did he take the calf by the horns, or did he run away?

Qualities of mind, too, indications of a good heart and good will, and such favourable characteristics as every family would wish to ascribe to their founders or perpetuate in themselves, have furnished surnames. Among them are Worthy, Goode, Wyse, Wiseman, Lovegood, Goodman, Joly or Jolley, Sweetman, Magrath, Darling, Pretymán, Fairbairn, Lovejoy, Goodbody, Manners (in the sense of William of Wykeham's motto, "*Manners makyth man*"), Prud'homme, Buoncompagno, Bentivoglio. Sobriety had its note of praise ages before Father Mathew arose. Bevilacqua, Boileau, Drinkwater, were leading members of the Temperance Society, nay, total abstainers. Beausobre did not go quite their lengths, and merely promised temperance. Godley, we suspect, had a puritan origin. Goodenough is a character difficult to interpret; we fear he must have been of a self-satisfied disposition, impressed with the idea of having attained the *acmé* of human perfection. But he is fairly eclipsed, if not by Thurgood (Thoroughgood), yet certainly by Toogood—from whom to pass to any other would be plainly a bathos. We hope, for humility's sake, these are both corruptions of Turgot; and that Goodenough may claim some kin with the Slavonic Godounow.

Perhaps under the head of *prowess* we may range families that have taken the names of animals of the fiercer and more dangerous kind. In the knightly ranks of society, a daring achievement against the monsters of forest or field would be rewarded by some cognizance or bearing on the hero's coat of arms. Hercules wore the spoils of the Nemæan lion; Meleager

those of the Calydonian boar. And nothing, as we all know, is more common in heraldic devices than the lion, the boar, the bear, the pard (not to speak of wyverns, griffins, cockatrices), and these either *couped*, *demi-couped*, or in some other way denoted as being vanquished and slain. Why should not a corresponding distinction have been awarded to such as were not privileged to bear an escutcheon, in the shape of a family name to perpetuate the memory of a bold yeoman's service, or deed of woodcraft? This would account for Bruin, unless he is rather to be supposed a bear-warden: and the bear-warden seems to have occupied a high position, judging from the muzzled bear with "ragged staff," the well-known cognizance of Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Such, too, is the origin of Wolfe, Buck, Oxenham, Hart, Hogg, Burstall (Boarstall), Brock, Todman, and even Swan; for an angry swan is no joker. Colt may have won his name by some such feat of equitation as immortalized Alexander with Bucephalus, and Mr. Rarey with Cruiser. But he will now go down to posterity, bracketed with M. Guillotin, as the inventor of a tremendous death-dealing machine. As we descend, however, in the animal scale, the theory becomes more difficult to sustain. Fox, though not at Melton, or on the Curragh of Kildare, where he is expected, as a matter of course and a primary duty, to run away, yet among the wild cliffs of the "north countrie," might now and then have made a stand to justify a surname for his slayer. The same may be said of Otter and of Ram; for a ram nearly killed old Bishop Van Mildert in his own park. But, we fairly own, some other interpretation must be devised for Lamb, Merewether, Martin, Bunny, and Hare; and still more for Henn, Jay, Finch, Pye, Bird, Sparrow, Larkins, Gosling* and Wren, Spratt and Herring.

3. Quite as prolific a source of surnames, or more so, is to be discovered in the various callings and occupations in which founders of families were engaged. Wat Tyler is a familiar instance; more so than his colleague (if we mistake not) John the Litester, or Dyer. Some of the names of this class were "gentle," others "simple;" but all had in common that primitive simplicity which accepted the designation, and transmitted it. Take Falconer, for instance. There was, we will say, a Giles or Hugh Falconer, bearing on his arm the silver

* "The name Drake, though it might be derived from the bird, is perhaps more probably from the older word drake, signifying a dragon, the Anglo-Saxon *draca*. The fire-drake was one of the most formidable monsters which the heroes of ancient Teutonic romance had to encounter."—Ferguson, p. 72.

badge of some nobleman or knight of high degree. He was Giles the falconer in the household, just as there was Robert the somptner (or perhaps summoner), Dickon the sewer, Walter the carver, and so on up to the stately Edmund the boteler. But Giles seldom has the article prefixed by his fellow-servitors, and is commonly "Giles Falconer:" a mode of appellation not unusual even now (*mutatis mutandis*) in large country households in England. We remember an instance in which the deaf old laundry-maid in a large mansion, well stocked with servants, was always called "Mary Laundry." Now, if our friend Giles has a little son Hugh (who of course becomes Hutchin), it is obvious that Hugh's son, again, might well balance the question—*Lucanus an Appulus, anceps*—whether he and his descendants should be Faulkner, Hewson, Hutchins, or Hutchinson; and the point would perhaps be determined by the popular voice of the neighbourhood. Meanwhile, to pursue the history of this imaginary household, Robert will have founded a family of Sumners, more than one of whom will sit, in what Lord Chatham calls "the sanctity of their lawn," on the episcopal bench, deliver vaguely worded charges, and enjoy noble revenues. Dickon Sewer's descendants are less obvious, unless we meet their representative in the talented authoress of "Amy Herbert:" but of that we must speak doubtfully. Walter Carver, at least, has left a name; and as for Edmund Boteler, not only has he French connexions in the Boutilliers, one of whom was the celebrated Abbé de Rancé, but his own name and race, or probably his namesake in a royal household—Pharao's chief butler—culminates in the person of Butler, Duke of Ormonde.

Let us complete our *dramatis personæ* in and about the house, or, rather, castle. There is Bowyer in the armoury, with his attendants, and Stringer, Fletcher, Furbisher, and Archer to boot, all conferring with Smith about some new *quarrels* or bolt-heads. Bannerman is giving directions to Palliser, to prepare the lists for a joust in the tilt-yard, and reminds him that old Marshall, or Marischal, is a great martinet, and will have everything in high order. There is Ferrier (some call him Farrer) in the stable; he has shod a horse for Horseman, or Ryder, who, before he mounts to be off with Falconer, Fowler, and Hunter, gives a rating and a sound box of the ears to Swayne, the "odd boy about the house," for not delivering a message to Usher, to tell Clarke, or Scrivener, to say that Palmer (may we not call him Crossley?), just come from the Holy Land, craves to confer with him, having now been refreshed through the united benevo-

lence of Cooke, Kitchener, Carver, and Butler; he has sipped a tankard of Brewster's best. Meanwhile, Cooper, Wainwright, and Woodyer, are all busy in the workshop off the yard occupied by Farmer, with Field and Sweeny, the farmer's boys. Carpenter has cut his hand, which is being dressed by Barber, who, of course, is surgeon also. Carter stands by idle, till his "wain" has been mended by Wainwright, or Cartwright, and discusses with Shepherd, Goatcher, Reeve, and Flaxman the prospects of the coming fair. But Steward, or Stewart, suddenly puts his head out at window, and checks at them for "oafs, lubbers, and lazy loons."

We have thus encountered "the rude forefathers of the hamlet," as well as the founders of gentle, noble, and even royal families. But we have passed too cursorily over one name, which from its ubiquity might almost be taken to represent the *αυτοάνθρωπος*—Smith. We find him in France as Lefèvre, and recognize him as Peter Faber, sitting at the Council of Trent; we run against him at every street corner, and read his name over one shop-front in ten; in short, Smith is everywhere, and always has been found wherever man was. Man, indeed, could not do without him; and the moment he emerged from barbarism he asked for Smith.* A representative of the family assisted Tubal Cain. There certainly was a Smith in that portentous workshop—

Dum graves Cyclopum
Vulcanus ardens urit officinas.

Smith forged the helmet of Mars and the cestus of Pollux.

* "In the turbulent infancy of nations it is to be expected that we should hear more of the smith, or worker in iron, in connexion with war, than with more peaceful pursuits. Although he was a nailmaker and a horseshoer—made axes, chisels, saws, and hammers for the artificer; spades and hoes for the farmer; bolts and fastenings for the lord's castle gates, and chains for his drawbridge—it was principally because of his skill in armour work that he was esteemed. He made and mended the weapons used in the chase and in war—the gavelocs, bills, and battle-axes; he tipped the bowmen's arrows, and furnished spear-heads for the men-at-arms; but, above all, he forged the mail-coats and cuirasses of the chiefs and welded their swords, on the temper and quality of which, life, honour, and victory in battle depended. Hence the great estimation in which the smith was held in the Anglo-Saxon times. His person was protected by a double penalty. He was treated as an officer of the highest rank, and awarded the first place in precedence. After him ranked the maker of mead and the physician. In the royal court of Wales he sat in the great hall with the king and queen, next to the domestic chaplain; and even at that early day there seems to have been a hot spark in the smith's throat which needed much quenching; for he was entitled to a draught of every kind of liquor that was brought into the hall. The smith was thus a mighty man."—Smiles's *Industrial Biography*, p. 17.

A Smith made the clamps for the Pyramids, for the Tower of Belus, and for the Colossus of Rhodes; nails and bolts for the Argo (witness the bas-relief in the British Museum), the key of the treasury of Atreus, and most of the weapons of classical antiquity, except Hercules' club. He stayed his hand, indeed, from the bull of Phalaris and the armour of Goliath, leaving those discreditable jobs to the braziers. He was attended by Messrs. Irons and Steele, as offshoots of the great family; even as Might and Force appear with Vulcan in the "Prometheus Bound." No wonder, employed so extensively, and under such distinguished patronage, that his race should have spread. What were the Chalybes, but an entire nation of Smiths? What would the Parthians or Scythians have done, or the archers with their cloth-yard shafts at Agincourt, without the Arrowsmiths? How would the crowned heads of Europe have fared, but for the Goldsmiths? The Cassiterides were laid under contribution by the Whitesmiths. Nay, the family patronized in turn. Who was the Man in the Iron Mask, royal duke though he were, but one to whom the Smiths gave all countenance? Charles Martel was but a hammerer; and did the journeyman-work. A Kempis himself, Thomas de Malleolo, or Hammerlein, was an undoubted connection of this family; so, later, was the Baron von Hammer-Purgstall. The greatest theologians have been called respectively *Malleus Hæreticorum*, *Schismaticorum*, *Manichæorum*, *Pelagianorum*, because they did smith's work on their antagonists. Demosthenes wielded his arguments and invectives like hammer blows, well aimed and heavy. Virgil is never more energetic than when he describes the measured rise and fall of those ponderous Cyclopean hammers:—

Illi inter sese magnâ vi brachia tollunt.

After these testimonies, what pusillanimity is theirs who, in former days, have striven to evade being plain, laborious, universal Smith, *non indecoro pulvere sordidum*: negating themselves as Nasmith; * trying on a patronymic as Smithson, or

* "The founder of the Scotch family of Naesmyth is said to have derived his name from the following circumstance. In the course of the feuds which raged for some time between the Scotch kings and their powerful subjects the Earls of Douglas, a rencontre took place one day on the outskirts of a Border village, when the King's adherents were worsted. One of them took refuge in the village smithy, where, hastily disguising himself, and donning a spare leathern apron, he pretended to be engaged in assisting the smith with his work, when a party of the Douglas followers rushed in. They glanced at the pretended workman at the anvil, and observed him deliver a blow upon it so unskilfully that the hammer shaft broke in his hand. On this, one of the

a local designation as Smithwick; clinging to the foreign, as Goldsmid, or the pseudo-antique, as Smyth or Smythe, escaping by a drawl as Smijth!

4. But surnames, by a great majority, specially among the Northern nations, are patronymics. Every family is supposed to have some one special ancestor, at an intermediate point between Japheth and the present generation, who is looked on as the *stipes* from whom all subsequent members date and descend. He was the first who became known; he emerged above the surface of the indistinguishable mass. And so completely was he looked on, in his day, as the author of a fresh start (so to speak) on the unbroken line which runs up to the Ark of Noe, that his descendants claimed to be known only by their relationship to him. It is remarkable to find this principle running throughout the languages of Europe, not to speak of Eastern tongues. We trace it as plainly in the Ivanka of Hungary, the Ivanoff or Iwanowitz of Muscovy, and the Johannides of Byzantium, as in the Hanson and J'Anson of Germany, the Evans (Ap-Evan) and Bevan of Wales, the Jansen of Flanders, and the Johnson of homely Saxendom. A Hebrew or Chaldaic scholar would furnish us with instances not obvious to an uninstructed eye. But it needs no acquaintance with the original to recognize "Simon Bar-jona" as a patronymic of S. Peter, "Bartimæus the blind man" as "the son of Timæus," and Bar-jesu the magician as the son of Josue. How Abner comes to be the son of Ner, inasmuch as Ab or Abba is *father*, we leave to some Hebraist to explain. We should like to have connected that patronymic with the

Douglas men rushed at him, calling out, 'Ye're nae smyth!' The assailed man seized his sword, which lay conveniently at hand, and defended himself so vigorously that he shortly killed his assailant, while the smith brained another with his hammer; and, a party of the King's men having come to their help, the rest were speedily overpowered. The royal forces then rallied, and their temporary defeat was converted into a victory. The King bestowed a grant of land on his follower *Nae Smyth*, who assumed for his arms a sword between two hammers with broken shafts, and the motto, *Non arte, sed Marte*, as if to disclaim the art of the Smith, in which he had failed, and to emphasize the superiority of the warrior. Such is said to be the traditional origin of the family of Naesmyth of Posso, in Peeblesshire, who continue to bear the same name and arms. It is remarkable that the inventor of the steam-hammer should have so effectually contradicted the name he bears, and reversed the motto of his family; for, so far from being *Nae Smyth*, he may not inappropriately be designated the very Vulcan of the nineteenth century. . . . It is, therefore, with a high degree of appropriateness that Mr. Nasmyth has discarded the feckless hammer with the broken shaft, and assumed for his emblem his own magnificent steam-hammer, at the same time reversing the family motto, which he has converted into *Non Marte, sed Arte*."—Smiles's *Industrial Biography*, pp. 275-6.

Welsh *Ap*, which we find either in its fullness, as Apreece, or elided, as Prichard, Pumphrey (a real name, though comparatively rare), Prodders, Powell. Who was the primordial Rice or Rees, the patriarch of all Ap-Rices, Prices, or Pryses, Bryces, and Apreeces? Perhaps Lord Mostyn's pedigree might inform us: that mighty involution of parchment which was to be seen at Pengwern in North Wales (we fear it was burnt with the house a little while ago), where Adam appeared at the top, and Edward III., we think, at the bottom. There the story breaks off: it is all such plain sailing after that, as to be beneath the dignity of the bold Argonaut of heraldry who had penetrated so far into the mist of time. And truly, some of the previous streams had been obscure enough in their channels, tortuous enough in their descent, to demand some skilful pilotage.

But on what an ocean should we launch, and amid what a polynesia of family names be entangled, were we only to enumerate the patronymics of Great Britain and Ireland! There is hardly a Christian name that does not furnish its quota, and most of them under several forms. As everybody derives from somebody, so it may be said that every Christian name has had descendants. On what principle of arrangement shall we group them? Shall we say that the son who has a becoming sense of his father's dignity gives his name in full, as Johnson, Richardson, Robertson, Edmundson, Thomason, Jacobson, Peterson, Williamson? Or that descendants of a jocose turn have preferred to call themselves after the familiar or nickname of the *stipes* from whom they derive, as Jackson, Dickson, Kitson, Nixon, Dobson, Bilson, Benson, Tomson, Wilson, Harrison, Robinson? We had almost added Nelson, as the son of Eleanor; but, besides that such a derivation would be against the law of patronymics (which is in that respect like the Salique law, and takes no notice of the mother), the name of England's naval hero is clearly of foreign, probably of Danish extraction, meaning the son of Neil—so much so that, after the battle of Copenhagen, the vanquished Danes were fain to console themselves by the reflection that their conqueror might be considered as one of their own blood—that, in fact, they had only succumbed to Danish valour.

To return: if Johnson and Richardson are respectful, and Jackson and Dixon familiar, a third type of patronymic may be described as the affectionate; because it is couched in the form of a diminutive, which is always intended to convey that impression. Johnson may, by implication, stand for the son of staid John; Jackson is the son of a more cheerful, easy John—Jean the *Débonnaire*. Jenkinson, by parity of reasoning, may

be stated as the son of "my dear *little* father John."* Wilkin-son is equally affectionate to his little father William; Simpkinson to Simon; Atkinson to Arthur; Watkinson to Walter. And so of Tomkinson, Dickinson, Hutchinson, and others.

Saunderson, son of Sandy, *Scotticè* for Alexander (and with no reference to his being of a fair-haired race), deserves a paragraph to himself, were it only for the scholastic joke of that old pedant, the Baron of Bradwardine, in "*Waverley*," who always called his butler Saunders Saunderson, *Alexander ab Alexandro*.

We should be unjust to a fourth class of these patronymics if we did not refer to the abbreviated form, Jones or Johnes for Johnson; Richards for Richardson; and so on through Dobbs, Sykes, Thoms, Evans, Wills, Harris, Peters, Rogers, Roberts, Watts, *et hoc genus omne*.† Eakins is James' son, but Egan stands by himself, and is substantive James. Perkins is Peterkins; though we find it as a Christian name in Perkin Warbeck. We had nearly omitted one, from the very shame of ignorance, not knowing *unde derivatur*—Popkins. To say that he is contracted from Popkinson, is saying next to nothing. To say that Popkinson is son of little Pop, only removes the difficulty by one generation. Who was little Pop? That he was an amiable man, and conciliated regard, is evident from the diminutive; but this determines his quality—it does not define him. There was an eminent German critic and

* A parallel idiom obtains in Russia, where "my little father" is used as a term, half of familiarity, half of respect, by comparative strangers. So again, in Germany, travellers have the odd custom of calling their postilion "*schwager*"—"brother-in-law"—when persuading him to greater speed: a milder expedient, at least, than that of the English traveller in Germany, who, meeting with an incorrigibly slow driver, but totally ignorant of the language, put down the window, and vociferated to the astonished *schwager*, "Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and Kidderminster, why don't you get on faster?"

† A Cyclopædia says of patronymics:—"This mode of designation has taken various forms. Thus, on this name of William there are founded Williams, Williamson, Wills, Wilson, Wilks, Wilkins, Wilkinson, Willis, Willison, Bill, Bilson, Willet, Willmot, Wilmot, Till, Tilly, Tillot, Tilson, Tillotson, Willy." To these might be added Willement, and perhaps Gully. We are not sure about Gwillim, but are almost bold enough to suggest Tillemont as an expatriated name, surviving in France, though lost in England. And why omit all mention of Wynkin de Worde? Mr. Ferguson, however, says:—"Wills is ordinarily supposed to be a contraction of William; but, inasmuch as the simple must be supposed to be older than the compound, I hold it to be in fact the stock word on which William, Willibald, and a variety of Teutonic names are compounded, and of which Wilkin (Old Norse Vilkinr; Old High German Wilekin) and Willich, Willock, Wilkes (Old German Wilicho) are diminutives" (p. 39).

philologist named Poppo. Poplicola might possibly account for the Pops, as Prince Massimo goes up to Fabius Maximus. Again, Aristophanes, in his "Birds," gives us Epops as a remarkable character, who carried his family crest very high in Cloud-cuckoo-land. None of these can be reckoned satisfactory. We are almost as much in despair about him as the inn-keeper at Terracina, in Washington Irving's "Sketch-book," when Alderman, or Milor, Popkins was announced by the courier:—"Pop—Pop—Pop!"—we give him up.

Turning for a moment to the Slavonic, we find the principle of patronymics in full force. The Muscovite has his *off*, the Polack his *ski*. If we were disposed to run riot in etymology, we should be sorely tempted by the similarity of this same Russian termination to our own adverb; as though it simply indicated an *off*-shoot, a coming from, like the German Von, the Dutch Van, the French De, the Italian Da, and so on, whether these are local or patronymic designations. It is, perhaps, a mere coincidence of sound. Of the two, it would be more reasonable to connect the Welsh *Ap* with the Greek *ἀπό*; and the use of *ab* in the Latin *abavus* might be taken to strengthen this assumption. However, *off* in Russia is as frequent as *son* in England. We all remember Southey's poem on the Russian expedition, and the retreat from Moscow, where he describes the pursuing generals as

Knock'em off, Kut-us-off,
And all the others that end in *off*.

And the Crimean expedition has rendered ourselves familiar with names much less easily attainable by the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

As to Polish patronymics, nothing can be more unjust than the common impression, that to make a good Polish name, you have only to give a hearty sneeze, and add *ski* to it; for all those names, which in truth do sound a little sternutatory, are patronymic in the strictest sense, except where they are local derivatives. And they have the great peculiarity of possessing a feminine inflection: for, in the case of a lady, the termination is not *-ski*, but *-ska*.

Among the Goths, in both their kingdoms, East and West, one form of patronymic, at least, was the termination *ic*—judging from Euric, Alaric, Theodoric, Athalaric; to which may be added Ulric and others. The Saxons had *-kind*, a child, as a patronymic form—*e.g.*, Wittikind: this is parallel to the Norman Fitz (*fil*s) as a prefix; as Fitzhardinge, Fitzjames, Fitzwilliam, Fitzroy (implying, perhaps, a bar sinister),

and many others, down to Thackeray's Duchess of Fitzbattleaxe.

The Scandinavian is equally fruitful in patronymics. Thus, Messrs. Olafsen and Povelson united to make and publish a tour in Iceland, not so many years ago. The former of these writers, at least, is genuine Scandinavian, as a descendant of some Olaf; the latter probably so, from the peculiar form given to the name of his ancestor, Paul. In their pages we find mention of Bishop Thorvard Spakbodvarsen, as having built the first temple for Christian worship in Iceland, towards the close of the tenth century. We cannot pass by this bishop's baptismal name without remarking that some namesake of his has furnished a patronymic to the eminent Danish sculptor, Thorwaldsen. Both run up to the mythologic Thor, as Mr. Ferguson would prove without contradiction. Olafsen and Povelson give us such patronymics as Matthieson, recognized among ourselves, and Gerricksen, who might have claimed consanguinity with David Garrick. But they go further, and introduce us to Oluf-Tryggveson, king of Norway in the eleventh century, Brynjolf Svendsen, Ulfen, Sturleson, Einarson, Bicornsen, Stopson. We will conclude this *Saga*, or Scandinavian paragraph, by remarking on Herrick, *i. e.* Eric (or Erc, as the name is known in ancient Irish history) as a family name naturalized in England, and belonging to a poet of the second or third magnitude. His ancestor was undoubtedly a Danish invader, and, if the poetic gift were a family inheritance, was probably a *scald*, inciting his fellow-countrymen to deeds of lawless adventure.

We have implied that Mr. Ferguson unduly ignores the Celtic, and its home in Ireland; but this charge must be understood with limitations. In the first place, such is not the subject he proposes; and next, we are able to give our readers one interesting passage, at least, in which the Emerald Isle comes in for a share of notice, though only so far as it owned the influence of his pet Norsemen:—

Among our Irish names are also to be found some traces of the Scandinavian colonization. We have McAuliffe (Olaf), McGary (Geiri), McOscar (Asgeir), McVicar (Vikar), McSwiney (Sweyn), McCormick (Cormac), McCaskill (Askell), McConnell (Konal?). "Even to the present day," observes Mr. Worsaae, "we can follow, particularly in Leinster, the last traces of the Ostmen through a similar series of peculiar family names, which are by no means Irish, but clearly original Norwegian names; for instance, Mac Hitteric or Shitteric (son of Sigtryg), O'Bruadair (son of Broder), Mac Ragnall (son of Ragnvald), Roaill (Rolf), Auleef (Olaf), Manus (*Magnus*), and others. It is even asserted that among the families of the Dublin merchants are still to be found descendants of the old Norwegian merchants,

formerly so numerous in that city. The names of families adduced in confirmation of this, as Harrold (Harald), Iver (Ivar), Cotter or Mac Otter (Ottar), and others which are genuine Norwegian names, corroborate the assertion."—Pp. 282-3.

If we were attempting a philosophic survey, and not a mere sketch whose highest aim is that of suggestion, we should be bound to treat of two *offshoots* of our subject, which, even now, cannot be passed without notice. One is, the effect which the adoption of Latin as the universal language of learning in the West has exercised on the surnames of literary men. They have thought themselves bound to appear in classic costume, in order to establish their claim to rank among their brethren in the fraternity of letters. It became a conventionality that they should translate their very names into Latin or Greek; just as some most unclassic personages, Charles II. for instance, or George I., are perpetuated to posterity in the body-coat of mail and buskins of a Roman general. Thus we have Melancthon for Schwarzerdt, Desiderius Erasmus (a sort of double-barrelled translation) for Gerard, Sylvius for Dubois, and Hyperius, because born at Ypres. We trust he was "Hyperion to a satyr." So when Jean Lepaule undertook to give to the world a Greek Lexicon, he felt his family name to be unequal to the dignity of the task, and produced himself before the republic of letters as Scapula.

The other *landing-place*, as Coleridge would have said, belonging to our subject, is the strange coincidence existing sometimes between a man's family name and his present calling; as though the former had suggested, if not determined, the latter. This principle, gravely speaking, may extend further than we are aware of. A straw shows which way the wind blows; and, though we are only able to give our readers some familiar instances of this coincidence in our own times, yet these might open a vista, were we to speculate, that would lead deeper into history. Why is it, then, that Supple becomes a glovemaker, that Lemon compounds *bonbons*, that Cubitt attains eminence as a builder, and Truefitt in the application of "ornamental hair"? Perhaps for the same reason that Nicias became a general: because the constant sound of the name he bore impressed him, turned his thoughts in one direction, gave him an *idée fixe*, determined his choice in life. Bossuet was called by his fellow-students in the Jesuit college, *Bos suetus aratro*: it was a poor play on words, certainly, though containing a tribute to the indefatigable diligence of the future *Aigle de Meaux*. But who shall say

how far the sobriquet, once earned and given, may have tended to confirm in him the habit of conscientious plodding that issued in such great results? We pause before another instance that occurs to us, very parallel with this, because it relates to one who was afterwards a Saint. But if Albertus Magnus had said of any of his other scholars, rather than of S. Thomas Aquinas, "This dumb Sicilian ox, as you call him, will one day low, so that all the world will hear him," we might have supposed that the remark confirmed in the young student the thoughtful silence which so deepened and expanded his intellectual power. And so of (*e.g.*) Mr. Cubitt: may he not have said to himself in boyhood, perhaps unconsciously (and some of our most influential thinkings are, it may be, only half recognized by ourselves), "My name implies a measure; well, then, I will measure to some purpose!" Or Van Tromp, "The sound of a clarion is ever ringing in mine ears: it shall sound the onset that conducts me to glory." Or Mrs. Trimmer, "I will write books for the correction of naughty children." Or Nicias, "Is there not an omen of victory in the very syllables by which I am called, to overcome my natural tendency to despond?" Or Law, "My profession is marked out for me by my surname, and I will rise to be Chief Justice." Or Lemon, "My sugar-plums shall be most delicate and delicious." Or Supple, "My gloves shall fit like the very skin." Or Truefitt, "Nothing shall be more perfect than my *appliqués*!" And so, to revert to instances given under a former head, we can imagine the moral influence on the possessor of such a name as Sweetman, Joly de Fleury, Bonfils, Beausobre, Drinkwater, Goodchild, Eugenius, Benignus, Modestus, Philopater, and Philopappus, on the one hand; or of Lowe, Savage, Unthank, Sterne, Darke, Wilde, Furius, Lawless, Levillain, Severus, on the other. In short, as some men are spurred on to great deeds by the remembrance of their ancestors' names, so others may be much influenced by a reflex thought of their own: and Condé at Rocroi is acting on a similar motive to what urges Truefitt in his invention of a peruke with springs. Both are the servants of a name.

We must still append a remark on what heraldry calls *punning* devices and mottoes, or those which contain a play on the name of the family bearing them. It would sometimes appear difficult *a priori* to determine whether the name came from the motto, or the motto from the name; as in the case of the Fortescues, whose motto is *Forte scutum salus ducum*. But in another oft-quoted instance, that of the Vernons, and their equivocal, oracular, *Ver non semper viret*, it is more probable that the motto, equally true whether the family prospered or

declined, was *applied* to a name already existing.* And so of crests: Bacon, the premier baronet of England, who runs up to a half-brother of the μέγα χοῦμα ὕδρ of Verulam and experimental philosophy, blazons a porker *passant* for his crest; Lord Hawke, a hawk; probably the family of Heron a heron; with other numerous instances, on which, with the old gentleman in "Kenilworth," we may "go and read Gwillim."

5. The sources of surnames hitherto mentioned are all, more or less, obvious when stated: their *rationale* is contained in even a first-sight survey of the origin and progress of society. This, too, is eminently the case in the last class we are to touch upon—surnames of devotion. For European society was founded in the ages of faith; and men were at least as likely to adopt a name from motives of religion as from any accidental circumstance relating to their pilgrimage on earth. We cannot deny that surnames of devotion are more frequent and more obvious in some races than in others. Comparing the Anglo-Saxon with the Celt whom he dispossessed, and with the Norman by whom he was conquered in turn, we find him sadly behind in this respect. He is so, after making all deductions for the gradual corruption of surnames, in some of which we can hardly discern the religious meaning they once expressed. However, to state his case fairly, we will give a few instances in which he *was* religious. The name Pankhurst, then, is not of rare occurrence in Sussex and Surrey; and is perhaps to be found in other parts of England. This is a very slight change for *Pentecost*,† and those who own the name are still accustomed to write it either way. Then we have Halliwell, who was one of Nelson's captains, and sent him that strange present, a coffin made out of the mainmast of the *Orient*, after the battle of the Nile. His ancestors must have written themselves Holy-well, as we may argue from the analogy of "halidome," "All Hallows," &c. On the same

* When Lord Brougham was ennobled, and his escutcheon and motto were, in heraldic phrase, "found" for him, he chose for the latter the words "*Pro rege, lege, grege.*" On which some *mauvais plaisant*, alluding to the democratical tendencies of that eccentric peer, remarked that the motto should be thus construed: "*Pro rege, lege grege.*" Such, at least, was the gossip of the day. We are unable at the moment to ascertain whether the ancient north-country family to which he belonged owned the motto before the rise of Henry Brougham to the woolsack gave occasion to the equivocal.

† "As to the name Easter," says Mr. Ferguson, "it is not so certain. A man might naturally enough be called Easter from being born at that season (and we have also Pask and Pash from the same origin); yet, seeing that we have many names derived from ancient mythology, we cannot help thinking of the old Pagan goddess Oster or Eastre, who gave the name to the Christian festival."—(p. 77.)

principle, Halliday witnesses to the old Catholic times, when all England kept days of obligation. More unchanged than this is Holcroft, who probably derives from some *τέμενος* or consecrated enclosure, the grave-yard hallowed by the remains of a reputed saint; unless we are forced to secularize him as Holt-croft, or Germanize him as Holz-croft. Let us give him the benefit of the doubt. Holyoak is doubtful on another score, whether he does not go up to the Druids, or to Dodona; so he is hardly evidence. We may at least quote Saint, of which name we know one instance, in the person of a respectable Protestant clergyman.

Some instances are less obvious. The family name Foster might be supposed to indicate merely a *collocutaneus*—or foster-brother—in days when that quasi-relationship was observed with much fidelity. Miss Edgeworth's "Ennui" hinges upon the existence of such a feeling in Ireland, even in the last generation. But the name is, in fact, a corruption of Vedaster, from S. Vedast, a sainted bishop of Arras in the sixth century, held in great veneration in Catholic England, and Englished into S. Foster. So, at least, says Camden, in his Remains.* And this unexpected instance may convert other family names into names of devotion; especially Christian names borne as surnames, which do not seem to be patronymics; as Valentine, Sylvester, Gregory, Maurice, Bennett, Barnard, Lambert, Leonard, Arnold, Martin, and several others. Reynolds, too, unless we are compelled to surrender it as a mere patronymic (which we much fear), is derived from Renaud, and Renaud is, beyond a doubt, Renatus, in French, René.

Norman surnames, and French generally, abound in references to devotion. Among ourselves, we have families called St. George, St. Aubyn (Alban, after the British proto-martyr), St. Paul, St. Maur, St. Leger, St. John, St. Clair. The last is derived, not from the sainted foundress of the Second Franciscan Order, but from S. Clarus, martyred at the end of the ninth century; who, though English by birth, was French by residence, and has given his name to two several towns in Normandy. "He is honoured," says Butler (Nov. 4), "with singular veneration in the dioceses of Rouen, Beauvais, and Paris." His name must have travelled far and wide, with that *lætitia plurimorum, quia commune est bonum*, of S. Ambrose, before it became enshrined in Roslyn Chapel among

The lordly line of high Saint Clair.

* Quoted in Butler's "Lives of the Saints," Feb. 6.

As St. Clair becomes Sinclair, and St. Maur Seymour, and Maurice itself Morris, so St. John, in pronunciation though not in orthography, has "suffered a sea-change into something new and strange;" becoming dissociated from religious ideas in Bolingbroke, and allied to a contemptible *jeu de mots* in Dr. St. John Long, whose caustic and scarifying remedies, some thirty years ago, must have caused his afflicted patients to note the singular congruity of the physician's name with his mode of treatment. St. Simon, again, as we meet it in France, as little suggests the devotional origin of the surname as that of Bolingbroke in England. To take one or two other French examples: St. Priest, or Prix, is derived from S. Prætextatus, Archbishop of Rouen, whose feast is celebrated on the 24th of February. In our own day we have had Marshal Saint-Arnaud in the Crimea, and Count Saint-Aulaire as a diplomatist and historical writer. But if we went into the past, we should soon exceed our limits. A French biographical dictionary—that of Chaudon and Delandine—gives us more than seventy distinct family names of this kind. Of these we will only mark one, as having lost its original meaning, like so many among ourselves. Seneterre is a well-known name in French history; but it is, in fact, Saint Nectaire, corrupted first into Senectaire, then into its present form.

Coming back to England, we may remark on St. Liz, as an ancient Northamptonshire family, one of whom, Simon de St. Liz, built the castles of Northampton and Fotheringay. Who shall forbid us to suppose that Merriman, which has come to suggest far different associations, was originally a name of devotion, as a corruption of Mary-man, and indicating a devout client of our Lady? Certain it is, that "marry," the common adjuration or exclamation of our forefathers, as in "marry, come up!" was a corruption of our Lady's name; as the marygold was a flower so called in her honour.

But it is in the land of the Celt that we meet with surnames of devotion at every turn. And this is a subject so interesting, especially from the antiquity of the materials which might be brought to exemplify it, as to make us regret that no eminent Celtic scholar has undertaken the task. It might well have employed the research of the lamented Eugene O'Curry, and would, we think, receive valuable illustrations from among the kindred races of Wales and Cornwall. We will here only draw attention to two classes of Celtic surnames, the one commencing with *Mul* (anciently Mael or Moel), the other with *Gil*.

Both are surnames of devotion. The first implies, if we are not mistaken, one who is tonsured, or wears a cowl, from

reverence to a particular Saint. Thus, among the ancient Bishops of Armagh, we find (though, in their case, as Christian names) Moelcoba Mac-Crunnvail, Mael-brigid, Moelathgen, and Moelkieran. Two of these names, at least, are intelligible even to the casual reader, implying devotion to SS. Brigid and Kieran. Not less plain is Maelmurry, as a client of our Lady; and he, by the way, was no ecclesiastic, but a stalwart warrior, who, with aid of the Danes of Dublin, compelled Donogh, King of Leinster, to resign his crown to him, at the end of the tenth century. Another contemporary hero of like designation was Maelseachlain, second of the name, who was compelled to yield the monarchy of Ireland to Brian Boromha. His name implies one who was tonsured, or cowed, in honour of S. James. Other instances might be quoted, the ancestors of the Mulhollands, Mulvanys, Mulcahys, Mulrennans of to-day. But one we will not pass over; because it would seem to open another field of inquiry. Dr. Lanigan, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland" (i. 470), gives us Maelgwn or *Maglocun*, as prince of North Wales, and afterwards "King of all the Britons," in the sixth century. It would be interesting to know whether other Celtic names now commencing with *Mac* or *M'*, and therefore seemingly mere patronymics, may not be corruptions from words of a similar devotional meaning.

Coming to the other prefix, *Gil*, we recognize it more easily as meaning a *servant*; and, in this devotional sense, a servant of God and of the Saints. Most of our readers are probably familiar with the term gilly, applied to a shooting attendant on the Scotch moors; and no visitor to Killarney is unacquainted with MacGillicuddy's Reeks. GilleMacLiag, successor of S. Malachy in the see of Armagh, though Latinized into Gelasius (a bathos indeed), certainly derives the first part of his name from devotion. The curious thing is, that the latter part has no reference to religion at all; and means only (by different interpretations) the son of the scholar, or poet, or physician. But this only makes the example more interesting, and not less germane to our purpose. For either the "Gilla" belonged to this bishop before his consecration, or was assumed after. In the first case, it may have meant that he was a servant of God, though the sacred name was, perhaps out of reverence, unexpressed; which was not the case in another devotional name, Gilchreest, or Gilchrist, nor in that of the Culdees, or Coli-dei, a *Deo colendo*. In the second case, it might imply that the bishop was then more strictly bound than ever to the Divine service; or it may have been

used in the sense in which our Holy Father calls himself *Servus servorum Dei*.

Mac-giolla-Padraig was Prince of Ossory in the tenth century. There can be no doubt of the latter part of his name being devotional, but we hardly know why Lanigan (iii. 391) simply Englishes him into Fitzpatrick. We should have thought him "the son of S. Patrick's servant;" implying not so much his own devotion as that of his father or ancestor. If Lanigan is right, as so great an authority is likely to be, he seems to answer a question we raised a few moments ago; and we are, so far, at liberty to interpret what might appear patronymics, as names of devotion. Macbride is a surname with which we should at all events have used that freedom, considering the wide-spread devotion to the great S. Brigid of Kildare, which extends from "the steeple of S. Bride's in Fleet Street," and the neighbouring Bride-well, to the most distant parts of Scotland; as witness Kirkcudbright and the Hebrides, Hy-brides, or Brigid's Islands.

We have not had an opportunity of seeing the works consulted by Mr. Ferguson, the titles of which he gives as pre-facing his own. We cannot, therefore, say how far they may bear out his one-sided theory. But for ourselves, and in the interests of literature and archæology, we desiderate a work that shall give fair allowance to other sources for our surnames than the Teuton, the whole Teuton, and nothing but the Teuton. We would fain listen to an author who will forbear to metamorphose the lingering remains which seem to witness for the original Celtic population in England; and not ignore, to the extent to which Mr. Ferguson ignores, either the Rome of religion in such names as sprang from her system, or the Rome of letters in such dialects as were refracted and pieced together from her ancient tongue.

ART. V.—UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FOR ENGLISH CATHOLICS.

University Education for English Catholics. A Letter to the Very Rev. J. H. Newman, D.D. By a Catholic Layman. London: Burns & Lambert.

WE are earnestly at issue with this "Catholic layman," both on his main practical conclusion, and also on various opinions which he has incidentally expressed; but we are on that account the more desirous of bearing express testimony to the temperate and Christian tone in which he has written. There are no traces in his pamphlet of bitterness or sarcasm, nor any *ad captandum* protests against "narrowness" and "bigotry": he rests his whole case on argument alone. Further, he implies throughout (and this is the most important point of all in a Catholic controversialist) that the question which he treats is one for the ecclesiastical authorities to decide peremptorily and without appeal. On our side we fully confess that these authorities have not yet spoken; and we infer that, before doing so, they are not unwilling to hear the whole question fairly and patiently argued out. We propose, under such circumstances, to take our own humble share in this momentous argument. A full discussion, indeed, of the matter would occupy a volume; if it is to be discussed in a review at all, it must be discussed piecemeal: and our obvious way, therefore, on the present occasion, will be to attempt little more than a reply to the writer before us. Our argument shall be mainly *ad hominem*:—"If your premisses be admitted, your conclusion should be the very opposite to that which you advocate." And to make clear at starting the precise point at issue, we will here mention that our author's proposal is the establishment of a Catholic College at Oxford University.

It is a pleasure to state that on the most fundamental principles which affect the subject, we are in entire agreement with this "Catholic layman." He follows Father Newman in holding that—

Religious Truth is not only a portion, but a condition, of general knowledge. It is of unutterable importance and supreme influence in its bearing on other branches of knowledge (p. 31). I have not the least intention (he tells us) of saying a word or indulging a thought in favour of an education deprived

of the light of faith and the guidance of the Church. The education in a Catholic College at Oxford would not be confined to religious instruction . . . but would embrace the entire secular as well as religious training (p. 41). What we require is . . . that whilst every branch of secular education is accurately and fully investigated, *the science of Christian truth should be cultivated with not less accuracy and fulness* . . . Of the bearings of theology upon other branches of knowledge and of those other branches of knowledge upon theology, *it is absolutely necessary* that the rising generation should be taught far more fully than has hitherto been thought necessary for laymen, or even for ecclesiastics (p. 47).

We cannot regard a writer as our opponent with whom we so cordially sympathize on the ends to be pursued, widely as we may differ from him on the proper means of pursuing them.

For ourselves, we incline to fear that any satisfactory solution of the great problem before us, is just at the present moment hampered by practical difficulties. But if we could take so sanguine a view as this writer takes of the *personnel* which is now at the disposal of our Episcopate, we should humbly submit that the full time has come in which, not his scheme, but a scheme directly inconsistent with his, might at once be started with the greatest possible advantage to English Catholics. He takes for granted that there would be no difficulty whatever in obtaining at once a superior and a staff of teachers, who, on the one hand, should possess the full confidence of our ecclesiastical superiors, and, on the other hand, should be capable of adequately fulfilling those most solemn and responsible duties which he assigns to them. He admits fully that "hardly is there to be found any atmosphere more powerful than that of the two [English Protestant] Universities to transform and to assimilate those who may live in it to its own properties" (p. 19) ; but the Catholic teachers of his College will be fully competent, he expects, to protect their pupils from all taint of the surrounding pestilence.* They will have sufficiently powerful and creative minds to introduce a totally new idea into that inveterately Protestant institution, Oxford University, and "make the Catholic religion the basis of" its "collegiate system" (p. 33). "*The whole training of the students*" is to be "in their hands" (*ibid.*). They will be fully competent "for the formation of character, intellectual and moral, for the cultivation of the mind, for the improvement of the individual, for the study of literature, for the classics, and those rudimental sciences which strengthen and sharpen the intellect" (p. 34). They will be

* "Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem millia a dexteris tuis, ad te autem non appropinquabit."

able to impart "the science of Christian truth with not less accuracy and fulness" than that with which Oxford professors "investigate . . . every branch of secular science" (p. 47). They will be able to expound fully and satisfactorily "the bearings of theology on other branches of knowledge, and of those other branches of knowledge on theology" (*ibid.*).

It is the purpose of our present article to maintain that if Catholic teachers be really forthcoming, so highly endowed as the above picture implies, and, at the same time, so intimately acquainted with English habits and character as to give them due means of success, no further difficulty remains of any moment. On such an hypothesis, we humbly submit that no time should be lost in at once starting either a Catholic University, or a Catholic College of higher studies, totally removed from Oxford or any other Protestant institution, and placed under the control of these most highly and rarely gifted men. Our argument, in fact, is simply this: If such men are *not* to be found, our author himself admits that his scheme would be simply pernicious; if they *are* to be found, we maintain that an exclusively Catholic place of education is their appropriate and useful sphere.*

We admit, then, most unreservedly, or rather, maintain most earnestly, that the English Catholic body lies under a most serious and increasing disadvantage from the absence of all higher education for the leisured classes. Moreover, when we speak of a higher or "liberal" education, we give the same general meaning to the term which is so powerfully set forth in F. Newman's Dublin Lectures, and which is endorsed by public opinion both here and abroad. By a "liberal" education as such, we understand a certain kind, not of moral, but of intellectual education. Of what kind? That which may preserve its recipients from the narrowness, vulgarity, one-sidedness, shallowness of thought, which would otherwise spontaneously spring up as weeds spring up in uncultivated land, and which would also be directly engendered by the mechanical routine of ordinary and every-day life. Further,

* It must never be forgotten, that the "Catholic layman" imposes on his college superiors a task very greatly more arduous than that of conducting, on its own independent footing, a Catholic college for this higher education. Many persons might be able satisfactorily to accomplish the latter duty, who would not possess the genius and power requisite for that incomparably more anxious function of protecting the youthful mind from anti-Catholic influences, which our author's scheme requires them to fulfil. We say this, even on the hypothesis that the said scheme can in any sense be defended. For ourselves we are confident, as we argue throughout this article, that the greatest exertions of the best possible superiors would altogether fail to make it healthful, or even endurable.

as we are fully in accordance with public opinion on the end of liberal education as such, so we take no other view of the due means for its attainment, than that which will at once recommend itself to all educated men. There are three results at which those who direct the higher education will rightly aim, in order to their great end of liberalizing* the mind. Firstly, they will aim at disciplining the intellect; enduing it with strength, accuracy, and comprehensiveness of grasp; giving it "power over its own faculties, flexibility, method, critical exactness, sagacity, resource, address;" † training it into a power of combining its various objects of thought into one consistent whole. Secondly, they will labour to impart taste, refinement, and poetical appreciation. Thirdly, they will familiarize a youth with such particular studies as will enable him to take a view both profound and comprehensive of those phenomena with which his future course of life will make him conversant. This last constituent of a liberal education has a momentous bearing on our present subject, while (though no one can deny its necessity) it has not been so prominently enforced as its extreme importance deserves. We will therefore speak of it at somewhat greater length than of the other two.

We say, then, it is an essential part of a liberal education that a youth shall be familiarized with such particular studies as will enable him to take a view both profound and comprehensive of those phenomena with which his future course of life will make him conversant. It is not sufficient that his instructors impart to him a power of acquiring and grasping truth; they must communicate to him truth itself in some sufficient measure. Thus, if a man's life is to be spent in laborious political action or speculation, he will have received no due intellectual and liberal preparation for that life, unless he be intimately acquainted with the broad facts and general features of modern history. Again, he who is to be absorbed in commercial pursuits, will be in practice a narrow and vulgar man, unless he have mastered political economy. An indefinite number of other instances illustrating the same truth might easily be given; but we will rather dwell for a moment on the particular one just intimated. Let us suppose a man who has received the best Oxford education of our day, but who has made no study of political economy, to enter on active and engrossing commercial life. His view of the pheno-

* The verb "liberalize," as here used, corresponds to the substantive "liberality," not "liberalism."

† "Scope and Nature of University Education," p. 171, 2nd edition.

mena around him will be as narrow and vulgar—he will be as simply a slave to every superficial appearance—he will be as unable to arrive at any true general conclusion—as the most ignorant, self-made upstart. The one advantage of his Oxford education will probably be that he is conscious of his own incompetence; but in all the particulars which we have named he will be immeasurably inferior to some hard-headed man, who may know little Latin and no Greek, who may have no pretension either to general largeness of view or general refinement of taste, but who has honestly mastered the science in question. On all those practical matters with which they are jointly conversant, the liberal thinker will be our political economist; the shallow and perplexed ignoramus will be our Oxford classman. The latter can but proceed by empirical rules; it is the former only who ascends to general principles.*

Now, just as ignorance of political economy generates, under particular circumstances, such narrowness and vulgarity of thought, so much more does ignorance of Christian doctrine. Consider that large class of men who are admirable as practical statesmen, or political thinkers, or metaphysical philosophers, or literary critics, but who neither possess habits of practical piety nor have received any really effectual religious instruction. Such men may be brought across the phenomena of religious earnestness—the actions, *e. g.*, of Saints or the Church's political maxims and principles. On such occasions we often find them to judge as hastily, narrowly, and preposterously—to display an ignorance as extravagant, and (still surer mark of vulgarity) as profound an unconsciousness of their own ignorance—as the most unlettered and untrained vulgarian. Why is this? They have received, perhaps, the best education which Oxford or Cambridge bestows; their intellect has been carefully disciplined; but they have not been taught the necessary knowledge. It cannot be too often

* We do not, of course, forget, that the two processes of disciplining the intellect and acquiring knowledge re-act most importantly on each other. The acquirement of modern history or political economy is an admirable intellectual discipline, and, on the other hand, they are studied far more easily by the trained than the untrained mind. But still we contend that this or that branch of knowledge is in this or that case an essential part of liberal education, altogether independently of its effect in disciplining the intellect. Nor can it be successfully maintained that a liberal or preparatory education should be the same for all who receive it. This might be true if the period of education extended to the age of thirty or thirty-five; for, in that case, *all* the students might have access to a knowledge so wide as to preserve them from narrowness in any walk of life: but it need not be said that circumstances forbid all possibility of this. The recent changes at Oxford in some inadequate degree recognize the principle for which we contend.

repeated: no imaginable amount of intellectual discipline, merely as such, can suffice to liberalize the mind; there must also be a reception of due and sufficient knowledge.

But, further, no knowledge, surely, is so conducive to liberalizing the mind as religious knowledge. Without history we cannot understand events in their political bearing; without political economy we cannot understand them in their commercial bearing; but without religious knowledge we cannot understand them in their moral and spiritual bearing—in their bearing on that one end for which man was created. It is the work of a liberal education, as F. Newman is never weary of inculcating, that its recipients shall possess a knowledge, “not only of things, but of their mutual and true relations.” No Catholic, then, can consider an education as really liberal, unless it comprise those verities which express the highest and truest of all relations,—the relations between the Creator and the creature, the Church and the world, things eternal and things temporal. Moreover, it is quite proverbial that the mere torpid reception of truth is no adequate educational result. The Catholic cannot be said to have learned those verities to which we just now referred, except in proportion as he may have so mastered them that he views under their light, and estimates by their standard, the whole range of facts which comes within his cognisance, psychological, historical, political, and social.

It might appear unnecessary to say more on this head, because the “Catholic layman” himself represents it as essential that “the science of Christian truth should be cultivated with” extreme “accuracy and fulness” (p. 47): nor have we, in fact, room for anything like a due enforcement of this momentous principle. Yet we shall add a few more remarks in behalf of our proposition, because, to our mind, the whole question before us turns on its due appreciation. We have already urged that no education is really liberal which does not impart some considerable realization of Catholic doctrine, both in itself and in its bearing on other truths. There are other reasons also which illustrate the extreme practical importance of this study; and we shall select two out of their number.

The very close relation which exists between theological science on the one hand, and metaphysical or psychological on the other, is just now both an admitted and a familiar fact to all Catholic thinkers. Now, one essential part of the higher education is, without doubt, to train those who may be so disposed, for a future prosecution of such philosophical investigations. Yet, how can this possibly be effected unless a due

knowledge be given of such theological truths as must be the landmarks and guides of a Catholic philosopher? Without this knowledge he may fall into the gravest and most dangerous philosophical errors. It may be said, indeed, hastily, that it will suffice if those who *teach* philosophy are theologians. But a moment's consideration exposes the fallacy of such an attempted reply. What the higher education has to do, is not merely to teach a certain amount of philosophical knowledge, but (as we have said) to prepare students for future philosophical research of their own. For this end, *vicarious* theological knowledge is simply useless; whatever theological knowledge is really necessary must be personal. Nor, indeed, is it only the metaphysical and psychological sciences which thus require theology for their guide and corrective; though, undoubtedly, they require it in a very special and peculiar degree. But the Munich Brief pronounces a similar judgment in respect to secular sciences in general. "Their Catholic cultivators should always have Divine Revelation before them as a guiding star," to save them from falling into "errors and quicksands," and from coming into collision with "revealed truth." It is most obvious to remark that Divine Revelation cannot be a guiding star to scientific men, unless they have studied it with some considerable care; nor will any one say that those portions of it with which secular science may possibly conflict, are its simplest and least recondite portions.

Our second argument shall be one of a totally different character. For reasons which it is not difficult to assign, the mass of educated Englishmen regard the Catholic religion with no small degree of supercilious contempt. Now, since the social intercourse between Protestants and Catholics is daily becoming more familiar, and since Protestants are far the more numerous, influential, and intellectual class of the two, there is plainly an imminent danger of this contempt, in some degree, affecting the convictions of Catholics. We shall have more to say hereafter on this serious danger; meanwhile we may assume that a most important part of the higher Catholic education will consist in preparing our youths against it by impressing on them the unapproachable intellectual greatness of Catholicism. Now there is no discipline which will achieve this with nearly so much force as a methodical study of doctrine; an examination, in more or fewer instances, of the Church's procedure in the preservation, analysis, and development of that precious deposit which has been entrusted to her by Almighty God. What is it, *e.g.*, which leads the votaries of Kant or Comte to regard their master with such enthusiastic veneration? Their sense of the immense field of phenomena

which his system embraces, and their belief of the singular comprehensiveness of mind which brings these phenomena (as they think) into harmony. But no human philosophy can be compared with the doctrinal fabric of Catholicism, whether you consider the great mass of data which it contemplates,—data furnished by revelation, by reason, and by experience respectively—or the depth and completeness whereby it blends these data into one harmonious whole. It would be deplorable indeed if the student received every help for studying the great anti-Catholic philosophers, and if he should nevertheless receive no adequate training in that Divine system which accepts and locates every truth they may bring to light, while furnishing the securest antidote against those pernicious errors with which they abound.

It is impossible, within our limits, to enter on any detailed statement as to the character and extent of this doctrinal instruction: we must content ourselves with two remarks. It would differ in many important respects from the professional teaching received by clerics, and would, of course, be contained in much smaller compass; while it would include, nevertheless, some real and careful study of the great Catholic verities, in their relation to each other, to the *dicta* of reason, and to the facts of experience. On the other hand, the bearing of Catholicism on the various secular sciences would be imparted much more fully to these laymen than to ordinary clerics, from the very fact that with the former secular science is so far more prominent a pursuit. On no one particular, indeed, would there be such anxious care as on this—that every study of every kind should be invested with the fullest light which it can derive from Catholic truth and Catholic principle.

So much on doctrine in general. But there is one particular doctrine which stands in many respects on special grounds of its own, and demands therefore separate attention: we mean, that on “the Church.” Every Catholic knows himself to be a member of two bodies politic—a subject of two distinct governments, each supreme in its own order—the Church and the State. Of these, the former has far stronger claims than the latter—not, indeed, on his obedience (for simple obedience is due to each when acting within its proper sphere), but—on his loyal and affectionate attachment. Let us contrast the two in some of their numerous contrarities. (1) The Church’s primary end is immeasurably higher than the State’s. (2) The blessings which she conveys are immeasurably higher and greater. (3) The State neither has nor claims to have any authority over inward convictions; but the Church, as God’s infallible organ, authoritatively and absolutely controls

them on the highest, most momentous, and most practically persuasive of all imaginable truths. (4) From the mere fact of the Church issuing a command, we know for certain that such command is within her province; and we are bound to obey it so far as we are able, with whatever energy and severity the State may forbid our compliance. (5) The rulers of the Church, like the rulers of any other society, have their own maxims and principles of government; but there is this broad contrast between the two—that the Church's maxims of government are simply pure and heavenly, while those of an earthly society are, in general, most deeply and widely tainted by an anti-Christian leaven.* And this is emphatically the case now that the State has everywhere well-nigh abdicated a distinct Christian basis, and that the great Christian ethnarchy of the Middle Ages—Christendom, properly so called—no longer exists: there are nations composed of individual Christians, but there is no grand Christian polity. (6) The Church, like

* The following most impressive passage of F. Newman's will sufficiently explain what we here intend:—"The Church is a kingdom which, from first to last, in every age, endures *because* of the righteousness which is in it. Earthly kingdoms are founded, not in justice, but in injustice. They are created by the sword, by robbery, cruelty, perjury, craft, and fraud. There never was a kingdom, except Christ's, which was not conceived and born, nurtured and educated, in sin. There never was a State but was committed to acts and maxims which it is its crime to maintain, and its ruin to abandon. What monarchy is there but began in invasion or usurpation? What revolution has been effected without self-will, violence, or hypocrisy? What popular government but is blown about by every wind, as if it had no conscience and no responsibilities? What dominion of the few but is selfish and unscrupulous? Where is military strength without the passion for war? Where is trade without the love of filthy lucre, which is the root of all evil? But Christ's kingdom was of another sort. It was destined to be powerful and wide-spreading above other kingdoms; it was to be the abode of proud, covetous, ambitious, sensual hearts; it was to look like the kingdoms of this world, first, because of its wealth and power; next, because there were many among its subjects who sought these things. But this is the indelible distinction between it and all other kingdoms, that they spring from evil, and depend on evil; they have their life and strength in bold deeds and bad principles; but that the life of the Church lies, not in inflicting evil, but in receiving it; not in doing, but in suffering; in all those things which the world despises, as being fitter in themselves to pull down an empire than to build it up; in patience, in simplicity, in innocence, in concession, in passiveness, in resignation. . . . We conquer by turning the cheek to the smiter; by repaying good for evil; by praying for the persecutor; by giving to him that asks; by suffering for the feeble; by sheltering the widow and the fatherless; by being champions of the poor; by fortitude, firmness, constancy, disinterestedness, fairness, moderation, nobleness, bountifulness, self-sacrifice, and self-command; by patience in enduring, and perseverance in well-doing. Thus the heavenly kingdom rose at first: thus, and thus only, in spite of its untrue members, which cumber it, is it still maintained."—*Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, pp. 273-275.

other bodies politic, has her heroes, the great men of her history, cherished in the thoughts and memories of her children as her great ornaments in the past. But the world's heroes have ennobled their name by qualities which are often not necessarily virtuous at all, and which are almost always compatible with any amount of worldliness and godlessness; while the Church's Saints are heroes in the very respect of their leading that life which, as reason declares, alone of all others is consistently virtuous, and which, as faith assures us, is no mere result of human effort, but is both started and sustained by the wonder-working grace of God. (7) In every nation there is a certain subtle, yet most powerful, influence, which we call the national spirit; it is produced partly by national character and partly by long-continued habits of legislation and administration; and it imbues unconsciously the mind of each individual citizen with an indefinite number of notions, regarded by him as self-evident first principles, and as beyond the province of criticism or examination. In like manner, on the Church's side, there is a Catholic spirit, and there are Catholic instincts, produced partly by the working of Catholic truth on those pious and simple souls who faithfully receive it, and partly by the more direct agency of the *Ecclesia Docens*; and this circumambient Catholic atmosphere is one of her principal instruments in bringing home to each individual the great truths with which she is intrusted. But these two spirits—the Catholic and the national respectively—are very far more antagonistic than harmonious. To the former we cannot resign ourselves too unreservedly, for it is the very effluence of God the Holy Ghost. Towards the prevailing national spirit, on the contrary, our only reasonable attitude is one of deep jealousy and suspicion; because it is charged with principles which, from the corruption of human nature, are sure to be far more false than true, and from which we should keep ourselves entirely free, until we have measured them by their only true standard, the Church's voice.

From all these points of contrast it follows that we have a far closer corporate connection with a French or Italian Catholic than with an Irish or English Protestant, as such; and, if he be a loyal son of the Church, should have with him a far deeper and wider sympathy. And it also follows, as we have already observed, that we owe to the Church a far more unreserved and loyal devotion than we owe to the State. The enemies of Catholicism have, indeed, founded on this our principle one of their most violent objections, and maintain that no zealous Catholic can be a good subject. Catholics contend,

on the contrary, that the most zealous Catholic is the best of all subjects; partly because there is no lesson which the Church more earnestly enforces than the hearty and generous rendering to Cæsar of all which is Cæsar's due, and partly because the highest interests of Church and State are, in fact, identical. To this it may be added, that, just as a good man loves his fellow-men all the more genuinely and earnestly from the very fact that he loves God still better, so the zealous Catholic loves his country in a far higher and truer sense than that in which the worldly patriot can love her, from the very fact that he knows wherein her true welfare consists; that he pursues that welfare simply and disinterestedly; and that he ever views her in her relation with God and with God's kingdom, the Church. On such grounds as these the Protestant objection may be most satisfactorily answered; but as to the premiss on which that objection proceeds—the premiss, namely, that, if Catholicism be true, a far higher and more unreserved devotion is due to the ecclesiastical than to the civil government—surely neither Protestant nor Catholic can raise a question.

Now, if all this be true, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of impressing it on the mind of Catholic youth, in order that they may grow up to maturity in its full possession. The Church is God's chief instrument in the salvation of souls and the sanctification of society. Those great works, therefore, are forwarded in proportion as she is free to exercise her highest functions; and they are grievously impeded in proportion as she is fettered and hampered in her operations. Nor can any obstacle be named which in every age has more deplorably stood in her way, and so in the way of God's most gracious designs, than a deficiency on the part of influential laymen in due recognition of her claims. Those, then, are labouring in the holiest of causes, who are bearing a part, however small, in the great work of training such laymen from youth upwards in the Church's true doctrine respecting her own privileges and constitution.

It may be objected, perhaps, that if such conclusions as the above follow so obviously and irresistibly from the most elementary Catholic premisses, no great trouble can be requisite for teaching them to an intelligent youth. This leads us to a part of our subject at which we have already hinted, but which requires to be treated with emphatic prominence. There is no more virulent disease of the intellect—none, we may add, whose remedy more characteristically appertains to the higher education—than the inveterate habit of accepting truth otiosely and speculatively, without practically holding what is

professed, or even understanding what is meant by it. Let us go back for a moment here to an old illustration. Let us suppose that some student of political economy has mastered, *e.g.*, Mill's or Bastiat's work, in such sense that he could stand a good examination in it; that he could enounce its various theories, and the arguments adducible in their behalf. But let us further suppose that when brought into the commercial world, he has no power whatever of applying what he has learned; that he is quite unable to point to the various facts which are really included in, and signified by, this or that theory, or to recognize, amidst the throng and multiplicity of facts, any traces of those great commercial laws which he has committed to memory. Such a man has really not studied political economy at all: his mind has been occupied, not with the real data of the science, but with arbitrary notions or meaningless words. He must go to school again. He must in such sense master the theoretical conclusions of his science, that he shall readily and easily apply them to every relevant instance which comes before him. The intellectual fault which we have described is more or less to be dreaded in all scientific pursuits: but there is no object of knowledge in regard to which it is so flagrant and so prejudicial (and that, as we believe, in consequence of man's moral corruption) as in religious truths. All Catholics, for instance, admit speculatively, that one additional grade of spiritual perfection is more valuable than the loftiest intellect, the most aristocratic birth, or the largest wealth; yet some of them continually imply just the opposite of this in the various judgments which they form on the individual events of every-day life; in their speculation on their children's future; in their estimate of political events; and in a thousand other practical ways. They hold one doctrine as a general truth, and they hold a doctrine precisely contradictory on almost every particular which that general truth comprises. And so in the case before us. It is very easy, no doubt, to induce a Catholic student to accept speculatively such truths regarding the Church's office and claims as those which we stated above; but as it is very easy, so also it is very useless. What we need is, that those great truths shall spread fruitfully through his whole intellect, not remain barren in one little corner of it; that they shall habitually affect his whole attitude of mind towards Rome and towards England; that they shall pervade his views of history, of politics, of literature; that they shall be his very stand-point for estimating the whole range of social phenomena. Unless this is done with some reasonable sufficiency, *nothing* is done; or rather an unspeakably serious calamity befalls us. He has received an education which

makes him thoughtful and intelligent. He will not be content, therefore, to think haphazard and at random, but will assuredly measure all these things by one standard or another. If, therefore, he have not been trained to estimate them one by one according to the Church's standard, he will measure them, as a matter of course, by those directly contradictory principles which he unconsciously imbibes from the world around him, and which are but too fatally congenial to the natural man. Thus he will grow more and more out of harmony with the Church's teaching, and will regard her practical attitude with constantly increasing distaste and aversion. If ever it should happen (which God forbid !) that a large number of influential laymen have received a vigorous intellectual education, and emerge from it imbued with maxims and tendencies such as these, they might succeed, to a truly formidable extent, in thwarting the Church's authority and paralyzing her action.

So much on doctrinal instruction. There is another study, not doctrinal, which it is also a necessity of the time that the higher Catholic education should include. Surrounded, as the Church now is, by most able, energetic, and indefatigable enemies, every influential Catholic is more or less called on to do political battle in her cause ; but, in order to do this, he must rightly understand her political position and principles. It is of great moment, then, that an educated Catholic shall learn to read modern history in its true light ; that he shall learn the legitimate meaning of "civilization ;" and that he shall be able to trace the intimate connection of its progress with the Church's influence.

These preliminary statements will suffice as a groundwork for the controversy between the "Catholic layman" and ourselves ; and we will frankly make one admission at starting. If the hypothesis could be maintained that intellectual discipline is the one end of intellectual education, we know of no place in England which would offer so great advantages as Oxford or Cambridge University ; not so much, indeed, because of any great value attaching to the direct instruction there received, as because of the opportunity there given for collision with other gifted intellects. But we have argued most earnestly against any such hypothesis as that above supposed. A higher education for Catholics, as we have seen, will be a signal benefit or a terrible calamity, precisely according as it shall, or shall not, be thoroughly leavened with Catholic principles. Our author himself, no doubt, fully agrees with us so far, and will join issue with us on the very ground which we

propose. If it appear that a Catholic College at Oxford will train its youth with reasonable success in giving to Catholic truth its due supremacy over their whole body of thought, we entertain no further objection to his project; if the contrary appear, he will no longer advocate that project. This, then, is the question to be discussed. Consider such specially Catholic studies as those which we have above mentioned: what we have to desire is, that the student shall be deeply impressed with a sense of their transcendent value and authority, and that he shall learn to adjust practically by their light his whole view of phenomena, moral, social, and political, so far as that light can possibly extend. Can this, we ask, be reasonably expected in the alumnus of a Catholic College at Oxford? We will first take the case of keener and more gifted intellects, and afterwards of those which are more ordinary and common-place.

A Catholic youth, then, of conspicuous abilities, comes up to Oxford. He is animated by an eager desire of distinguishing himself on a larger stage than has hitherto been afforded him, and he has a profound (not to say greatly exaggerated) intellectual reverence for this world-known and time-honoured University. What ensues? His whole heart is, of course, with those studies which can gain for him University distinction, and his whole intellectual reverence is for that curriculum which the University has so long sanctioned and approved. His Catholic College may impose on him a certain course of specially Catholic instruction; but he will fret and be impatient under the infliction, and content himself with a most perfunctory obedience to the College rule. All this is really so very obvious, that it would be an insult to the common sense of our readers if we insisted on it at any length. His specially Catholic instruction would occupy not a paramount, but, on the contrary, the very lowest place in his intellect, his imagination, and his affections.

Another consideration leads most clearly to the same conclusion. It appears from the pamphlet before us (pp. 15-17) that its author proposes the freest and most unreserved social intercourse between the Catholic and his Protestant fellow-students; and he quotes some very strong passages from F. Newman, with which we heartily concur in their whole substance and drift, on the admirable intellectual discipline which such intercourse is calculated to confer.* But, strangely

* F. Newman, however, is careful to add, that such social intercourse has often been found compatible with "miserable deformities on the side of morals, a virtual unbelief, and a heathen code of ethics." The author honestly quotes this, but lays no stress on it.

enough, he has not even paused to consider what the effect of such intercourse is likely to be on a youth's Catholic convictions; whereas, surely, if he had done so, he must have seen that no course could be more extravagant and preposterous than that which he recommends. You would train your son to adopt as first principles all which Catholics regard as certain, and to build his whole structure of thought on that basis. To accomplish this end, you send him to mix freely with the most influential and able persons of his own age whom England produces, well knowing that, differing as they may in all else, they agree in this—that the very notion of an infallible Church is a dangerous delusion; that Catholic doctrines are puerile and un-English superstitions; that the maxims of the Holy See, theological, social, and political, are a synonym for everything which is narrow, retrograde, and imbecile.

We hold as strongly as our author, that the higher intellectual education finds an invaluable instrument in the free intercourse of mind with mind, in the healthy collision of opinion and taste, in the combined efforts towards investigating truth put forth by those youthful spirits who are eager for its attainment. But we hold this under one all-important qualification—viz., that those questions alone shall be regarded as open which are really so, and that all which is supremely and divinely certain be accepted by the whole community with profound submission. It is for this very reason that we regard a Catholic University, or higher College, as so eminently desirable, in order that Catholic youths may be brought together at the period when truth is most eagerly sought, and when mutual influence is most powerful and most healthy. Thus the practical impression of those great verities which are held by all is constantly strengthened in each; and the genuine application of those verities is day by day more thoroughly mastered and understood. "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*": such is the genuine University motto. It is true, no doubt, and greatly to be regretted, that English Catholics are few, and that the University circle would be far narrower than could be wished. We cannot doubt, however, that such Catholic teachers as the "layman" presupposes, whenever they can be obtained, will spontaneously adopt the best remedy for this defect, by making it an important part of their business to cultivate personal and friendly relations with those under their care, and encourage them to the freest communication of opinion and feeling.

We have argued that, at all events, the highest and most

earnest intellects would not be Catholicized in a Catholic College at Oxford. But is there any reason to suppose that ordinary and every-day minds would fare better? We will not speak of any probability that they would be led by evil associates into vice and profligacy, because we honestly believe that the discipline of a Catholic College might give all reasonable security against this danger. But we look on it as certain that, in the vast majority of instances, a youth of ordinary talents would follow the lead of the higher minds under whose influence he is brought; that, while at College, he would accept their line of opinion as authoritative; and would carry with him from College a strong conviction that these are the legitimate leaders of thought.

Our author, however, brings various arguments against our conclusion; and these we must now briefly consider. Firstly, he dwells on the fact (p. 25) that the Church, in early times, "sanctioned her children in frequenting the heathen schools for the acquisition of secular accomplishments." We are a good deal surprised at his opinion that the dangers incident to such a situation are even comparable with those which would beset a Catholic student at Oxford. Surely common sense declares that the danger of contagion becomes indefinitely less, in proportion as the gulf is wider which separates the sound from the unsound. Considering how earnestly and unrelentingly opposed to each other were the Christians and heathens of that day, on the very first principles of morality and conduct, the result of their coming into physical contact would only be, unless under very exceptional circumstances, to intensify their mutual repugnance and their sense of moral contrariety. Is the religion and morality of Protestant Oxford the religion and morality of heathens? There are Oxford men, who, we sincerely trust, are in invincible ignorance of Catholicism, and more or less faithfully co-operate with supernatural grace; and, at all events, the Catholic cannot fail to observe that certain important fundamental principles are held by numbers of them in common with himself, notwithstanding all their vitally important differences. It is precisely this circumstance which makes their influence so dangerous.

Meanwhile, it is somewhat curious to observe the discordance between our author's proposal and the precedent which he alleges for its sanction. The evils (whatever they might be) of propinquity to heathens were endured for the sake of those vast benefits which accrue to the Church from the literary acquirements of her children; but he has not cited one single authority—and we should be surprised beyond measure if one

could be cited—for the opinion that such propinquity is in itself a good. Whereas *he* regards the free social intercourse with Protestants, not merely as a good, but as *the* one great good which he contemplates. The whole ordinary tutorial instruction, according to him, is to be with the Catholic College; the University professorial instruction he treats as insignificant and of no account;* the advantage of University *examinations* he altogether disparages (pp. 12, 13); familiarity with the Protestant students—this is the one invaluable blessing for which his whole elaborate scheme has been devised. We may fairly challenge him to cite so much as one Catholic authority which can be even colourably represented as favouring such a view.

Our author, however, moralizes on the objections which have been raised in this Review against his proposal, and says (p. 40) that “there have never been wanting extreme partisans more zealous for Catholic principle than the Church itself.” Yet he has omitted all allusion to an important judgment of the Church in a case presenting great analogy to the present; viz., that of the Queen’s Colleges in Ireland. The Holy See has pronounced these institutions to be intrinsically dangerous, and all Catholics are earnestly warned against sending their sons thither. Either he must show some broad difference of principle or detail between his proposal and the system of those colleges, or he must admit that his argument is wanting in due respect for the Holy Father’s decision.

(2) The argument to which we shall next reply is in itself most singular. He cites (p. 38, note) a frightful picture of the licentiousness publicly prevalent in the mediæval University of Paris, and implies that such a state of things is essential to the very idea of an university.

“Say at once,” he thus addresses his opponent, “that Universities, properly so called, are distasteful to you and incompatible with your views of Catholicism; explain to us, if you can, why the Catholic Church and its Sovereign Pontiffs have always had views on this subject more tolerant than your own; but do not advocate the cause of Universities, if by the term you understand something quite different from what history recognizes under that name” (pp. 38, 39.)

Are we to understand, then, that such a state of things is not “distasteful” to him as well as to his opponent? As to the ecclesiastical authorities, it was so “distasteful” to *them*, that (as all the world knows) they eagerly promoted the founda-

* These are his words: “Unless the tutors are greatly below the requirements of the day, the whole training of the students may be said to be in their hands. . . . The action of the University as a teacher is extremely feeble” (pp. 33, 34).

tion of colleges for the very purpose of giving moral protection to university students.

He is, indeed, curiously inconsistent in this matter. "The College," he says (p. 38), "may almost be considered as a power hostile to the University;" and it is the University proper which he professes to recommend. Yet his whole scheme refers in particular to Oxford, in which (most happily) the collegiate system, as distinct from its rival, is despotically predominant.

(3) We proceed, thirdly, to notice an argument so suicidal that we looked at the passage again to convince ourselves that he was really adducing it in his own favour, and not rather as an objection which he had to answer. He states (p. 48, note) that for many centuries an anti-Christian philosophy had possession of many universities, especially in Italy, and that, in consequence of this fact, "philosophical unbelief was far more common in Italy before the Reformation than it ever has been, or is, perhaps, likely to be, in England." If this be a true representation of facts, ecclesiastical authorities must have been very remiss in permitting university education to be thus corrupted; and an observation of the tremendous evils which resulted from this remissness may well have stimulated them to greater vigilance in time to come.

But do we really apprehend our author's meaning? He is earnestly recommending for English Catholics an university education as distinct from any other. Yet he would seem to regard it as essential to the very idea of an university, that an anti-Christian philosophy (if it arise) shall be suffered without let or hindrance to occupy her schools (p. 48, note), and that open profligacy shall be permitted to defile her streets (p. 38, note).

(4) Fourthly, he thus expostulates with his opponent:—

You will not allow a Catholic gentleman to be sent to Oxford, where he will be under strict religious discipline and training; but, instead of this, he will be sent to Woolwich, or perhaps directly into the army, or be made clerk of the House of Lords, or get into one of the West-end offices, or follow an English minister to Paris, Berlin, or Vienna,—every one of which situations may fairly be regarded as more full of peril to his soul than that from which you would exclude him (pp. 29, 30).

Now God forbid that we should seek to under-estimate the serious danger which besets youthful Catholics at their first starting in the world! The earnest superior of a lay school or college feels this, no doubt, keenly, and labours to imbue them with that knowledge, those principles, those pious habits, which may be their best protection. Yet we altogether deny that they incur a danger of corruption to their faith—and still

more emphatically do we deny that they incur a danger of impairing the faith of others—which is even comparable with that to which those would be exposed who should be dealt with according to our author's recipe. Take, for instance, the young Catholic clerk in an office, or *attaché* to an embassy. No doubt he will be in danger of hearing much offensive and immoral conversation; but to this he cannot give a moment's acquiescence without well knowing that he goes directly in the teeth of Catholic morality. Meanwhile, the main staple of conversation will always be those duties in which he and his companions are alike engaged. Otherwise, current events will supply the ordinary topics: the last railway accident, or a comparison of Lords Derby and Palmerston. Considerations of courtesy prevent the broaching of religious questions; nor will there, in general, be either the taste or the power for any kind of abstract or general disquisition. These young men often, unhappily, lose their practical habits of religion, and not unfrequently, perhaps, afterwards recover them. But whether they are living, or not living, according to the lessons which they have early received, it is most rare for them to dream of unfavourably criticising those lessons, or, indeed, to imbibe any "views" at all on Catholic questions; nor could anything be more repulsive to them than the very notion of displaying the slightest antagonism to ecclesiastical authority in its own sphere. The Catholic student at Oxford, on the contrary, is brought into familiar intimacy with youths of commanding power, whose keenest interest lies in a discussion of those very problems, religious and social, which Catholicism purports to solve, and who are unanimous in holding as a first principle that its method of solution is narrow and foolish.

(5) Lastly, our author argues from the following illustration:—

You know that a young man is destined to swim for his life, and you fear that he will be drowned; but you think the best preparation for him is to keep him on dry land while you teach him the art of swimming (p. 29).

Why not apply this illustration to other instances also? "My son, when he goes into the world, is likely to hear a great deal of immoral conversation. I should begin therefore betimes, and familiarize him with such conversation at home: otherwise he will never understand how to act under the infliction." Of course it is a great duty to provide him by anticipation with remedies against those various perils to which he will be exposed; but it must really not be taken for granted that the best remedies in every case are homœopathical.

It is not till we have thoroughly mastered the true philosophy of life, that we can see quite through the fallacy of its spurious counterfeits. We cannot master it without fixing our whole attention on it. We cannot ordinarily fix our whole attention on it, unless during the period of our education it be consistently placed before us as the one truth, by all those under whose influence we are brought. A particular study—German, or mathematics, or music—may, no doubt, be pursued without injury under heterodox teachers, if they be carefully restricted to their proper work;* but the general building up of the mind, the imbuing it with its pervasive principles, maxims, and views—all this must be wrought under a purely Catholic agency. It is the incurable defect of Protestant training, that, for want of an infallible authority, it is unable to place authoritatively before its recipients, as exclusively true, any one philosophy of life whatever. A little indignation, surely, is in place, when we are gravely invited to abandon our high privilege of unity, and (by way of giving our sons their highest and perfecting education) to remove them from that pure atmosphere in which the voice of truth alone meets their ear, into that foul outer air which in itself is pestilential, and which is filled with the discordant accents of the Protestant Babel.

Let us draw out, then, our general conclusion. The English Catholic gentry, as a body, whatever defects be imputed to them, have for years past exhibited an exemplary docility towards Popes, bishops, and clergy, on all which by these has been represented as bearing on spirituals.† A desire is at this moment more or less spreading among them (we have no means of knowing how widely) that their sons may receive a higher intellectual education than any to which they themselves had access. Now they are indeed blind to the real nature of what they seek, unless they are well aware that such a change cannot be extensively accomplished without producing a truly momentous effect on the whole relation between laity and clergy. If this higher education be exclusively and profoundly Catholic, its benefit will be very great: our rising laymen will have far more intelligent sympathy than they would otherwise

* See F. Newman's *Lectures on University Subjects*, p. 77.

† Our laity, indeed (and our episcopate also) have received the distinguished honour of falling under the lash of a disaffected Catholic on this very ground. "Go to a layman," he says, "and talk to him of any schemes or projects in our interest, he is doubled up at the very notion of dealing with them till he has conferred with his priest or his bishop: go to a bishop, and he will tell you nervously he can decide nothing till the *mot d'ordre* has arrived from Rome."

have with the Church's lessons and maxims, and will, moreover, be able to exert far greater influence on their fellow-countrymen when rallying around her standard. But if (which God forbid !) the unhappy project before us took effect, we are persuaded that those trained by it would, on entering life, gather, almost to a man, round that small nucleus of disloyal and disaffected laymen who are the opprobrium of our body.

For what is the intellectual process in which an attitude of mind so lamentable as theirs has its origin ? On the whole, as it seems to us, such as the following. A thinker starts with the audacious assumption that the Church has no claim on his interior assent, except as regards her express dogmatic definitions and her inculcation of the broadest and most general truths ; as though the Church's continual guidance were not absolutely necessary that we may understand the true sense of her doctrines and the true bearing of her principles. It is no matter of surprise that he soon displays the evil result of his evil start ; that he accepts the Church's great verities with a merely speculative and otiose belief, instead of heartily and thoroughly apprehending them. (See in p. 383 our remarks on this purely speculative reception of religious truth.) Then comes another consequence, equally inevitable and equally deplorable : from the very fact that he does not labour to imbibe the pure spirit of the Church, he imbibes spontaneously, and without labour, the evil spirit of the world in general, and of England in particular (of this also we have spoken in pp. 380-1) ; and thus his mind becomes unconsciously saturated with a number of maxims and notions directly contradictory to those great verities which he speculatively admits. In this mental condition he contemplates the Church's practical action. The Holy Father exhibits himself in various ways as quite at cross purposes with that modern civilization which is so far more solicitous for material than for moral results.* Or he shows far greater sensitiveness to the evil inflicted on souls by false philosophy, than to the scientific good, whatever it may be, which is thought to arise from the free circulation of error. Or he assumes, as the simplest matter of course, that the Church's interests belong to a higher sphere than any political interests whatever. Or he puts altogether aside, without so much as a transient notice, the modern paradox, that in a normal state of society religious truth and error would enjoy an equal civil *status*. These and a thousand similar ways of procedure commend themselves at once to those who are really

* See some excellent articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, analysed in our number for October, 1863.

penetrated by elementary Catholic truth. On the other hand, Protestants can afford to regard them with cool compassion, as the eccentricities—almost the amusing eccentricities—of anility clinging to an effete and superannuated system. But the poor Catholic now in question can do neither of these things. He regards such ecclesiastical exhibitions with as much aversion and contempt as any of his Protestant friends; yet he believes that the Holy Father, and the Catholic Episcopate which so zealously and faithfully co-operates with the Papal policy, are his spiritual rulers by Divine right; and that, to a certain very limited extent, they are the infallible organs of God's Revelation. These things, therefore, generate in his thoughts a special kind of rankling bitterness to which the Protestant and the thorough Catholic are alike strangers. F. Newman tells us that Popes have (as might be expected) a special and singular gift from God, illuminating them on matters of ecclesiastical expediency;* but our disloyal Catholic thinks that the veriest blunderers in Church government are those whom God has intrusted with its exclusive control. He himself, indeed, occupies the meanest and most contemptible of all intellectual positions; having his mind haunted by mutually contradictory maxims, and accepting speculatively Catholic premisses, while he shudders at their legitimate conclusion. Yet he thinks that, in his quality of educated Englishman and man of the world, he has a mission to enlighten those teachers, and to direct those pastors, who have received their authority over him directly from God.†

* "I look back at the early combats of Popes Victor and Stephen; I go on to Julius and Celestine, Leo and Gregory, Boniface and Nicholas; I pass along the Middle Ages, down to Paul the Third and Pius the Fifth; and thence to two Popes of the same name, who occupy the most eventful fifty years since Christianity was; and I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that *the Sovereign Pontiffs have a gift proper to themselves, of understanding what is good for the Church and what Catholic interests require.* And in the next place, I find that this gift exercises itself in an absolute independence of secular politics, and a detachment from every earthly and temporal advantage, and pursues its end by uncommon courses, and by unlikely instruments, and by methods of its own. I see that it shines the brightest, and is most surprising in its results, when its possessors are the weakest in this world, and the most despised."—*Office and Work of Universities*, p. 222.

So, in his sermon entitled "Christ upon the Waters," he says that the English people, "in its staidness, sagacity, and simplicity, more" resemble "the mind that rules, through all time, the princely line of Roman Pontiffs, than perhaps any other Christian people." We cannot, however, concur in the national compliment.

† The Psalmist indeed says, "Super omnes docentes me intellexi, quia Testimonia Tua meditatio mea est;" but our self-elected teacher would rather say, "quia testimonia hereticorum meditatio mea est."

Sir John Acton seems to say in the "Home and Foreign Review" (No. 8,

Now, the argument which we have pursued in the preceding pages tends to the conclusion, that the intellectual history of a Catholic student at Oxford would be strikingly parallel to that which we have just sketched. The great truths of Catholicism will have no substantial and thorough hold of his convictions, because (1) there is nothing in the general atmosphere of the place to imbue him with those truths, but very much the contrary; and because (2) he will give no earnest and paramount attention to the special studies provided by the College for their inculcation. His free social intercourse, and that at the most impressible period of life, with the most powerful and influential of Protestant intellects will unconsciously saturate his mind with anti-Catholic notions. Then, to him, no less than to other educated men, the Church's practical policy will be a well-known and patent fact: and on this fact he will assuredly entertain one judgment or another. Men of uncultivated minds possess a singular power of contemplating a moral phenomenon without forming on it any judgment of their own at all; but the very excellence of that intellectual discipline which he receives will prevent the possibility of this purely negative attitude. By what standard, then, do you expect him to measure these cardinal maxims of the Holy See and of the Catholic Episcopate? By those Catholic verities which have no real possession of his mind? or, rather, by the anti-Catholic errors which he has so long unconsciously but unintermittingly imbibed? The whole body of principles on which the Church is ruled by her divinely given pastors, instead of being regarded with loyal veneration, will be a constant matter for angry, impatient, and contemptuous criticism. Lastly, being such as he is, his intellectual cultivation cannot but give him a special and formidable influence over his fellow-Catholics. Will you object that your son's intellectual endowments are too common-place for such originality of thought? We reply, that a man of inferior intellectual power may not be nearly so mischievous in his action upon others, but that the injury

p. 686), that the Holy See from time to time changes its principles, in sympathy with a change of principle among educated Catholics; but we are not aware of the slightest foundation for such an opinion. Undoubtedly many measures are desirable under one set of circumstances and in one state of public opinion, which are undesirable and even impracticable under another set of circumstances and in another state of public opinion; the Church, therefore, acts accordingly. Again, some eminent Catholic writers contend that, in consequence of the public law of Europe during the mediæval period, various acts were then within the competence of the Holy See which are so no longer. We express no opinion here on this latter allegation; but neither of these things implies (as is evident) any the least modification of principle.

inflicted on *himself* will be none the less serious. For (1), as daily experience shows, it requires very little intellectual power to be led unresistingly by those evil ideas which surround us, especially by one so congenial to the natural man as the English Protestant standard of moral action. And (2), as we have already said, the less able alumnus of this Catholic College will commonly look up with indefinite respect and most ill-placed docility to his more highly gifted fellow-students. In one word, if the present author thinks it desirable that our influential laymen of the next generation shall be animated by the same principles as the late "Home and Foreign Review," he will have done something for the cause which he has at heart; but if he agrees with us in dreading such a consummation as one of the heaviest calamities which can afflict the Church, he has reason to regret that his pamphlet ever was written.

At last, however, the question of a Catholic College at Oxford rests entirely with the Holy Father and the English Bishops; nor can any layman directly promote it. But there is a different course which parents may at once adopt, viz., that of sending their sons to some existing college in Oxford or Cambridge. Our author (p. 10, note) "knows that many parents intend" doing so "if a Catholic College be not soon founded." He adds, however (p. 19), that "no one at present thinks of defending the principle. . . . those Catholic parents who have done so would, perhaps, be as little disposed as any one to defend, on principle, what they have done under the influence of particular circumstances." He would seem, then, to be of opinion that several Catholic parents are intending to do that which they consider indefensible on principle. We do not believe for a moment that any Catholic will be so frightfully unconscientious in the fulfilment of his most sacred trust; and we are confident that those who think of sending their sons to Oxford or Cambridge really persuade themselves that they are acting in the best way for their children's welfare, eternal no less than temporal. We would entreat them, however, if our voice could reach their ears, not to take their conclusion for granted, but rather carefully to examine its grounds. Our "Catholic layman," we suppose, will not be regarded by them as a narrow bigot, though they may think us such; and he speaks as strongly as we can (pp. 19, 27) of the fearful perils which would attend such a course. For ourselves, we will but briefly suggest as follows —

(1) All the arguments which we have hitherto urged are applicable *à fortiori*, and greatly *à fortiori*, to this proposal.

Our poor youth will be launched without rudder or compass on the sea of Protestant unbelief. He will be immersed day after day, week after week, in a purely Protestant society, exposed to the concentrated influence of the highest and choicest intellects.

(2) In this case we believe there will be serious and imminent danger of actual apostasy. It was stated in our number for July, 1863 (p. 153), that of the Catholics educated at Trinity College, Dublin, "few have escaped without more or less injury to faith;" that "hundreds could easily be counted up who have lost the faith, two of them a bishop and a dean of the Establishment;" that "a Catholic Bishop who studied there has been heard to say that his preservation from perdition among so many dangers was as great a miracle as the preservation of Daniel in the lions' den." Now, our "Catholic layman" fully admits (p. 27) that the student of a Protestant College at Oxford would be in a position altogether parallel.

It must be remembered that many, from conscientious and truly charitable motives, will be eagerly desirous to emancipate him from what they honestly believe to be a demoralizing and degrading superstition. From every quarter he will hear arguments against almost every doctrine which he has held most sacred; arguments in themselves of great apparent weight, and deriving adventitious importance from the ability and influence of those who propound them, and the veneration with which many of them are regarded. He will be assailed again by the current and bewildering difficulties adduced against the doctrine of Scriptural inspiration; he will find all those around him more or less swayed and oppressed by these difficulties; nor will there be any Catholic teacher at hand for the alleviation of his anxious perplexities.

(3) If, from being unintellectual, he is less exposed to such perils, he is so much the more in danger of falling into profligacy and vice. Let any one read the evidence of the Rev. W. E. Jelf, and other tutors, delivered to the recent Oxford Commission, and see whether our note of alarm is needless or exaggerated.

All Catholic parents, we well know, will admit that such advantages as a higher intellectual discipline, or an acquaintance with young men of the same rank, are literally but as dust in the balance when weighed against such evils as these. We therefore the more earnestly implore them to consider whether the dangers to which we have adverted be not most real and imminent.

The preceding pages were actually in type when Canon

Oakeley's pamphlet reached us.* We observe that his remarks are addressed to a different part of the subject from that which we have mainly considered; for he has dwelt altogether on the question of moral training, while we have treated much more prominently that of intellectual. These two aspects of Catholic education are, of course, not really distinct, yet they may be handled separately; and Canon Oakeley has done much service to the good cause in fixing attention on the former. His pamphlet, we need hardly say, is truly Catholic in spirit, and we feel throughout how thoroughly at one we are with him in principle. We cannot, however, concur, on the whole, with his practical conclusions. These may be summed up in three propositions.

Firstly, he argues, very powerfully, that the higher education of Catholics must be given in a Catholic community, and that they cannot enter any of the existing colleges in Oxford or Cambridge without most serious danger to their faith and morals. So far, of course, we are in earnest accordance with him; and, as it so happens that this particular proposal has received from us but a brief and incidental treatment, we are particularly glad of the opportunity to enrich our pages with some of our author's remarks. They are excellent in themselves, and the last of the three passages which we shall quote is expressed with even more than his usual felicity of style.

When I hear of Catholic parents speaking as if it were a thing to be desired that their sons should mix habitually with Protestants before they go out into the world, I own that I am simply bewildered, as knowing, on the one hand, that many of these parents would prefer that their children should suffer any worldly misfortune rather than lose their faith, yet being unable, on the other, to divest myself of the belief that they might as reasonably expect those children to come out from a furnace unscorched, as to preserve incorrupt the heritage of their faith after being exposed to such an ordeal. It is said, indeed, and the insufficiency of the plea seems to me a further proof of the hollowness of the case, that, inasmuch as these their sons must be extensively thrown into the way of Protestants when they come out in the world, it is desirable to accustom them to such society before they enter it. To this argument I reply, in the first place, that it is one thing to accommodate ourselves to such a state of things as a necessity, and another to court it as an advantage; next, when the difficulty has to be met in later life, it is encountered with the benefit of formed principles and habits; and, lastly, that when Catholics mix with Protestants in the discharge of their professional duties, or in the occasional intercourse of society, and have

* *The Question of University Education for English Catholics*, considered principally in its moral and religious bearings, in a letter to the Right Rev. the Bishop of Birmingham. By F. Oakeley, M.A., Oxon. London: Burns & Lambert.

Catholic homes, or friends, to fall back upon in their vacant hours, they are far more likely to be impassive to decatholicizing influences than at College, where they have no similar advantage—(pp. 12, 13).

I think (the plan of sending Catholic young men to a Protestant College) essentially bad in a moral and religious point of view ; and I cannot but feel astonished that it should have found favour, if indeed it have done so, among persons the very last, I should have thought, consciously to sanction or allow any deviation from strict Catholic principles. I am sure that this fact, if it do not result from an imperfect acquaintance with the social condition of our Universities, must arise from a belief, either that the dangers to be apprehended are far less, or the safeguards by which it is intended to provide against those dangers far greater, than I should be inclined to consider them. One of these proposed safeguards is, I believe, that of a resident Catholic private tutor, especially charged with the moral care of the student. I can only say, that I remember this course to have been frequently taken when I was at Christ Church, and that, as far as I know, it was generally a complete failure. These private tutors were often painstaking and conscientious men ; but the habits of the place did not enable them to see enough of their charges to exercise any valuable influence over them. The tutor and the pupil saw each a great deal more of his own coequals than either of one another. The tutor was the welcome guest of the common room, while the pupil was enjoying himself at his wine-party. Undergraduates remarkably superior to public opinion (not a common characteristic of their class) might occasionally take a walk with their private tutor in an unfrequented road, or at an out-of-the-way hour ; but regarded such an act rather as a condescension than as a privilege. The intercourse, dearly purchased at £200 or £300 per annum, was accordingly limited (with the exception of the afore-mentioned stolen walk) to an hour's lecture in the morning, too often waived by mutual consent, and an occasional breakfast-party ; a poor counterpoise, certainly, to the weight of rival (if rival) influences. I shall be told that all this would be quite otherwise in the same relation where both parties were Catholics. I do not doubt that a far stronger sense of mutual responsibility might be looked for under the pressure of Catholic motives. Still, I greatly doubt if the check would, in most cases, amount to much—(pp. 16, 17).

If we make the English, rather than the simply Catholic character our *beau idéal*, we shall find to our cost, when the work is finished, that there is a screw loose in the most important part of the machinery. I have always maintained, and will maintain (surely it is not saying much !), that the Christian—by which I mean, of course, especially the Catholic—religion is able to make the man, as I may say, to his very fingers' ends ; and *that what is called an English gentleman (excepting in so far as he is a Christian) is no more to be compared with a Catholic gentleman, be he English, Irish, or of whatever other nation, than an effigy of Guy Fawkes to a statue of Canova*. No ! let us endeavour to form the perfect Christian layman, and we may then safely leave the "gentleman," in all essential points, to take care of himself. The true courtesy which is dictated by consideration and respect, the spirit of generous forbearance which is too conscious of its own faults to be severe against those of another, the tenderness and refinement of feeling, the truth-

fulness, the simplicity, the noble-heartedness, the sincere and provident sympathy,—these and suchlike qualities, in which the spirit of the real gentleman consists—or that spirit is not worth caring for—are the natural and necessary fruits of a right Catholic moral education, and may exist, and do exist, among those to whom the term “English gentleman” presents no practical idea distinct from its accidental inclusion in that which is habitual to them. Of course, I don’t mean that Christianity will teach a man, at least directly, how to make a graceful bow, or carve a haunch of venison in the most approved manner ; that it will of itself secure all those minor features in the character of a gentleman, in which that character is very commonly in England supposed to consist. These will come naturally, as the effect of early habits and association with persons of a certain class of society, and, especially since many of them are real instances of kindness, will graft quite easily upon the Christian plant. But they are the externals, not the essence—(pp. 21, 22).

Secondly, Canon Oakeley is of opinion that this Catholic College should

be administered by a single agency rather than by a body consisting of various elements. By a single agency I do not mean necessarily a single individual (certainly not a layman) as the ultimate authority ; but, at any rate, a power representing one spirit and one mind. If I might venture to express an opinion upon a point of detail, I should say that some Religious Community, versed in education, and comprising among its prominent members persons who could bring to the work of instruction or government the advantages of a pre-Catholic experience, would seem to me the most likely instrument of carrying out the normal idea with success—(pp. 26, 27).

This is a minor matter, on which we have not entered in this article, and have no wish to enter. One thing, however, is noteworthy : Canon Oakeley considers, apparently, that there is at this moment a superabundance of material at the disposal of our bishops, from which to select the superior and teachers of a Catholic higher College. We sincerely hope that he is well informed on this head.

It is on his third proposition, however, that the chief divergence takes place between the writer and ourselves. To our mind, the most vital question of all is whether the Catholic higher education is or is not to be given at a Protestant University ; but Canon Oakeley thinks this question “quite a secondary one” (p. 27), and is inclined rather than otherwise to favour the proposal of a Catholic College at Oxford or Cambridge. It will be necessary, therefore, to consider how far anything contained in the pamphlet before us may tend to invalidate the grounds on which we rested our adverse opinion. They were chiefly two.

Our first argument rested on a premiss for which in its turn we gave our reasons. The higher education of Catholic youth, we

had said, will be a signal benefit or a deplorable calamity, precisely according as it may or may not be thoroughly imbued with Catholic principles: the mere imparting of Catholic instruction will be far from sufficient; what we absolutely require is, that such instruction shall be practically regarded by its recipients as the one supreme and authoritative element of all. This, however, we proceeded to argue, is simply out of the question in a Protestant University: and we must say that Canon Oakeley has himself supplied us with an additional reason for our judgment; for he mentions as the chief advantage of such an University (p. 27) its "examinations and degrees." The "Catholic layman" was precluded from this argument, because he depreciates altogether the advantage of examinations (pp. 12-15); but we quite concur with the implied opinion of Canon Oakeley, that the various mental exercises involved in preparing for an examination constitute an admirable intellectual discipline. The real question, however, is not whether the intellectual discipline be admirable as such, but whether it will tend to penetrate the intellect with Catholic truth; and as no specially Catholic knowledge can possibly be tendered for examination, our answer to the question must be very confidently in the negative. F. Newman says most truly that "nothing will be found to impress and occupy the mind" of students "but such matters as they have to present to their examiners."* In like manner, nothing which is prepared for a purely domestic and family examination will impress and occupy the mind even commensurably with those studies, proficiency in which will be displayed before an University audience, stamped with University approval, and rewarded by University renown. If any one expressly wished to devise a plan whereby Catholic truth should hold the last and lowest place in the practical estimation of Catholic young men, he could not hit upon one more effectually conducive to that end, than by teaching them to prepare for the public examination of a Protestant University as the very climax of their academical course.

Our second argument was addressed to the "Catholic layman's" proposal, that most free and unrestricted intercourse should be encouraged with Protestant undergraduates. Canon Oakeley agrees with us in thinking this most dangerous; but he considers that the College authorities would in this matter "have the reins very much in their own hands" (p. 28). We are a good deal surprised that he can acquiesce in this view. A young Catholic, of active and energetic mind, comes up to

* "Lectures and Essays on University Subjects," p. 177.

Oxford ; of course he eagerly desires to acquaint himself and interchange ideas with other active and energetic minds ; and, unless he is already almost saintly, he greatly prefers their society to that of his more orthodox but more humdrum fellow-Catholics. The charm of novelty is superadded : he has known Catholics all his life, but Protestant society is an untasted excitement. How can he be prevented from gratifying that wish ? or how can he gratify it without incurring those disastrous consequences on which we have commented ? As one illustration out of a hundred, Canon Oakeley has mentioned (p. 29) the University debating-club. He cannot surely intend that Catholic students shall be forbidden to enter it ; yet let an able and thoughtful youth be but enrolled on its list, he is at once launched freely into the most intelligent Protestant society.*

Our arguments apply directly to youths of considerable intellectual power ; but we have already more than once pointed out that the more ordinary young men who really take an interest in the studies of the place (and if they do not, every one would admit that they are better away), will always look up with unquestioning veneration to the unanimous utterances of those energetic thinkers with whom they are brought into contact.

There are Catholics who seem to be under the impression that, at all events, excellent instruction in certain secular matters is given by the University professors. Of course, if this were so, our reasoning would not be in the slightest degree affected ; but we believe the notion to be quite mistaken. We have seen how disparagingly the "Catholic layman" speaks of Oxford professorial instruction ; and Canon Oakeley (p. 28) has "heard upon good authority, that the public lectures of the University are in general by no means first-rate."

We are bound, then, to say frankly, that we can find nothing in the pamphlet before us to modify in the slightest degree our views as previously expressed.

* Canon Oakeley mentions (p. 29) that when he was at Christ Church, Christ Church men mixed very little with others. But this was due to their contempt for other Colleges ; and it must not be forgotten that (unless our memory deceives us) there were at Christ Church nearly 200 undergraduates—many men of conspicuous ability—from whom any individual could choose his society. This exclusiveness, moreover, did not continue. The writer of this article was at Christ Church some ten years later than Canon Oakeley, and all his chief friends belonged to other Colleges.

ART. VI.—CHRISTIAN ART.

The History of our Lord as exemplified in Works of Art; with that of the Types, S. John the Baptist, and other Persons of the Old and New Testament. Commenced by the late Mrs. JAMESON; continued and completed by Lady EASTLAKE. 2 vols. London: Longman. 1864.

THE series of works on Christian Art brought out by the late Mrs. Jameson, and which earned for her so high a reputation as an art critic, was conceived upon a plan of progressive interest and importance. From "Sacred and Legendary Art," published in 1848, she passed to the special legends connected with Monastic Orders, and in 1852 gave to the public her most charming volume entitled "Legends of the Madonna." The series was to have closed with the subject of the volumes now before us, and some progress had been made by Mrs. Jameson in collecting notes on various pictures, when, in the spring of 1860, death cut her labours short. The work, however, has passed into hands well able to complete it worthily. We may miss some of the freshness and genuine simplicity with which Mrs. Jameson was wont to transfer to paper the impressions made on her mind and heart; but Lady Eastlake, while bringing to her task the essential qualification of earnestness and exhibiting considerable grace and force of style, is possessed of a far wider and more critical acquaintance with the history of art, than her amiable predecessor either had or pretended to have. It is pleasant to find in these pages, as in those which preceded them, the evidence of a desire to avoid controversial matter; and that, without compromise of personal conviction, care has been generally taken not to wound the feelings of those who differ from the writer in religious belief. The primary object of the work is æsthetic and artistic, not religious; and it is seldom that the laws of good taste are transgressed in its pages by gratuitous attacks upon the tenets of the great body of artists who are the immediate subject of criticism. Indeed, considering that these volumes are the production of a Protestant, we think that less of Protestant *animus* could hardly be shown, at all consistently with honesty of purpose and frankness of speech. That no traces of the Protestant spirit should appear, would be next to an impossibility; and affectation of Catholic feeling, where it did not exist, would be offensive from its very unreality. So much self-control in traversing a vast extent of delicate and

dangerous ground deserves all the more hearty acknowledgment, as it must have been peculiarly difficult to a person of Lady Eastlake's ardent temperament and evident strength of conviction. If, therefore, in the course of our remarks, we feel bound to point out the evil influence which Lady Eastlake's religious views seem to us to have exercised on her critical appreciations, it will be understood that theories, not persons, are the object of our animadversions. It is at all times an ungrateful task to expose the weak points of an author; it would be especially ungenerous to be hard upon the shortcomings of one who has done such good service to the cause of truth, in proving, however unconsciously, by the mere exercise of persistent candour, the identity of Christian and Catholic Art. Catholics, indeed, do not ordinarily stand in need of such proof. If they know anything of Art, the fact of this identity must be with them an early discovery; but it is gratifying, especially in a time and country in which scant justice on such matters is too often dealt out to us, to be able to adduce a testimony the more valuable because given in despite of an adverse bias. It is quite possible, indeed, that the writer has not perceived the full import of her work; but no one, we think, can study her examples or weigh the force of her criticism without coming to the true conclusion upon this subject.

But, before establishing the correctness of this assertion, we must draw attention to one point upon which we are at issue with Lady Eastlake: a point, moreover, of no small importance, as it vitally affects the value of a large part of her criticisms. A question arises at the outset, what standard or test of Christian Art is to be set up; and Lady Eastlake makes an excellent start in the investigation. There is, perhaps, no principle so steadily kept in view throughout the work or so often and earnestly insisted on as this,—that genuine Christian art and true Christian doctrine are intimately and essentially connected. Art is bound to depict only the truth in fact or doctrine (vol. ii. p. 266, note). Departure from sound theology involves heresy in art. Now, no principle can be more true than this, or of greater importance towards forming a correct judgment upon works professing to belong to Christian art. Beauty and truth are objectively identical, for beauty is only truth lighted up and harmonized by the reason; and to supernatural beauty, which Christian art essentially aims at expressing, supernatural truth must necessarily correspond. For here we have nothing to do with mere material beauty, "the glories of colour, the feats of anatomical skill, the charms of chiaroscuro, the revels of free handling." Admirable as these are in them-

selves, and by no means, theoretically at least, injurious to Christian art, they belong properly to art as art, and are more or less separable from art as Christian. Christian art is never perfect as art unless material beauty enters into the composition; but as Christianity is above art and the soul superior to the body, so material beauty must never forget its place, never strive to obtain the mastery, or constitute itself the chief aim of the artist, upon pain of total destruction of the Christian element. The soul of Christian art is in the idea—the shadowing out by symbol or representation, under material forms and conditions, of immaterial, supernatural, even uncreated beauty, the beauty of heavenly virtue, or heavenly mystery, or Divinity Itself. But how are these objects, in all their harmony, proportion, and splendour, to be realized—how is supernatural beauty to be conceived—except by a soul gifted with supernatural perceptions? Faith, at least, is indispensably requisite to the truthfulness of any artistic work intended to represent the supernatural. Without faith distortion and caricature are inevitable. With faith—the foundation of all knowledge of the supernatural in this life—much, very much, may be accomplished. But it is when faith, enlivened and perfected by supernatural love, exercises itself in contemplation, that the spiritual sight becomes keen, and the soul, from having simply a just appreciation, passes to a vision of exquisite beauty, sublimity, and tenderness, which a higher perception of divine mysteries has laid open to its gaze. The hand may falter, and be faithless to the mental conception, so as to produce imperfect execution and inadequate artistic result. Faith and love do not make a man an artist. But, amidst deformity or poverty of art in the material element, if there is any, however slight, artistic power employed, the outward defects will be qualified, and almost transformed, to the eye of an appreciating spectator, through the inner power which speaks from the painter's soul to his own: just as we learn to overlook or even to admire plain features, and anything short of positive ugliness of outline, in those whose mental greatness and moral beauty we have learned to venerate and to love. On the other hand, any amount of material perfection in contour and colour is insipid as a doll, a mere mask of nothingness, incapable of arresting attention or captivating the heart, unless within there be a soul of beauty—that inward excellence which subordinates to itself, while it gives life and meaning to, the outward form. On the side of the object, truth; on the part of the spectator, faith and love—these are the palmary conditions of Christian art and its appreciation. For it must ever be remembered that supernatural truth lies beyond the ken of any

but souls elevated by faith; and, what is of equal importance, that faith can have no other object than the truth. Its object is infallible truth or it is not faith. No wonder, then, that when we see a prodigality of manual skill and grace of form, and even moral beauty of the natural order, devoid of the inspiration of supernatural faith and love, we are forced to exclaim with S. Gregory, as he gazed on the fair Saxon youths, "Heu, pro dolor! quod tam lucidi vultus homines tenebrarum auctor possideret, tantaque gratia frontis conspicui mentem ab æterna gratia vacuum gestarent."* Alas that so much physical beauty should embody nothing but a pagan idea! It were as unreasonable to look for Christian art as the product of an heretical imagination, as to demand Christian eloquence or Christian poetry from an heretical preacher or a free-thinking poet. The vision is wanting, the appreciation is not there—how, then, is the expression possible?

Nor is this a mere abstract theory, erected on *à priori* principles. It would be easy to verify our position by a large induction from the history of Art. Is there a picture whose mute eloquence fills the soul with reverential awe, or holy joy, or supernatural calm, or deep, deep sympathy with the sufferings of our Lord, or the sorrows of His Immaculate Mother, we may be sure the painter was some humble soul, ascetical and pious, who, like Juan de Joanes, or Zurbaran, spent his days in lifelong seclusion, given up to the grave and holy thoughts which their pictures utter to us; or that other Spaniard, Luis de Vargas, famed alike for his austerity and amiable Christian gaiety; or a Sassoferrato, or a Van Eyck, seeking in Holy Communion the peace of soul which can alone reflect the calmness of sanctity, or the bliss of celestial scenes; or the holy friar, John of Fiesoli, known to all as the Angelic, whose heroic humility and Christian simplicity, learned in a life of prayer and contemplation, invest his pictures with an unearthly charm. These, and many another pious painter, known or unknown by name to men, looked on their vocation as a holy trust, and sought to keep themselves unspotted from the world. Theirs was the practical maxim so dear to the Blessed Angelico, that "those who work for Christ must dwell in Christ." On the other hand, does a picture, albeit Christian in subject and in name, offend us by false sentiment, or cold conventionalism, or sensuality, or affectation, or strain

* "Alas! what pain it is to think that men of such bright countenance should be the possession of the Prince of Darkness; and that, though conspicuous for surprising grace of feature, they should bear a soul within untenanted by everlasting grace."

after theatrical effect, or any of the hundred forms which degraded art exhibits when it has wandered from the Christian type, we know that we are looking on the handiwork of some schismatic Greek, or modern Protestant; or that, if the painter be a Catholic, he lived in the days or wrought under the influence of the Renaissance, when Paganism made its deadly inroads upon Art, substituting the spirit of voluptuousness for the sweet and austere graces that spring of divine Charity; or under the blighting influence of Jansenism, which killed alike that queenly virtue and her sister Humility by false asceticism and Pharisaic rigour. We might even trust the decision as to the truthfulness of our view to an inspection of the examples with which Lady Eastlake has so abundantly illustrated her volumes. Indeed, hitherto her principle and ours are one.

But, unfortunately, though the *major* premiss of the art-syllogism is granted on both sides, Lady Eastlake adopts a *minor* from which we utterly dissent. It is implied in one and all of the following statements, and is more or less interwoven with the whole staple of her work. She tells us "that the materials for this history in Art are only properly derivable from Scripture, and therefore referable back to the same source for verification" (vol. i. p. 3). And again, "It may be at once laid down as a principle, that the interests of Art and the integrity of Scripture [by integrity is meant literal adherence to the text of Scripture] are indissolubly united. Where superstition mingles, the quality of Christian art suffers; where doubt enters, Christian art has nothing to do. It may even be averred, that if a person could be imagined, deeply imbued with æsthetic instincts and knowledge, and utterly ignorant of Scripture, he would yet intuitively prefer, as Art, all those conceptions of our Lord's history which adhere to the simple text. . . . All preference for the simple narrative of Scripture he would arrive at through Art—all condemnation of the embroideries of legend through the same channel" (vol. i. p. 6). And again, "the simplicity of Art and of the Gospel stand or fall together. The literal narrative of the Agony in the Garden lost sight of, all became confusion and error" (vol. ii. p. 30).

Now whatever obscurity and confusion these passages contain—and they do contain a great deal—one thing is unmistakably clear, that the orthodoxy of the ultra-Protestant maxim, "The Bible and the Bible only," is a fixed principle with Lady Eastlake. And the consequence is, that whenever she looks at a religious picture, she refers to the Gospel narrative for its verification. If it does not stand this test, it is

nowhere in her esteem. What is not in Scripture is legendary and unartistic, because necessarily at variance with Scriptural truth. Thus whole provinces of Art in connection with our Lord are banished from her pages. Surely such a canon of taste is not only narrow, but arbitrary; narrow, as excluding whatever comes down to us hallowed by tradition, considered apart from or beyond the limits of Scriptural statement; arbitrary, because it leaves Art at the mercy of the sects, with their manifold dissensions as to the extent of Scripture or its true interpretation. Thus, Lady Eastlake, being herself no believer in the doctrine of the Real Presence, does not recognize its enunciation in the sacred pages, and loses apparently all interest in the great pictures which symbolize or relate to the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. So, too, most of the special devotions to the Person of our Lord, which have sprung out of the living faith of the Church, and have furnished subjects for pictures incontestably of a high order, are totally omitted from her classification of devotional compositions. We can hardly imagine it possible for her to adhere consistently to her rule in other departments of Christian Art. The Immaculate Conception, for instance, the Assumption, the Coronation of our Lady, the marriage of S. Catherine, the stigmata of S. Francis, the visions of S. Dominic, the miracles of the Saints—subjects, many of which have inspired some of the noblest productions of her favourite Fra Angelico, or of Raphael, or Murillo, or Velasquez—undoubtedly do violence to her criteria of artistic merit, though we cannot believe that she would contest their universally acknowledged claim to the highest honours in Christian Art. Indeed, fidelity to this narrow Protestant maxim would have rendered these two volumes an impossibility. Strange, then, that it should not have occurred to the authoress that by far the larger part, and, on her own showing, the most glorious part, of the fraternity of Christian artists have been men full to overflowing of the spirit of a Church which has never adopted her standard of orthodoxy.

The Catholic Church is at once the parent, historically, of all Christian art, and the upholder of that grand principle of tradition, which gives to art, no less than to doctrine, a range far wider and more ample than the mere letter of the Biblical records. Of course, contradiction of Scripture, or "alterations of the text which, however slight, affect the revealed character of our Lord," must give offence to every judicious critic; but it is tradition and the voice of the living Church—together with that instinctive sense of the faithful which, so long as they live in submission to their divinely appointed teachers, is so

marvellously true and unerring—that must be the criteria of orthodoxy, and determine when the artist's conceptions or mode of treatment are contrary to, or in accordance with, the spirit of the sacred text.

Lady Eastlake does not like the notion of our Lord's falling under the cross. It is not in the Bible, and she pronounces it to be counter to the spirit and purport of the Gospel narrative. She grows positively angry with some painters for having represented an angel holding the chalice, surmounted by a cross or host, before the eyes of our Blessed Redeemer in His Agony. She has her own standard of feeling, abstract and arbitrary, to which she refers the decision of such points. But where is the guarantee for the correctness of that standard, or the security for its general acceptance? The Bible does not tell us what its own spirit and purport are, and outside the Bible, Lady Eastlake, at least, cannot point to any infallible authority. She is, therefore, imposing her own judgment, unsupported by any assigned reason, upon the world, as a rule to be followed. So, too, St. Veronica to her is always *de trop*, morally and pictorially, in the Way of the Cross; and scholastic interpretations, seemingly because they are scholastic, of the types of the Old Testament, are invariably pronounced by her to be strained, unreal, and superstitious. So effectually does Protestantism interfere with the capacity of a critic to appreciate the higher developments and fuller expression of Christian Art.

Not that a Protestant or a free-thinker can have no sense at all of the supernaturally beautiful. If they are trained to a high degree of moral and intellectual cultivation in the natural order, and in proportion to the height of their attainments in that order, they will not fail to be affected by beauty of a superior order. For there is no contradiction between the truth of nature and the truth which is above nature. The Protestant, indeed, as sincerely holding large fragments of Christian truth, will necessarily have much sympathy with many exhibitions of supernatural beauty. But he lacks the clue to it as a whole; and if he can often admire, rarely, if ever, can he create. Both Protestant and unbeliever must therefore labour under much vagueness and uncertainty of judgment, inasmuch as they can have no fixity of principle. Often they will not know what they want; they will praise in one page what they condemn in the next, or, when moved, will be at a loss to account for their emotion. They will exhibit phenomena not unlike those so often presented in this country by unbelievers, who, entering our churches, are one while overawed by a presence they cannot define, and which bewilders

their intellect, whilst it captivates their imagination; and another while, as unaccountably, are moved to disgust and derision by what to them is an insoluble riddle, a perplexity, and an annoyance. To such critics some phases of the supernatural will never be welcome. The tortures of the martyrs, the self-inflicted macerations of ascetics, the sublime self-abandonment of heroic charity—whatever, in a word, embodies and brings home the grand, sacred, but, to the natural man, repugnant idea of the Cross, will always be offensive, and produce a sense of irritation such as even Lady Eastlake, with all her self-mastery and good taste, cannot wholly suppress or conceal. So true is it in the sphere of Christian Art, as in that of Christian doctrine and devotion, “*Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis.*” Casual excitement, transient enthusiasm, unmeaning admiration are at best the pitiful substitutes for an intelligent and abiding appreciation of excellence, in those who are not possessed of supernatural ideas in common with the subjects and authors of the works of genuine Christian Art.

It would be unfair, however, not to mention that Lady Eastlake admits many important modifications of this rigid principle of adherence to the letter of Scripture. The following secondary canons go far to soften down the asperity of her Protestantism. They shall be stated in her own words:—

On the other hand, additions to Scripture given in positive images, if neither prejudicial to art nor inconsistent with our Lord's character, are not in themselves necessarily objectionable; but will, according to their merits, be looked upon with indulgence or admiration. The pictures, for instance, representing the disrobing of our Lord—a fact not told in Scripture, yet which must have happened—will be regarded with pathetic interest. The same will be felt of Paul de la Roche's exquisite little picture, where St. John is leading the Virgin home; for such works legitimately refresh and carry on the narrative in a Scriptural spirit. Nay, episodes which are more purely invention—such as the ancient tradition of the Mother of Christ wrapping the cloth round her Son, previous to His crucifixion; or again, the picture by Paul de la Roche, of the agony of her and of the disciples, represented as gathered together in a room while Christ passes with His Cross—even such imaginary episodes will silence the most arrant Protestant criticism, by their overpowering appeal to the feelings; since in neither case is the great duty of art to itself or to its Divine object tampered with.

The same holds good where symbolical forms, as in Christian Art of classic descent, are given, which embody the idea rather than the fact. For instance, where the Jordan is represented as a river god, with his urn under his arm, at the baptism of our Lord; or when, later, the same event is accompanied by the presence of angels who hold the Saviour's garments. Such

paraphrases and poetical imaginings in no way affect the truth of the facts they set forth, but rather, to mortal fancy, swell their pomp and dignity.

Still less need the lover of art and adorer of Christ care about inconsistencies in minor matters. As, for example, that the entombment takes place in a renaissance monument, in the centre of a beautiful Italian landscape, and not in a cave in a rock in the arid scenery of Judea. On the contrary, it is right that Art should exercise the utmost possible freedom in such circumstances, which are the signs and handwriting of different schools and times, and enrich a picture with sources of interest to the historian and the archaeologist. It is the moral expression which touches the heart and adorns the tale, not the architecture or costume; and whether our Lord be in the garb of a Roman citizen or of a German burgher (though His dress is usually conventional in colour and form), it matters not, if He be but God in all.

The arbitrariness of the principles set forth in the earlier portion of this passage, and the quiet assumption that all ancient traditions are pure inventions, may well be excused by the reader for the sake of the inconsistency which saves from condemnation not a few glorious pictures which could never otherwise have been made to square with the rule of literal adherence to the Gospel narrative.

Another principle essential to the right appreciation of Art is admirably stated by Lady Eastlake:—

All will agree that the duty of the Christian artist is to give not only the temporary fact, but the permanent truth. Yet this entails a discrepancy to which something must be sacrificed. For, in the scenes from our Lord's life, fact and truth are frequently at variance. That the Magdalen took our Lord for a gardener, was the fact; that He was the Christ, is the truth. That the Roman soldiers believed Him to be a criminal, and therefore mocked and buffeted Him without scruple, is the fact; that we know Him through all these scenes to be the Christ, is the truth. Nay, the very cruciform nimbus that encircles Christ's head is an assertion of this principle. As visible to us, it is true; as visible even to His disciples, it is false. There are, however, educated people so little versed in the conditions of Art, as to object even to the nimbus, as a departure from fact, and therefore, an offence to truth; preferring, they say, to see our Lord represented as He walked upon earth. But this is a fallacy in more than one sense. Our Lord, as He walked upon earth, was not known to be the Messiah. To give Him as He was seen by men who knew Him not, would be to give Him not as the Christ. It may be urged that the cruciform nimbus is a mere arbitrary sign, nothing in itself more than a combination of lines. This is true; but there *must* be something arbitrary in all human imaginings (we should prefer to say symbolizings) of the supernatural. Art, for ages, assumed this sign as that of the Godhead of Christ, and the world for ages granted it. It served various purposes; it hedged the rudest representations of Christ round with a divinity, which kept them distinct from all others. It pointed Him out to the most ignorant spectator, and it identified the sacred head even at a distance.

This principle may, indeed, be legitimately extended much further. The purpose of Christian Art is instruction, either in morals or in dogma, or in both. It is not, therefore, a sin in Art to sacrifice upon occasion some portion of historical truth, in subservience to this end. Nor, in fact, in Catholic ages, was there danger of the people being led into error on the fundamental facts of religion. The Gospel narrative was too familiar to them for that. They seem, as is well remarked by Father Cahier, to have had hearts more elevated than ours, and more attuned by meditation and habitual Catholicity of spirit to mystery, and its sublimer lessons; and, therefore, whenever we find in early paintings what seems to us anomalous in an historic point of view, we may conclude with safety that there was a dogmatic intention.

There are, however, limits to liberties of this kind, which may not be transgressed without incurring censure. Overbold speculation has ere now betrayed even orthodox theologians into accidental error. And a Catholic artist may depict, as a Catholic schoolman may enunciate, views which deserve to be stigmatized as rash, offensive, erroneous, scandalous, or even, in themselves, heretical. There have been occasions in which the Church has felt herself bound to interfere with wanderings of the artistic imagination as injurious, morally or doctrinally, to the faithful committed to her charge. Nor have theologians failed to protest from time to time against similar abuses. Bellarmine frowned upon the muse in Christian Art. Savonarola, in his best days, made open war upon the pagan corruptions which in his time had begun to abound in Florentine paintings. Father Canisius denounces those painters as inexcusable who, in the face of Scripture, represent our Lady as swooning at the foot of the Cross; and Father de Ligny reprobates, on the same grounds, the introduction of S. Joseph into pictures of the meeting between the Blessed Virgin and S. Elizabeth. For—whatever we may think as to his having accompanied our Lady on the journey—had he been present at the interview, he would have been enlightened upon the mystery, his ignorance of which afterwards threw him into such perplexity.

As to the order of the work, Lady Eastlake gives ample explanation in the preface:—

In the short programme left by Mrs. Jameson, the ideal and devotional subjects, such as the Good Shepherd, the Lamb, the Second Person of the Trinity, were placed first; the Scriptural history of our Lord's life on earth next; and lastly, the Types from the Old Testament. There is reason, however, to believe, from the evidence of what she had already written, that she would have departed from this arrangement. After much deliberation, I

have ventured to do so, and to place the subjects chronologically. The work commences, therefore, with that which heads most systems of Christian Art—The Fall of Lucifer and Creation of the World—followed by the Types and Prophets of the Old Testament. Next comes the history of the Innocents and of John the Baptist, written by her own hand, and leading to the Life and Passion of our Lord. The abstract and devotional subjects, as growing out of these materials, then follow, and the work terminates with the Last Judgment.

Mrs. Jameson's own share in the work is confined mainly to some of the types, the histories specified above, and familiar scenes in the earlier portions of the Gospel narrative, including a few of the miracles and parables of our Lord. The notes are fragmentary, but written in her usual interesting and lively style. How refreshing, for instance, and characteristic are the following comments upon some pictures representing the dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael at the imperious request of Sarah :—

I believe the most celebrated example is the picture by Guercino, in the Brera ; but I do not think it deserves its celebrity—the pathetic is there alloyed with vulgarity of character. I remember that when I first saw this picture, I could only think of the praises lavished on it by Byron and others, as the finest expression of deep, natural pathos to be found in the whole range of Art. I fancied, as many do, that I could see in it the beauties so poetically described. Some years later, when I saw it again, with a more cultivated eye and taste, my disappointment was great. In fact, Abraham is much more like an unfeeling old beggar than a majestic patriarch resigned to the Divine will, yet struck to the heart by the cruel necessity under which he was acting. Hagar cries like a housemaid turned off without wages or warning, and Ishmael is merely a blubbing boy. For expression, the picture by Govaert Hincke (Berlin Gallery, 815) seems to me much superior ; the look of appealing anguish in the face of Hagar as she turns to Abraham, and points to her weeping boy, reaches to the tragic in point of conception, but Ishmael, if very natural, with his fist in his eye, is also rather vulgar. Rembrandt's composition is quite dramatic, and, in his manner, as fine as possible. Hagar, lingering on the step of the dwelling whence she is rejected, weeps reproachfully ; Ishmael, in a rich Oriental costume, steps on before, with the boyish courage of one destined to become an archer and a hunter in the wilderness, and the father of a great and even yet unconquered nation ; in the background Sarah is seen looking out of the window at her departing rival, with exultation in her face.

Those who are acquainted with Italian paintings of the 15th century must have remarked the frequency with which the great masters of the Tuscan school in that era treat the subject of "The Massacre of the Innocents." Though our Lord is not an actor in the scene, it is intimately connected with His history. The Innocents were the first martyrs in His cause,

and from the earliest times attracted the veneration and tender affection of Christians. Painful as the subject is, it affords scope for the exercise of the highest tragic power. The mere fact that Herod's sword swept the nurseries of Bethlehem, though necessarily entering into the picture, becomes subordinate to the sorrow which then started into life in so many mothers' hearts. That is the point made most prominent in the Gospel by the citation of the pathetic words of Jeremias in the prophecy :—" In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning. Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not." The mind is carried back to the time when the very sound of those tottering feet sufficed to waken the pulses of love in the mother's bosom ; when those confiding hands were ever locked in hers. How dear had been the pretty prattle of those little ones, the first stammerings of the tongue, the silvery laughter, even the cries of passion or of pain ! Hitherto all had been sunshine, or once and again the shadow of some light cloud had drifted across the face of heaven ; but now agony comes on the wings of the whirlwind—a pitiless storm that leaves nothing but blank, broken hearts behind. Here we see a bereaved mother, wildly passionate, tossing her frantic arms heavenward ; we almost fancy we hear her rave and moan. There we mark the wandering footstep, no longer obedient to the helm of reason. Another, with clasped hands, kneels, gazing on the purple stains which dye the ivory limbs of her slaughtered darling. Or the eye rests with awful compassion on a standing figure, another speechless Niobe, pale and unconscious as a statue, still pressing her dead infant to her breast. Upon one or two upturned faces a light has broken ; the grand thought seems just to have flashed upon their souls—that the purple stains are the dye of martyrdom, destined by a loving Providence to adorn a robe of unfading glory. And so sorrow passes almost into joy, and the imagination reaches forward to another sorrowful Mother—the Mother of sorrows—who is to sit in desolation, yet mastering her deep woe, and, with a sacrificing love that transcends resignation, entering into and uniting herself with the mysterious designs of God. In spite, however, of the interest of the subject, for ages it was rarely depicted. Mrs. Jameson gives the following account of its sudden rise into general favour :—

All at once, however, in the latter half of the 15th century—that is, after 1450—we find the subject of the Holy Innocents assuming an extraordinary degree of popularity and importance. Then, for the first time, we find chapels dedicated to them, and groups of martyred children in altar-pieces round the

throne of Christ or the Virgin. From this period we have innumerable examples of the terrible scene of the massacre at Bethlehem, treated as a separate subject in pictures and prints, while the best artists vied with each other in varying and elaborating the details of circumstantial cruelty and frantic despair.

For a long time I could not comprehend how this came about, nor how it happened that through all Italy, especially in the Tuscan schools, a subject so ghastly and so painful should have assumed this sort of prominence. The cause, as it gradually revealed itself, rendered every picture more and more interesting; connecting them with each other, and showing how intimately the history of Art is mixed up with the life of a people.

There had existed at Florence, from the 13th century, a hospital for foundlings, the first institution of the kind in Europe. It was attached to the Benedictine monastery of San Gallo, near one of the gates of the city still bearing the name. In the 15th century, when the population and extent of the city had greatly increased, it was found that this hospital was too small, and the funds of the monastery quite inadequate to the purpose. Then Lionardo Bruni, of Arezzo, who was twice Chancellor of Florence—the same Lionardo who gave to Ghiberti the subjects of his famous gates—filled with compassion for the orphans and neglected children, addressed the Senate on the subject, and made such an affecting appeal in their behalf, that not the Senate only but the whole people of Florence responded with enthusiasm, frequently interrupting him with cries of “Viva Messer Lionardo d’Arezzo!” “And,” adds the historian, “never was a question of importance carried with such [more] quickness and unanimity” (*mai con maggior celerità e pienezza de’ voti fu vinto partito di cosa grave come questa*). Large sums were voted, offerings flowed in, a superb hospital was founded, and Brunelleschi was appointed architect. When finished, which was not till 1444, it was solemnly dedicated to the “*Holy Innocents*.” The first child consigned to the new institution was a poor little female infant, on whose breast was pinned the name “Agata,” in remembrance of which an altar in the chapel was dedicated to St. Agatha. We have proof that the foundation, progress, and consecration of this refuge for destitute children excited the greatest interest and sympathy, not only in Florence, but in the neighbouring states, and that it was imitated in Pisa, Arezzo, and Siena. The union of the two hospitals of San Gallo and the “*Innocenti*” took place in 1463. Churches and chapels were appended to the hospitals, and, as a matter of course, the painters and sculptors were called upon to decorate them. Such are the circumstances which explain, as I think, the popularity of the story of the Innocents in the 15th century, and the manner in which it occupied the minds of the great contemporary artists of the Tuscan school, and others after them.

We cannot pretend to decide upon the truth of this supposed connection between the establishment of an institution to minister to the wants of the forsaken and the development of a special branch of Christian Art. Whether true or not, this much is certain, that it is in keeping with a multitude of instances which go to prove how favourable the practice of

Catholic charity is to the progress of the Arts. Love ever pours itself around in streams of radiance, lighting up whole regions which lie beyond its immediate object. It copies the creative liberality of God, who, in providing us with what is necessary for subsistence, surrounds us at the same time with a thousand superfluous manifestations of beauty.

But it is time to pass on to the second volume of this history, which we owe almost entirely to the pen of Lady Eastlake. It is mainly occupied with the Passion of our Lord; and certainly the diligent attention paid by the authoress to this subject, and the judgment displayed in the arrangement of the narrative and the selection of examples, cannot be too highly commended. The style is generally clear, simple, and earnest. Always dignified, it sometimes rises to eloquence, as in the description of Rembrandt's etching of the "*Ecce Homo*," and in the following criticism of Leonardo da Vinci's celebrated "*Last Supper*." After a clever disquisition on the difficulties of the subject, and the conditions essential to its effective treatment, she thus proceeds:—

We need not say who did fulfil these conditions, nor whose *Last Supper* it is—all ruined and defaced as it may be—which alone rouses the heart of the spectator as effectually as that incomparable shadow in the centre has roused the feelings of the dim forms on each side of Him. Leonardo da Vinci's *Cena*, to all who consider this grand subject through the medium of Art, is the *Last Supper*—there is no other. Various representations exist, and by the highest names in Art, but they do not touch the subtle spring. Compared with this *chef d'œuvre*, their *Last Suppers* are mere exhibitions of well-drawn, draped, or coloured figures, in studiously varied attitudes, which excite no emotion beyond the admiration due to these qualities. It is no wonder that Leonardo should have done little or nothing more after the execution, in his forty-sixth year, of that stupendous picture. It was not in man not to be fastidious, who had such an unapproachable standard of his own powers perpetually standing in his path.

Let us now consider this figure of Christ more closely.

It is not sufficient to say that our Lord has just uttered this sentence—viz., "Verily, verily, I say unto you, one of you shall betray me;" we must endeavour to define in what, in His own Person, the visible proof of His having spoken consists. The painter has cast the eyes down—an action which generally detracts from the expression of a face. Here, however, no such loss is felt. The outward sight, it is true, is in abeyance, but the intensest sense of inward vision has taken its place. Our Lord is looking into Himself—that self which knew "all things," and therefore needed not to lift His mortal lids to ascertain what effect His words had produced. The honest indignation of the Apostles, the visible perturbation of the traitor, are each right in their place, and for the looker on, but they are nothing to Him. Thus here at once the highest power and refinement of Art is shown, by the

conversion of what in most hands would have been an insipidity into the means of expression best suited to the moment. The inclination of the head, and the expression of every feature, all contribute to the same intention. This is not the heaviness or even the repose of previous silence. On the contrary, the head has not yet risen, nor the muscles of the face subsided from the act of mournful speech. It is just that evanescent moment which all true painters yearn to catch, and which few but painters are wont to observe—when the tones have ceased, but the lips are not sealed—when, for an instant, the face repeats to the eye what the voice has said to the ear. No one who has studied that head can doubt that our Lord has just spoken : the sounds are not there, but they have not travelled far into space.

Much, too, in the general speech of this head is owing to the skill with which, while conveying one particular idea, the painter has suggested no other. Beautiful as the face is, there is no other beauty but that which ministers to this end. We know not whether the head be handsome or picturesque, masculine or feminine in type—whether the eye be liquid, the cheek ruddy, the hair smooth, or the beard curling—as we know with such painful certainty in other representations. All we feel is, that the wave of one intense meaning has passed over the whole countenance, and left its impress alike on every part. Sorrow is the predominant expression—that sorrow which, as we have said in our Introduction, distinguishes the Christian's God, and which binds Him, by a sympathy no fabled deity ever claimed, with the fallen and suffering race of Adam. His very words have given Himself more pain than they have to His hearers, and a pain He cannot expend in protestations as they do, for for this, as for every other act of His life, came He into the world.

But we must not linger with the face alone ; no hands ever did such intellectual service as those which lie spread on that table. They, too, have just fallen into that position—one so full of meaning to us, and so unconsciously assumed by Him—and they will retain it no longer than the eye which is down and the head which is sunk. A special intention on the painter's part may be surmised in the opposite action of each hand ; the palm of the one so graciously and bountifully open to all who are weary and heavy laden, the other averted, yet not closed, as if deprecating its own symbolic office. Or we may consider their position as applicable to this particular scene only ; the one hand saying, "Of those that Thou hast given Me none is lost," and the other, which lies near Judas, "except the son of perdition." Or, again, we may give a still narrower definition, and interpret this averted hand as directing the eye, in some sort, to the hand of Judas, which lies nearest it, "Behold, the hand of him that betrayeth Me is with Me on the table." Not that the science of Christian iconography has been adopted here, for the welcoming and condemning functions of the respective hands have been reversed—in reference, probably, to Judas, who sits on our Lord's right. Or we may give up attributing symbolic intentions of any kind to the painter—a source of pleasure to the spectator more often justifiable than justified—and simply give him credit for having, by his own exquisite feeling alone, so placed the hands as to make them thus minister to a variety of suggestions. Either way these grand and pathetic members stand as pre-eminent as the head in

the pictorial history of our Lord, having seldom been equalled in beauty of form, and never in power of speech.

Thus much has been said upon this figure of our Lord, because no other representation approaches so near the ideal of His Person. Time, ignorance, and violence have done their worst upon it, but it may be doubted whether it ever suggested more overpowering feelings than in its present battered and defaced condition, scarcely now to be called a picture, but a fitter emblem of Him who was "despised and rejected of men."

Perhaps there is no other passage in the work so lovingly elaborated as this. Rivalling in energy, it surpasses in delicate discrimination even such brilliant criticisms as that of the eloquent Count de Montalembert on Fra Angelico's "Last Judgment,"—a criticism which must have struck all readers of "Vandalism and Catholicism in Art" as worthy of the painting it describes. But the mention of the blessed Friar of Fiesoli reminds us that he is a special favourite with Lady Eastlake also. The spell of his tender and reverent contemplations has told upon her with considerable power, to an extent, indeed, which makes her scarcely just towards Raphael himself. Several graphic pages are devoted to a description of Fra Angelico's "Last Judgment." His "Adoration of the Cross" also is dwelt upon with much affection, and in great detail. But our readers will be enabled, we hope, to form some idea of the feelings with which Lady Eastlake regards this most Christian of all artists, from the shorter extracts which we subjoin. After criticising a fine fresco by Giotto of "Christ washing the Disciples' feet," she thus comments upon Fra Angelico's treatment of the same subject:—

Of all painters who expressed the condescension of the Lord by the impression it produced upon those to whom it was sent, Fra Angelico stands foremost in beauty of feeling. Not only the hands, but the feet of poor shocked Peter protest against his Master's condescension. It is a contest for humility between the two; but our Lord is more than humble, He is lovely and mighty too. He is on His knees; but His two outstretched hands, so lovingly offered, begging to be accepted, go beyond the mere incident, as Art and Poetry of this class always do, and link themselves typically with the whole gracious scheme of redemption. True Christian art, even if theology were silent, would, like the very stones, cry out and proclaim how every act of our Lord's course refers to one supreme idea.

And once more, speaking of the same artist's picture of the "Descent from the Cross," she thus contrasts his conception with those of Luca Signorelli, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Razzi, Da Volterra, and other Italian versions of the 15th and 16th centuries:—

After contemplating these conceptions of the deposition in which a certain parade of idle sorrow, vehement action, and pendent impossibilities are con-

spicuous, it is a relief to turn to one who here, as ever, stands alone in his mild glory. Fra Angelico's Descent, painted for the St. Trinità at Florence, now in the Accademia there, is the perfect realization of the most pious idea. No more Christian conception of the subject, and no more probable setting forth of the scene, can perhaps be attained. All is holy sorrow, calm and still; the figures move gently, and speak in whispers. No one is too excited to help, or not to hinder. Joseph and Nicodemus, known by their glories, are highest in the scale of reverential beings who people the ladder, and make it almost look as if it lost itself, like Jacob's, in heaven. They each hold an arm close to the shoulder. Another disciple sustains the body as he sits on the ladder, a fourth receives it under the knees; and St. John, a figure of the highest beauty of expression, lifts his hands and offers his shoulder to the precious burden, where in another moment it will safely and tenderly repose. The figure itself is ineffably graceful with pathetic helplessness, but "Corona glorie," victory over the old enemy, surrounds a head of divine peace. He is restored to His own, and rests among them with a security as if He knew the loving hands so quietly and mournfully busied about Him. And His peace is with them already: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you." In this picture it is as if the pious artist had sought first the kingdom of God, and all things, even in art, had been added unto him. . . . We have taken only the centre group (the size forbidding more), leaving out the sorrowing women on the right, with the Mother piously kneeling with folded hands, as if so alone she could worthily take back that sacred form.

Such a picture might have been supposed to be the source of Father Faber's most pathetic description of the same scene in his "Foot of the Cross," did we not know that there is sure to be a strong family likeness between the conceptions of two gentle, humble souls deriving their inspiration from the same exercise of prayerful and compassionate contemplation.

It would be a pity to mar the impression made upon our readers by passages such as we have quoted, and of which there are many kindred examples scattered throughout Lady Eastlake's volume, by the painful contrast of a sad passage upon the Agony in the Garden (vol. ii. p. 30). Though not the sole, it is the most serious, blot upon her work. Misconceiving altogether the symbolic intention of Catholic artists in placing the chalice and host in the hands of the ministering angel, Lady Eastlake, for once, allows the Protestant spirit within to break through all bounds of decorum. In what sense the Eucharistic chalice, introduce it where you will, can be a *profane* representation, it is impossible to conceive. Good taste, not to say reverence, should have proscribed the employment of such an epithet. A little patient reflection, or the still easier and surer method of inquiry at some Catholic

source, would, we venture to think, have overcome her repugnance, and have saved her Catholic readers some unnecessary pain. But we are willing to let this offence pass, and to leave the logic of the accompanying strictures, bad as it is, unchallenged, in consideration of the eminent service rendered by the work, as a whole, to the cause of Christian art. Few could have brought together a larger amount of instructive and interesting matter. Few, perhaps no one, at least amongst Protestants, could have undertaken the task with so much to qualify, so little to disqualify, them for the office of historian and critic of the glorious series of monuments which Christian artists have bequeathed to us.

One lesson, above all, every unprejudiced reader ought to derive from these volumes—that Christian Art and Catholic Art are identical. Not to every Catholic artist is it given to produce true Christian Art; but he, *cæteris paribus*, is most certain of attaining the true standard, who is most deeply imbued with Catholic principles, most highly gifted with the Catholic virtues of supernatural faith and love. Looking at the whole range of Christian Art, it may be safely averred that whatever shortcomings there have been within the Church have been owing to the influence of principles foreign to her spirit; and that outside the Church (we say it in spite of Lady Eastlake's admiration of Rembrandt), there has simply never existed any Christian Art at all. In our own days the rule is not reversed. Whom have Protestants to set against Overbeck, Cornelius, Deger, Molitor, and we are proud to add our own illustrious countryman, Herbert? Not surely the Pre-Raphaelite school in England, though it is the only one that has the least pretensions to the cultivation of Christian Art. No, it is the Catholic Church alone that can stamp upon the painter's productions the supernatural impress of those notes by which she herself is recognisable as true.

There is a Unity of intention, scope, and spirit in Catholic Art of every age and clime. Like the doctrines and devotions of the Church, Catholic Art, in all its various forms—symbolical, historical, devotional, ideal—ever revolves round one centre, and is referable to one Exemplar. Divine Beauty “manifest in the flesh,”—the Image of the Father clothed in human form and living in the Church—He is the inspirer of Christian Art. “Deum nemo vidit unquam: unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse narravit.”* The God-man is the primary object of artistic contemplation. As in

* “No man hath seen God at any time: the Only-Begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him.”—John i. 18.

doctrine, so in æstheticism, every truly Catholic artist may exclaim, "*Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis; et vidimus gloriam ejus, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratiæ et veritatis.*"*

But this unity, how exuberant is its fertility! The Unity of the Church is the source of her Catholicity. The two stand or fall together. And so too the oneness of Catholic Art is the secret of its universality. It admits of no partial view, excludes no variety or difference. Unity of spirit binds all together in perfect harmony, just as diversity of race, and multiplicity of individual gifts, in her members, are fitted together, organized, and held in balance by the Unity of the Church. Unity is the basis and safeguard of Catholicity; Catholicity the glory and crown of Unity.

Nor is the note of Apostolicity wanting. For the Bible and the Bible only, as the rule and standard of art, substitute Catholic tradition handed down from the Apostles, inclusive of all that is in Scripture, but reaching beyond the limits of the Written Word, and ever interpreted to the artist, no less than to the rest of the faithful, by the living voice of the teaching Church, and then the principle which identifies orthodoxy with Christian Art may safely be applied as a test to religious painting.

Lastly—we had almost said above all—the beauty of Holiness is stamped exclusively upon all art created after the mind of the Church. For Catholic Art is nothing else than the product of contemplation in souls gifted with artistic capacities; and contemplation is only another word for the gaze of supernatural faith, quickened and perfected by supernatural love, upon one or other of those Mysteries which the Church sets before the minds of her children. So at least we have learned from the Angelic Doctor, who tells us † that beauty is found primarily and essentially in the contemplative life. For, although S. Gregory teaches that contemplation consists in the love of God, we are to understand this rather of the motive than of the precise act. The will inflamed with love desires to behold the beauty of the beloved object, either for its own sake—the heart always being where the treasure is—or for the sake of the knowledge itself which results from the act of vision. Sometimes it is the senses which are thus impelled to act, sometimes the intellect which is prompted to this gaze,

* "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we saw His glory, the glory as it were of the Only-Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."—John i. 14.

† 2. 2. Q. cxxx. a. 1, and a. 2. ad 3.

according as the object is material or spiritual. But how is the beauty of the object perceived? What is the faculty whose office it is to light up and reduce to order and due proportion what is seen? Evidently, the reason. For reason is light, and where there is reason there is harmony and proportion. And so beauty, whose essence is brightness and due proportion, is, as we said, primarily and necessarily found in the contemplative life; or, which is the same thing, in the exercise of the reason—its natural exercise, if the beauty contemplated be in the natural order; its supernatural exercise, if revealed Mystery be that which attracts and occupies the soul.

ART. VII.—OUTLINES OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY.

Harmonia Evangelica; sive, Quatuor Evangelia atque Actus Apostolorum Græcè, pro temporis et rerum serie, in partes sex distributi. Edidit EDVARDUS GRESWELL, S.T.B. Ed. 4ta, Oxonii: 1845.

THE Providential arrangement by which the Life of our Lord upon earth has been handed down to us in the New Testament—not in a single and complete narrative, but in four different Gospels, various in their character and their contents, and at first sight not always easy to reconcile with one another—has from the first ages of the Church down to the present time furnished a natural provocation to the instinctive desire of Christians to form for themselves what has thus been denied them by the inspired record; and has produced countless attempts to combine the scattered and fragmentary details of the Evangelists into one consecutive and harmonious whole. It will not be expected that we should attempt to give an account of these various efforts, though the history of Harmonies and the examination of the principles—where there have been any—on which they have been framed, would be no useless field of study for the critical scholar. As was to be expected, great and almost childish mistakes have been made in this department of literature, as in every other. The Harmonists have been often too forgetful that the Evangelists have not presented us with a mere collection of unarranged materials; and they have constantly failed to understand that the best foundation for their own labours would have been a deep and conscientious study of each Evangelist as a separate and individual author, with a character, a purpose, and a method of his own. But if Harmonists have

made great blunders, their adversaries have made others as great. In the present day there is not so much need of protest against the violence of the former as against the childish criticism of the latter. It is a very easy task to pick holes in a Harmony, and no less dangerous than foolish to argue from the success of such a process, that the task undertaken by the Harmonists can never be satisfactorily accomplished. Many books that we have lately seen published are a sufficient answer to so indolent a conclusion. Much progress has, in fact, been made, although the fanciful theories of modern critics as to the origin of the Gospels have, to a great extent, impeded its development. Nor, after all, are there many Harmonists who have committed themselves to absurdities as ludicrous as those which are to be found in the works of their severest critics. One of our own countrymen, for instance, whose edition of the Greek Testament was warmly welcomed at its first appearance on account of the absolute dearth of any works that could compete with it, even respectably, on the same field, has not only maintained the hypothesis that no one of the four Evangelists ever saw the work of any other, but has endeavoured further to prove this from the Gospels themselves. Dean Alford has certain qualities as a writer which have probably raised him many an enemy in this as in other departments of literature in which they have displayed themselves; but no enemy will wish him a much worse fate than that, if he is remembered at all hereafter as a labourer in the field of New Testament criticism, his name should be inseparably connected, before the judgment and common sense of posterity, with a crotchet such as this.

The very nature of the work of a Harmonist exposes him to unfair judgment from captious critics. Every incident that is related in any one of the four Gospels must be placed somewhere in a Harmony—but it by no means follows that the author means to assert, with regard to all incidents equally, that there are certain grounds for the arrangement he has made. In nine cases out of ten the arrangement may seem to him certain; in the tenth he may only mean to defend it as the most probable that occurs to him. In nine cases out of ten there may be some connecting particle in the text which points to the context in which a passage must be placed; in the tenth the Evangelist may only relate one thing after another thing, without indicating an identity of place or time. The Harmony has to run on without discriminating differences such as these. It may be compared to a large picture, of which the main figures or features are historical and certain, but which contains a great number of accessories which are

more or less probable. In Mr. Herbert's great fresco, the subordinate figures have as much a place of their own, and are as much a part of the picture, as the figure of Moses himself. It does not follow that the artist means to claim for them the same amount of historical truth. In Leonardo's Last Supper, we may be fairly certain that our Lord is rightly placed in the centre, and S. John by his side; it would be absurd to cavil at the painter for having assigned particular places to S. Thomas or Judas Iscariot, because there is no certain authority that settles them exactly. Again, Harmonists may have been too positive, and have strained themselves beyond the bounds of reason in their attempts to give account of apparent discrepancies which it is best to acknowledge as not fully explicable, from our own want of acquaintance with all the circumstances of the case. But anti-Harmonists have, certainly, been far more unreasonable in their alleged discoveries of contradictions in cases where common sense and fairness are sufficient to meet the difficulty. We have already intimated what we consider to have been the great defect of the Harmonists. They have been inclined to treat the four Gospels much as the mediæval Romans treated the great remains of antiquity in the Eternal City; as quarries, that is, from which they might draw materials at will for their own purposes, rather than as edifices of intrinsic and priceless value which it was far more important to leave unmolested and entire in their incomparable grandeur than to build palaces for themselves out of their ruins. No Harmony can be tolerable that throws into confusion a single passage of any one of the four Gospels. The more, on the other hand, the Evangelists are respected as authors by the Harmonists, the more nearly will the latter approach to perfection in their own work. That work has an importance and value of its own, second only to that of the inspired narratives themselves. To any one who believes their truthfulness and infallibility—and with others we have, at present, nothing to do—it must be clear that, as our Lord lived one continuous and consistent life on earth, different parts and aspects of which are, as it were, enshrined in the four several Gospels, it must be possible for industry and patience to arrange these parts and combine these aspects into a harmonious and united whole. That such a work may be done is ample reason for aiming at its accomplishment. Where can learning and genius spend themselves more profitably or more happily than here? Far better would it be to forbid Christian art to lay its homage at the foot of the altar, or to hinder music and poetry from engrafting their richest and most exquisite fruits upon the ritual of Christian worship,

than to prevent the devout contemplation that must ever hang over every word and footstep of the Incarnate Son of God, from calling to its aid every resource of industrious learning and sound criticism, in order that by such means it may present itself with a fuller and more living picture of the sayings and doings of the three-and-thirty years during which He "conversed with men."

The point as to which we have ventured to find the greatest fault with the Harmonists in general, is one to which their attention was not called, in the first instance, by the nature of the work before them. This, however, was the case with many of those who have been their most cruel critics—who have not, however, paid any more attention to it themselves. It can hardly be said to have received sufficient general attention till our own time. Formerly, it was not so usual to attach primary and transcendent importance to an examination of the characteristics of an author; to ascertain, as a first duty, his peculiar point of view, his dominant idea, and the readers for whom he immediately wrote. It is true that, as we have said, such an appreciation of the four Evangelists would be one of the most powerful helps that a Harmonist could have; not only for his general guidance, but, in particular, in the case of apparent difficulties and discrepancies. But it was to be looked for, in the first instance, in the works of other writers on the New Testament. With regard to the discrepancies themselves, which of course must always form the greatest difficulty in the way of a Harmonist, it is not too much to say that great and undeniable progress has been made. Those that remain are few, and in matters of slight importance. The books we have lately seen published are an evidence of this, and at the same time will put the student in possession of the ordinary methods of solution. None of these works may be perfect in its kind; and the most elaborate of all, that of Lange, will hardly succeed in establishing itself as a permanent authority in this country. As a general rule, the prolix and cloudy elements in the works of German erudition will prevent them from taking root in England, however valuable they may be to individual students. There is also an irreclaimable fancifulness which breaks out in the writings of all but a very few of the critics of that nation. Even the accurate and pains-taking Wieseler has to be excused by his translator. Another great defect we have already named,—the result of the influence of absurd theories as to the origin of the Gospel records. A still more fatal deficiency on the part of many German writers, which tells powerfully though indirectly upon their works on this subject, lies in their low

conceptions as to our Blessed Lord Himself. When we say that some hardly rise to the idea of His sinlessness, we have hinted more than enough to the Catholic reader. English writers, such as Dr. Ellicott and Mr. Greswell, are far nearer to the orthodox standard of belief; but even in these there is a lack of much that would be natural in a Catholic writer on the same subject. Thus Dr. Ellicott cannot trust himself when he has to speak of our Blessed Lady, and his account of the Annunciation is therefore obscure. Of Mr. Greswell, we are sorry to say, it must be confessed that he has Helvidian notions about the "brethren" of our Lord. These remarks, however, do not apply to the writers just named strictly in their capacity as Harmonists; and although there is still a great conflict of opinions on individual points, we think we may fairly appeal to the aggregate of their writings, as showing that we have made very considerable progress already towards a perfect Harmony of the Gospels.

It would carry us far beyond the limits of our present design to do more than sketch in a very general way what we conceive to be some of the chief external gains that have resulted from this branch of biblical study. Of course each one of the Gospels is complete in itself, and presents us with an adequate account of the life of our Blessed Lord, according to the intention of the writer, looking to his immediate circle of readers, and guided both in this, and all other things, by the great Author of all Holy Scripture. Every one knows, on the other hand, that many features and details of our Lord's life are not to be found in each of the four Gospels, and that each one, perhaps, of these omits something very important to the general history. It follows naturally that the general and combined history must have features of its own, distinctive divisions, characteristic and progressive developments, which may be discerned, indeed, in each of the four separate accounts, but which can only be fully understood when they are combined in one. This, then, we conceive, among other things, ought to be a peculiar advantage to be derived from a harmony of the Gospels—that it enables us to follow the gradual march of events, the growth and unfolding of the Divine plan in the ministry of our Lord, and the formation of the Church, and our Lord's own demeanour and bearing as it varied from time to time, according to changes of outward circumstances, whether towards His own chosen disciples, the people in general, or the enemies who ranged themselves against Him. Other advantages of the same study may be more valuable in other ways: for the mere comparison of different accounts of the same action or miracle—as, for instance, in the case of the

remarkably varied versions of the cure of the centurion's servant—will often bring out the whole history, and our Lord's part in it especially, with a force and clearness that would have been lost to us if we had had but a single narrative. The result, however, that we have spoken of is certainly one of the most obvious to be looked for from a Harmony; and we may estimate the excellence or the defectiveness of such a work by its success or failure in this respect. To this, therefore, we shall confine our remarks, after having made a few preliminary and necessary statements.

As to the origin of the Gospels, it is certainly not worth while to enter on any long discussion. Very fanciful theories have been broached on this subject of late years; many of which have hardly retained the allegiance of their own authors for any length of time. It seems as if we were now coming back to the common-sense view from which we started, and contenting ourselves with the belief of ordinary Christians, which, attributing the four Gospels to the authors whose names they bear, finds in the fact of such authorship a sufficient guarantee for the genuineness of the materials they embody, and a sufficient explanation of those internal phenomena for which the theories lately alluded to were meant to account. In a few years, perhaps, other phantoms engendered by the prolific mistiness of the German mind—such as that of the Petrine, Pauline, and Johannean Christianity—will take their place by the side of these exploded imaginations in some limbus of forgotten eccentricities, ready to be called forth as new and original conceptions, when Dr. Colenso has travelled through all the books of the Old Testament, and begun his assault upon the New. Meanwhile, may they rest in peace! We must proceed to avow ourselves, in general, disciples of Mr. Greswell, as to the main principles of a Gospel Harmony. The "supplementary" theory of which he is, perhaps, the most distinguished advocate, is so obviously reasonable in itself, and is supported by so overwhelming an amount of positive evidence, that it can well afford still to leave some difficulties unexplained, and to have its application as to some minor points not yet made quite clear. The relation between S. Matthew and S. Mark is perfectly intelligible on this hypothesis, when we have once a clear and right understanding of the characteristics of each writer, and of the object and the readers for whom he wrote. S. Luke's Gospel, complete as a work in itself, still clearly presupposes the two preceding Evangelists; and its omissions, as well as its peculiar features, testify strongly to this fact, in itself so probable, especially in a writer who begins by avowing his acquaintance with works prior to

his own. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that S. Luke wrote as if the earlier Gospels were in the hands of his own readers. This is a point on which our own ideas—formed from the habits of a time when reading and books are so widely diffused and so much within the reach of every one, even in distant countries—are very likely to lead us astray. Nor does the “supplementary” theory, as we understand it, at all require this supposition. It is enough that S. Luke knew that the history on which he was engaged had already been thrown into form by S. Matthew and S. Mark, and that their books should have been before him as he wrote. It is perfectly intelligible that he would in this case omit much that they had related, partly because they had related it; and yet that he would at other times either incorporate their words into his own text, or give their substance in words of his own. Their Gospels need not have been even known to those for whom he wrote, and yet they may have influenced his composition in many ways. Most commonly the influence would be shown by his selection for his own narrative of things very much like those which they had related, rather than the same things; but he would sometimes simply follow them, and sometimes give a different version of the same occurrence. And, in fact, it is surprising to see how many of the difficulties that Harmonists have found in S. Luke may be solved by the help of these simple principles. As to S. John, his Gospel has, of course, an object and a character of its own, apart from its value as a narrative of events; but, with all this, it is so obviously supplementary to S. Luke, without mentioning him, that almost the whole of it might be inserted in large sections between various breaks in the third Gospel, and a continuous history be thus made up of the two. This is nowhere so remarkable as in that part of his work in which S. John appears at first sight to be giving an independent account of what has already been related by the former Evangelists, in the history of the Passion. An attention to this fact will solve the great difficulties that can be raised as to his narrative—difficulties which perhaps can be explained in no other way.

It is, perhaps, a misfortune that the first and most natural question that rises before the student who sets himself to work on the framing of a Harmony of the Gospels—the question of the duration and chronological division of our Lord’s ministry—should have presented so tempting a field to curious investigation and ingenious conjecture. In mentioning this question as the first, we do not mean to ignore the importance of others which have less direct bearing on the formation of a Harmony. Let the student pay due

homage to the elaborate dissertations that have been devoted to the subject of the "taxing" of Quirinius, the date of the death of Herod, and the point of time that S. Luke intends to specify as the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar. Let him learn—perhaps, as to *principle*, from no one better than from Lord A. Hervey—how to reconcile the two genealogies of our Lord as they stand in S. Matthew and S. Luke respectively. It may be that here, too, he will think it well to return to an old opinion—not so much in favour of late years as soon after the Reformation—according to which the genealogy of S. Luke gives us the real ancestry of our Blessed Lord through his Immaculate Mother herself, from whom, it can hardly be doubted, the third evangelist derived the materials out of which that part of his Gospel is composed.* Passing over the history of our Lord's Infancy and Hidden Life, we come to His solemn inauguration as the divinely appointed Teacher, the beloved Son of God, in His mysterious baptism by S. John. The Evangelist of the same name will tell us the several important incidents that took place between that mystery and our Lord's first ascent to the Passover at Jerusalem; and we shall find little difficulty in making room in his narrative for the forty days' fasting and temptation, already related by other Evangelists. Here, then, we are met by the first great question on which the Harmonist, or, indeed, any historian of our Lord's life must decide—as to the duration of the ministry of our Lord, which may be said to have been formally commenced at His baptism, and which ended at the last Passover mentioned by the four Evangelists.

We have said that we think it a misfortune that those who have devoted themselves to the studies of which we are speaking, should have given so prominent a place to these questions of time. It is not that we deny their importance, or, on the other hand, suppose that they cannot be satisfactorily settled. Notwithstanding the antiquity of the opinion which allots no more than a single year to the ministry of our Lord, it is obviously uncritical; it can be traced to a

* The other theory—maintained in England by so great an authority as the late Dr. Mill (among a host of others), and in Italy by F. Patrizi—which makes both genealogies belong to S. Joseph, who is the son of two "fathers" according to the Levirate law, seems, notwithstanding its ancient origin, to labour under one fatal and invincible defect. There is neither authority nor reason for the supposition, that the law in question would apply in the case of brothers merely *uterine*—sons of the same mother, not of the same father. The explanation of the difficulty spoken of in the text has the approval of Ebrard in his "Gospel History," and has been maintained with much force by that very sensible and unassuming writer, Mr. Andrews ("The Life of our Lord upon the Earth," p. 57).

clumsy attempt to conciliate the "fifteenth year of Tiberius" in S. Luke with the old tradition that placed the Crucifixion in the consulship of the Gemini; and it is, moreover, directly contradicted by S. John. That evangelist distinctly mentions three Passovers as occurring within the space of time embraced by his Gospel, and according to all probability a fourth also. It is on this that the common opinion that our Lord's ministry occupied the space of something more than three years is founded. So far all is well. But there is a tendency to take the natural divisions of this space of time, from Passover to Passover, as really breaking up our Lord's ministry into its distinctive parts. Thus we get a distribution which is by no means uniformly true, and which ignores and overrides what are in reality the historical divisions of the Public Life. That life assuredly ought to be divided into certain stages, which do not by any means correspond with the division into years. Those stages might be multiplied, for an accurate study of the four Gospels will reveal many salient points in the history which might be taken as landmarks. Such are, for instance, the beginning of the teaching in Galilee, from which the earlier evangelists date their history of our Lord's preaching; the commencement of opposition to Him on the part of the authorities; the choosing of the Apostles; their subsequent mission; the beginning of the teaching by parables; the flight from persecution; the confession of S. Peter; the Transfiguration; the mission of the seventy; and the period comprised in what Dr. Ellicott* calls the *Journeys to Jerusalem*. For the sake of brevity we shall only dwell on a few principal points out of all these.

It is clear that S. John has supplied us with an account of a distinct stage, so to speak, in our Lord's ministry, in his first four chapters, which bring the history down to the return of our Lord into Galilee at some time subsequent to the first Passover at which He was present after His baptism, when He for the first time drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and was questioned by the Jews as to His authority. We learn from the words of Nicodemus (iii. 2) that He claimed the attention and faith of the nation at the same time by some wonderful miracles. After the Passover our Lord retired into the country, remaining, however, in Judæa, and there for some time taught and baptized by the hands of the few disciples whom He had collected before He went up to Jerusalem. This teaching must have continued at least for some weeks, since it attracted the attention both of the

* "Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord."

Pharisees at Jerusalem and of the jealous disciples of the Baptist. It was brought to a close, as the evangelist tells us, by our Lord's knowledge that the Pharisees had heard of the great popularity of His teaching. No great length of time would have been necessary for this. The most obvious meaning of the words of S. John seems to be, that our Lord wished to avoid a direct questioning from the authorities at Jerusalem as to His person and office. A deputation had been sent to the Baptist for that purpose; and it would be entirely in keeping with our Lord's line of conduct that He should fly from such a question, the true answer to which those who made it were so ill fitted to receive. He therefore left Judæa, and passing on His way to Galilee through Samaria, held the conversation with the woman by the well at Sichem, of which S. John has given us the details. On His arrival at Galilee He wrought at a distance (at Cana) the cure of the nobleman's son at Capharnaum, and, as it seems, passing to Nazareth, was rejected by his own fellow-townsmen in the savage manner mentioned by S. Luke. He then went to Capharnaum, and commenced what we may call the second stage of His ministry, the public Galilæan preaching.

The point of time at which this is to be fixed is a well-known subject of dispute among critics. As the period which we are now entering on was a time of great activity on the part of our Lord, and as He to some extent changed His mode of acting soon after the early summer of the year of the second Passover, it becomes a matter of interest to know what space we are at liberty to assign to it. With many writers it seems to be almost an axiomatic truth, that the "four months before harvest," mentioned in the conversation with the disciples at Sichem, are to be taken as furnishing a note of time; and we are thus driven to confine this next ensuing period of Galilæan teaching within very narrow limits. The date indicated by the words just quoted would be about the December after the first Passover; and all that passed between that date and the second Passover is thus limited, even if we are not to attend to certain critics, who would make our Lord leave Galilee again after some weeks, to attend the feast of Purim. We have little doubt that it is quite a mistake to understand our Lord's words as fixing the time of year at which He spoke. The words are clearly proverbial, and are to be joined with those that follow, "one soweth and another reapeth." Our Lord is looking on to the future conversion of these Samaritans, and the work of His apostles therein; and one of the two apostles afterwards sent down from Jerusalem, when "Samaria received the Word of God,"

has recorded for us what to himself was so cherished a recollection.*

If there is nothing in this supposed note of time to make us defer the beginning of our Lord's Galilæan teaching to so late a point as December in the "first year" of His ministry, there is every reason on other accounts for a contrary conclusion. The first three evangelists give us a greater number of events as having happened before the second Passover, or, at least, before the harvest that immediately followed it, than can be conveniently crowded into the space of four months. They date the beginning of this stage in the ministry from the imprisonment of S. John the Baptist, who does not appear to have been arrested by Herod at the time that our Lord left Judæa to pass through Samaria; but his imprisonment may have taken place soon after our Lord's arrival at Cana. The next certain "note of time"—putting aside the second Passover—is the harvest just now mentioned, when our Lord was attacked by the Pharisees for allowing His disciples to pluck and rub the ears of corn on the Sabbath-day. This incident is mentioned by all three Synoptists, and was a turning point in the ministry of our Lord. We may take it, then, as the close of the period of which we are now about to speak, although it would, perhaps, be more accurate to fix the turning-point at a time somewhat earlier—that is, at the feast at Jerusalem, mentioned in the fifth chapter of S. John, which we believe to have been the Passover of the second year.

* There is less reason for understanding the words about the "four months" as a note of time, than for so understanding those which follow about "the countries" being "white unto harvest." The latter are preceded by an appeal to what is before the eyes of the disciples: "Lift up your eyes and see;" the former by words that imply a proverb, "Do not you say?" Such a proverb was sure to have existed in a country where the interval between the end of seed-time and the beginning of harvest was four months. We believe, as we have said above, that the whole proverb is contained, not in this single verse, but in this and another that follows: "Do not you say there are yet four months, and then cometh harvest?"—and He goes on to say, that this part of the proverb is not true in the present case, for "the fields are already white." The time for the conversion of the Samaritans was not to come till after the day of Pentecost—and yet they were coming to Him to be taught. Their fields were white, and their souls were ready too. But He was not to gather in that harvest Himself. Nevertheless, sower and reaper should rejoice together. For in this—that is, in the difference between sower and reaper—"is the saying true, that it is one man that soweth and another that repeath." We may imagine the proverb something of this sort:—

Four bright months must come and must go,
Ere harvest shall garner the seed that we sow :
The corn that is stored is the seed that is sown,—
But sower and reaper will not be one !

The early ministry of our Lord in Judæa, which was carried on at the same time with that of S. John the Baptist, was confined, it seems, to one spot, chosen on account of the facilities that it afforded for the administration of baptism. It was thus, to outward appearance, exactly like that of the Baptist himself. On the other hand, when our Lord began His ministry in Galilee, after His rejection at Nazareth, He immediately changed and expanded His method of teaching. This may, in some measure, account for the silence of the earlier evangelists as to the sojourn in Judæa. The apostolical life—that method of preaching and evangelizing which was carried on after the day of Pentecost by the Apostles and their followers—was really inaugurated at Capharnaum. Our Lord no longer confined Himself to a lonely spot, to which the people might throng, if they pleased, to hear Him and be baptized: He threw Himself into a great town in the midst of a populous country as His central station, and sought out the “lost sheep of the house of Israel” in their homes all around, making a series of active missionary circuits throughout the whole of Galilee. This must have been a long and laborious ministry, though the evangelists sum it up in a few words or verses. The real fact is, that all such missionary labours have a great deal of sameness about them, and can be generally described in a few words. “Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and healing all diseases and infirmities among the people. And His fame went throughout all Syria, and they brought to Him all sick persons that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and such as were possessed by devils, and lunatics, and those that had the palsy; and He healed them. And great multitudes followed Him, from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judæa, and from beyond the Jordan.”—(*Matt.* iv. 23—25.)

The first period of the Galilæan teaching, thus summarily described by S. Matthew, was the most sunny and unchequered stage in the three years’ ministry. All seemed bright and promising—the fresh joy, wonder, and enthusiasm of the simple Galilæans breaking out along the path of the new and sweet-spoken Prophet, as He passed from town to town of that beautiful and teeming country, teaching with authority, “not as the scribes,” proclaiming the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven, the “acceptable year of the Lord,” and making His Presence felt on every side by countless blessings showered with a free hand both on souls and bodies. With the exceptions that we shall have to mention, this period was unbroken by any of that systematic contradiction and malignant misin-

terpretation on the part of our Lord's enemies, of which the subsequent stages of His career are so full. The rude and savage outbreak at Nazareth, related by S. Luke, stands alone at the very outset of this bright season, and may be accounted for by the rough character of the inhabitants of the town, stung into fury by the rebuke with which He who had been known among them as "the son of the carpenter" had seemed almost to court from them the treatment which was to make Him fulfil, as it were, the condition of the prophetic office, of "having no honour in his own country" (*John* iv. 44).

We may afford to dwell a little on some of the characteristic features of this period. It begins with a remarkable Sabbath at Capharnaum, which may be taken, in all the fulness of detail with which its incidents have been chronicled for us in the Gospels, as a specimen from which we may judge of the rest of the time to which it belongs. There is the teaching in the synagogue, and the display of Divine power and mercy in the healing of the demoniac—perhaps the first instance of the kind that had been witnessed—then the further work of mercy in the healing of "Simon's wife's mother," followed, as soon as sunset allowed the people to bring their sick to our Lord, by a great multitude of cures of the same sort. Just before this, S. Peter, S. Andrew, and the two brothers SS. James and John, had received their call from the seaside. The invitation is easily understood, when we find that on the morning after the Sabbath our Lord, who had gone very early into a desert place to pray, refused to return to Capharnaum, and set out on His first great missionary tour throughout the country. The four disciples, and others, had already been His familiar companions since their first meeting with Him on the banks of the Jordan, where John, who had been their teacher, had sent them to our Lord. They had put themselves under Him in the recognized relation of "disciples," and had administered baptism in His name in Judæa. Now they were called to accompany Him in His new method of preaching. When this circuit was over, they are found again at their usual occupations (*Luke* v. 1). Their relation to our Lord had not yet reached its final stage of intimacy and unbroken companionship. Some of their future associates in the Apostolical office had not yet been called in any way to join themselves to our Lord; others, perhaps, had become His disciples, but had not yet been tested by a sudden call to leave their ordinary manner of life, even for a time.

The teaching of this period of our Lord's ministry is summed up for us by S. Matthew in the Sermon on the Mount. It would be beyond our present aim to dwell, how-

ever shortly, on the characteristic features of that Divine discourse. When critics have accustomed themselves to distinguish with precision between the different periods of our Lord's teaching, they will see fresh reason for rejecting the very groundless theory which identifies this sermon with that given by S. Luke in his sixth chapter. Considering the character of the audience to which it was addressed, and the kind of instruction with which they were familiar, this Sermon may very well have been delivered as a whole in the form in which it stands in the first Gospel, or may be, at all events, only a shortened form of a single discourse. The Sermon on the Plain can hardly be considered, with any probability, to be a synopsis of several different discourses; yet there is no more difference between that Sermon and this than was to be expected from the varied circumstances of the Teacher and the character of the several Evangelists. We may speak presently of the Sermon on the Plain again. In that before us the disciples are not yet addressed as forming a distinct body from the rest of the audience; the precepts are general and spiritual, and presuppose the practices of religion and piety which would have been familiar to well-instructed Jews. There is no formal parable in the Sermon, though there is a passage that is almost a parable at the end; and the sermon is full throughout of that use of natural imagery and proverbial language which was so remarkable in our Lord, and of which parabolic teaching is a kind of development. Coming persecution is foreshadowed, as well as the mischief to be caused by false teachers.

Another feature of this period, if we may so speak, is its comparative uneventfulness. In fact, the details of our Lord's life and ministry may be said, generally, to increase in fulness and occupy more and more space in the Gospel narrative as we approach the end. We have already assigned one reason for this, with regard to the first year. An uninterrupted and laborious preaching throughout a country from one town to another is certain, indeed, to be full enough of incidents, but they are likely very much to resemble one another. Again, if we look a little further on in the history, we shall easily perceive how large a proportion of the vicissitudes and incidents that mark the pages of the Evangelists is to be set down to the workings of that violent and ever-increasing enmity with which our Lord was, after a time, invariably followed. But this was not likely, if it existed at all, to make its effects conspicuous in the first period of teaching. Our Lord's retirement from the public eye after the healing of the leper—apparently, like the case of the demoniac, the first known

instance of a cure of that kind, and, as such, the cause of marked sensation, and selected for record by S. Luke, as well as by his two predecessors—does not seem to be attributable to the influence of this cause. Another miracle, very signal in its kind, belongs to this period also, and is very much to our purpose, as having been the first recorded occasion on which our Lord appeared to come into collision with the Scribes and Pharisees. We shall see reason, however, for thinking that up to this time there was no violent enmity.

The miracle of which we speak is the case of the paralytic who was let down through the roof into the house where our Lord was teaching. The importance of the occasion is proved by the fact that S. Luke has taken the pains to relate it as well as S. Matthew and S. Mark. The words with which he introduces the account are very remarkable. “There were also Pharisees and doctors of the law sitting by, that were come out of every town of Galilee, and Judæa, and Jerusalem, *and the power of the Lord was to heal them.*” These words are hardly consistent with the notion that they had as yet taken up a decided position against the teaching of Christ: they seem to imply the direct contrary. Our Lord had now been for some time known as a public teacher, going through city after city of the most densely populated districts in the country, and attesting His mission by wonderful miracles. It is not surprising that so large a number of ecclesiastical teachers should have been assembled to meet Him on His return to Capharnaum. So large an assembly would hardly have been collected for the mere purpose of watching or entrapping Him. Nor, again, is there anything wonderful in their surprise at hearing One who seemed to be a man like themselves assure the paralytic, in the first instance, of the forgiveness of his sins. As this power had never been claimed in the Synagogue, their mental exclamation—and they do not seem to have gone beyond it—“Who can forgive sins but God alone?” was very excusable before the visible miracle by which our Lord proved His authority. Would that all who still deny to the Church the power of forgiving sins had the same excuse! After the miracle, there is no reason for expecting these Scribes and Pharisees from the general feeling of admiration and astonishment wherewith “all glorified God, saying, We have seen strange things to-day.”

The call of Levi, and the banquet at his house, seems to fill up the tale of incidents that can be certainly allotted to this part of the Ministry. We have here again two instances, as it appears, of questions raised by the Scribes and Pharisees as to our Lord’s conduct. They relate to His eating with “pub-

licans and sinners," and to the difference between His disciples and those of the Baptist and of the Pharisees in the matter of fasting. In both cases their preconceived notions were rudely violated; yet their question is not put in a hostile form, nor is the answer of our Lord, as yet, a rebuke. The contrast between this and later altercations is sufficiently striking.

The characteristics that we have thus noted in the first period of our Lord's teaching are enough to justify us in marking it off from the later history. At the same time, we see in this hopeful commencement the germs of much that constitutes the most prominent features in the scenes of the following years. The retirement of our Lord from the questioning of the authorities at Jerusalem, and, perhaps, His concealment of Himself after the cure of the leper, were connected with motives which, under the pressure of ever-increasing hostility, forced Him afterwards to fly for a time, almost continuously, from the danger of contradiction and persecution, till at last He adopted the opposite conduct of an open and defiant exposure of Himself to the worst malice of His enemies. The gradual training of the Apostles, who are not yet His inseparable companions, not yet formed into a distinct community, not yet entrusted with miraculous powers, or sent out from under the eye of their Master to preach awhile by themselves, was no doubt carefully adjusted to the growth and development of their spiritual character and of their approach to a full faith in His Divinity—the term, as we shall see, on which the most anxious desires of the Heart of our Lord seem to have been fixed. The parabolic teaching of a later period has to be contrasted, not only as to its manner, but also, in some degree, as to its matter, with that contained in the Sermon on the Mount; but the whole doctrine of the Counsels is contained in the Beatitudes. We may perhaps trace, with regard to the earlier miracles, the exacting of a lower amount of faith than at a later time. If we do not see reason to condemn severely the questionings of the Scribes and Pharisees of whom we have just spoken, we must, at all events, recognise in them the first mutterings of a storm of opposition which was soon to break forth in full fury.

This storm of opposition it is that seems to have furnished the guiding external rule to our Lord's conduct in the next of the great periods into which the Gospel history falls. Not, however, entirely, for we shall see that His conduct depended also upon the state of the faith of His Apostles; and that, when this was matured, He no longer allowed the fury of His enemies to keep Him back from the natural and legiti-

mate exercise of His ministry. We have now to fix the limits of time which we are to allot to this new division of the narrative,—limits not exactly corresponding to the common distribution, which follows the series of the Passovers.

The first mention of anything like violent and determined opposition, on the part of the Scribes and Pharisees, that is met with in the three first Evangelists, is connected with the complaint to which we have already alluded about the violation of the Sabbath by the disciples. S. Luke is the only one of the three who gives a precise note of time, for he speaks of the Sabbath as *δευτεροπρωτον*. This term is, unfortunately, one of those words of perfectly uncertain signification, interpretable only by conjecture, which may be disputed over for ever without any critic ever converting another to his own opinion. However, the time of year is certain; it must have been about the harvest time,—the early summer, therefore, of the second year. This would be enough for our purpose, in furnishing us with a date for the commencement of a new period. But there appears to be a strange change in the conduct of the Pharisees, who—after this dispute as to the Sabbath, and another, very soon after, on the same subject, when our Lord had openly healed a man with a withered hand in the synagogue on the Sabbath—"going out immediately made a consultation with the Herodians, how they might destroy Him" (*Mark* iii. 6). The mention of the Herodians places this circumstance in Galilee; and, as it appears, the plucking of the ears of corn took place there likewise. Moreover, it is said that, on the occasion of the miracle in the synagogue, they watched Him, as if they were expecting something of the kind. It would appear that these Pharisees were prompted by some influence of which the sacred text makes no mention. The matter is made clear to us if we adopt what is in itself the most obvious hypothesis about the "feast" mentioned in the fifth chapter of S. John: that is, that this feast was the Passover of the second year. The miracle wrought on the impotent man at the pool, and the dispute to which it gave rise about the observance of the Sabbath between our Lord and the Jews, related to us at length by S. John, sufficiently explain the change of attitude that is so remarkable in the Pharisees who met our Lord on His return to Galilee: "Therefore did the Jews" (of Judæa) "persecute Jesus, because He did these things on the Sabbath" (*John* v. 16). "Hereupon, therefore, the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He did not only break the Sabbath, but also said God was His Father, making Himself equal to God" (*John* v. 18). It would seem, therefore, that

the first and most striking occasion of the rupture between our Lord and the ecclesiastical authorities was this at Jerusalem. It is not to be wondered at that from this time forth the Scribes and Pharisees throughout the country followed the line of conduct thus entered on by their teachers and rulers in Jerusalem. The central authority seems to have watched with a jealous eye even what was done in the remote district of Galilee; and it would appear that on many occasions the Pharisees and Scribes who openly opposed our Lord were sent down on purpose from the capital.

Whatever, however, be the precise date of the beginning of this opposition, it gave rise to a corresponding change in our Lord's conduct, which continued till the time when He began to speak openly to His Apostles about His coming Passion; and when, instead of any longer avoiding His enemies, He returned to Judæa, was present at the feasts at Jerusalem, and at last brought on the final issue by the great and conspicuous miracle of the raising of Lazarus. S. John places this last change in our Lord's line of action, which marks the end of the second period of His Galilæan teaching, at a point somewhere between the two feasts of the Passover and of Tabernacles in the third year. At the time of the third Passover our Lord is in Galilee, "for He would not walk in Judæa, because the Jews sought to kill Him." At the feast of Tabernacles He is again in Jerusalem; He goes up into the Temple, and teaches publicly—as it would appear, for the first time there (*John* vii. 14, 15). The change, then, took place between these two feasts, as it would seem, late in the summer. Let us now say a few words of the characteristics of the period that was thus terminated.

This is the longest portion of our Lord's active career, but we must endeavour in a few lines to point out some of its chief features. The scene of our Lord's labours is still Galilee. We have already placed in that region the incidents of the cars of corn and the cure of the withered hand. Now that we have for the first time—at least in the synoptic Gospels—mention of an organized and bitter opposition against Him, we also find Him, for the first time in this part of the country, retiring before it. The "drawing off towards the sea, with a multitude following Him," which is mentioned by S. Mark in this place, is only the beginning of a frequent change from one place to another, sometimes to regions very far distant from the central station at Capharnaum. This change is very generally assigned to the same motive by the Evangelists, and seems to have been caused by it even when there is no such direct intimation. These journeys did not supersede our Lord's practice of making regular circuits, from time to time,

throughout the country ; but whenever He returned, as was His wont, to Capharnaum, He seems to have been met with the same persistent hostility, so as to have been obliged immediately to withdraw. The question about the observance of the Sabbath was followed by a charge so atrocious as to amount to direct and wilful blasphemy, which seems to have wounded our Lord's Heart to the utmost. This was contained in the cry, " He casteth out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils ! " It is after this—followed up by a captious demand for a sign from heaven—that He adopted His method of teaching by parables, and then crossed the lake to free Himself from pressure, on that memorable expedition to the country of the Gadarenes, of which we have so particular an account in the synoptic Gospels. Retiring thence, on the request of the people of the country, He was soon again exposed to the same blasphemous calumny, and seems, in consequence, to have betaken Himself for the second time to Nazareth. We next find Him in the desert of Bethsaida, having withdrawn thither with the Apostles, in order to give them some rest after the missionary excursion from which they had just returned. It was then that, for the first time, the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves took place. Our Lord returns again to Capharnaum, to hold that long dispute in the synagogue with some who had hitherto been His disciples, which occupies the greater part of the sixth chapter of S. John. Here again He is attacked by the Pharisees with a new charge—that the disciples ate bread with unwashed hands : probably only the first burst of a fresh storm of opposition and calumny, for our Lord leaves the neighbourhood, and takes refuge in distant outlying parts of the country, where He might remain unknown. It was at this time that He visited even the Gentile countries of Tyre and Sidon, and returned thence along the northern border of Galilee through Decapolis, to the same desert place of Bethsaida where the five thousand had been fed, and where He now repeats the miracle. He crosses the lake, but His enemies are there, asking a sign. He withdraws once more, and taking a route towards the extreme north, where the Jordan rises under the shadow of Mount Hermon, in " the parts of Cæsarea Philippi," He chooses this remote spot, the very Thule of the Holy Land, to put to His Apostles the memorable question which, as it were, called His Church into existence, by drawing from S. Peter the confession, " Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God."

If this constant change of place, produced as it was by the desire to avoid notice and to escape from the fury of enemies,

is a very different thing from the almost triumphal march of our Lord's progress during the first year of His ministry, there is a no less notable contrast between the recorded teaching of this second period and that of the former one. The two great monuments that we possess of the teaching of the second year are the Sermon on the Plain in S. Luke, and the connected set of parables which are contained chiefly in S. Matthew. With regard to the former, it seems perfectly astounding that it should still be a question among critics whether it is distinct from the Sermon on the Mount. S. Luke has certainly taken all the pains he could take, short of stating the fact, to distinguish between the two. The Sermon on the Plain was delivered, as he tells us, at a most memorable epoch in the history of our Lord's teaching—just after the appointment of the Twelve Apostles. Its first sentences, which are a modification of the Beatitudes in the former sermon, are addressed to the Apostles: after these, by a transition marked in the text (*Luke vi. 27*), our Lord passes on to the general audience, which evidently contained a far larger sprinkling of Gentiles than that which listened on the Mount. The Beatitudes themselves are by no means the same as those in S. Matthew: there is nothing about poverty of spirit, meekness, purity of heart, peacemaking, hunger and thirst after justice. The poor who are now blessed are those who have literally become poor for the sake of the Gospel; and other features of their state are described in the verses that follow. These are the Apostles who had now really "left all, and followed" Him. The remainder of the Sermon echoes that on the Mount. It is obviously natural to expect that our Lord's general teaching to the multitudes should be in most cases much the same: the circumstances of His preaching were in this respect analogous to those of missionary priests or religious who go about from one town to another in Catholic countries, preaching on the same eternal truths to successive and different audiences. It was quite in accordance with S. Luke's design to give such a specimen of the preaching of our Lord. His Gospel was, no doubt, meant to be, in a certain sense, complete in itself, though he wrote with S. Matthew and S. Mark before him, and generally avoided, where he could, repeating them exactly. Thus, as he has given a different call of the Apostles from that in S. Matthew, he now gives an example of our Lord's usual manner of uncontroversial teaching, without copying the great and wonderful instance of that teaching which S. Matthew had already given. We have already mentioned the difference between the audiences in the two cases. The omission, on this occasion, of references to

the Jewish Law, such as abound in the Sermon on the Mount, is thus easily explained, as well as that of the precepts about prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. But the doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries, the love of enemies, abstinence from rash judgment, and that also of the deep responsibility of those who hear the word of God from our Lord's own mouth, are the same in each sermon. The later of the two has the graver tone, and seems marked by a kind of mournful solemnity.

It is not always sufficiently observed, with regard to the second great specimen of teaching which belongs to the period on which we are now engaged—that, namely, which is contained in the Chain of Parables—that the difference between it and such a document as the Sermon on the Mount, or that on the Plain, is not one of form and method only. The “kingdom of heaven,” scarcely mentioned in any one of its manifold meanings in the Sermons, except as the portion promised to the poor in spirit and in deed, and to those who are persecuted for justice' sake, is the main subject of the connected set of parables—as it is, indeed, of a great part of still later teaching of our Lord preserved by S. Matthew. “The sower went out to sow his seed” at the beginning of the Parables, seems to take up the lesson which formed the conclusion of the two Sermons. That final warning against hearing the word and not doing becomes a subject prominently insisted on. The other parables are all, more or less, concerned with the mode of receiving or seeking for the Gospel teaching. They are pictures and even prophecies, not direct instructions in duty, such as those contained in the discourses. We may therefore set it down as a distinctive feature in this part of our Lord's ministry, that so marked a place in His teaching should be given to subjects of this kind. In the same way we may regard the denunciations of woe that now begin to be heard against the cities in which He had most frequently preached. We must content ourselves with the simple mention of another feature which now begins to declare itself, and of which we see a great deal in S. John's Gospel. We allude to the controversial and disputatious teaching of our Lord, which naturally, alas! unfolded itself more and more under the increasing virulence of His enemies. This period furnishes us with instances of this, which stand, as it were, half-way between the quiet explanations with which He met their difficulties in the first year of His ministry, and the severe denunciations and warnings of His last teaching in the Temple.

Our waning space warns us that we must pass with a rapid step over the many striking incidents of this the most event-

ful stage in our Lord's teaching. The greater number of the chief Galilæan miracles belong to this time: the healing of the centurion's servant; the raising from the dead of the widow's son at Naim, and the daughter of Jairus at Capharnaum; the touching mercifulness of the cure of the Syrophœnician girl in a Gentile land, and of the blind man at Bethsaida; the deliverance of the Gadarene demoniacs, and of those who gave occasion to the blasphemies against the Holy Ghost; and the two feedings of the multitude in a desert place. To this time belong the conversion of Magdalene, and our Lord's walking on the waters; as also the mission of the disciples of S. John the Baptist to our Lord, and the murder of their master by Herod. We pass over all these interesting features, in order to dwell shortly on what was, perhaps, more important than any, though it does not lie so much on the surface of the Gospel history—the gradual and careful training of the band of the Apostles.

To a superficial and merely human view of the state of things at the time of which we are now speaking, it might well have appeared that our Lord's work had lost its greatest prospect of success. The glow of popular enthusiasm with which He was at first received, gradually faded away; and followers fell off as it became clearer that earthly interests would not be forwarded by adhesion to the new prophet. He Himself had become first an object of suspicion and anxiety, then of hatred and persecution, to the religious leaders of the nation, and was obliged more and more to hide Himself from their power, though He seemed to refrain less and less from speaking against their malice and hypocrisy. But at the same time that He lost ground with the people, and fell more and more under the ban of their rulers, He devoted Himself more and more to the formation and instruction of the select band of close followers whom He had gathered around Him, and by whose means He intended to accomplish the great work of the regeneration of the world. Had we time to dwell on the subject, we might consider this mode of proceeding in our Blessed Lord in a twofold light—with reference to the Apostles themselves, and then with reference to the work for which they were prepared. The two considerations are, no doubt, linked inseparably together, for the Apostles did what they did because they were what they became under the careful guidance of our Lord. But we hardly realize sufficiently how very large a part of the sayings and teaching of our Lord after the selection of the Twelve was addressed either solely or principally to them. We may notice presently what seems to constitute the chief exception to this statement. A full examination of all that is

to be found in the Gospels regarding their training, would occupy far more than the whole space at our command. It is enough now to point out the gradual manner in which they were first attached to our Lord's person in a general way, so as to return at intervals to their own homes and former occupations; then, after having waited on Him for more than a year in this way, and having been, or, at least, some of them, His companions in His missionary preaching, they are chosen solemnly "to be with Him," as S. Mark says (iii. 14) continually; formed into a kind of religious community, and practising, no doubt, the strict poverty for which our Lord was Himself remarkable; and then, after a time, sent out on what was to be the principal business of their future life, to preach, two and two, armed with miraculous powers, and enjoined in the strictest way to practise perfect poverty and reliance on Divine providence in their mission. After this experiment, our Lord withdraws them into the desert of Bethsaida for rest and prayer. The people follow, and He places the Apostles in an intermediate position between them and Himself, to distribute to them the bread which He had miraculously multiplied to feed them. At last, after so long a knowledge of our Lord—after they have witnessed so many miracles, and listened so long to His teaching, public and private—after having experienced the Divine support in labours undertaken at His bidding, and the power of His name over diseases and over the powers of Hell itself—they are led apart in the lonely region of Cæsarea Philippi, and tested by the question, "But whom say ye that I am?" It is obvious that our Lord's chief care during this later period was to form and mould His Apostles, and lead them to follow out the teaching of the Spirit of His Father in their hearts. The great result to which He looked was their increase in Divine knowledge and faith, which would enable Him to make them the foundations of the Church. The second period of His ministry ends with the Confession of S. Peter. It is then, for the first time, that we hear of the Church from the lips of our Lord; it is still spoken of as a thing of the future, to be founded upon the Apostle, and the gates of Hell are not to prevail against it. Here is the point to which the whole history of the Church looks back as to its source, and yet to which, from our very familiarity with it, we hardly attach its due importance in the life of our Lord. It is, in fact, the very central point and crisis of the whole. The answer of S. Peter stands in the same relation of fruitful importance to the birth of the Christian Church, as the replies of our Blessed Lady at the Annunciation to the carrying out of the mystery of the Incarnation. To

all outward appearance, up to the time of the miracle at the pool at Jerusalem, or of that subsequent healing of the man with the withered hand in the synagogue in Galilee—both wrought on the Sabbath-day—our Lord had not openly broken with the ecclesiastical organization of the chosen people of God. It is conceivable that, but for the blindness and hardness of heart of the Priests, He might have used that organization as an instrument for His great work in the world; by which we mean that the Church might have grown out of the Synagogue, instead of supplanting and overthrowing it. From the date of the rupture, after which the Scribes and Pharisees began to seek to kill Him, and to plot against Him even with the Herodians and Sadducees, He has the air of a teacher who must struggle against the ruling powers of the community in which He labours, and forms around Himself a distinct body of followers, to whom He gives an organization of His own. But these men are for a long time weak and untrained; their faith requires time to develop itself; their constancy and virtue have yet to be tested and proved. The greatest care is needed to lead them on, and strengthen them. At length, at the close of this second great period of our Lord's ministry, the nucleus of what is to be the great body of the Church is formed and compacted, and the time has come when its Divine Founder may enter upon the work which no one but Himself can perform, and proceed onwards to that Baptism of Blood of which He said, "How am I straitened till it be accomplished!" and which was to be the only source of all grace and strength and life and perseverance either to the Apostles or to those who were to "believe on Him through their word."

It is, therefore, from the confession of S. Peter that we are to date the third and last great period in our Lord's public life. Every feature in this last stage of His ministry is in marked contrast with something in those that preceded it. He adopted a new method of dealing with His disciples and with His adversaries, and, as it would appear, He changed the scene of His preaching also. As a kind of introduction or solemn inauguration to this new state of things, we have at its outset, a week after S. Peter's confession of faith and the promise of the Church, the great mystery of the Transfiguration—the scene of which modern criticism seems to combine to place at no great distance from the spot on which the confession had been made. It stands at the beginning of this period in our Lord's life, much in the same way as the corresponding mystery of His baptism, with which it has so many points both of resemblance and of contrast, ushers in, as it were, the former portion of His career as a Teacher. Notwithstanding all its glories,

and the words in which our Lord Himself speaks of it, as "the kingdom of God coming in power" (*Mark* viii. 39), the Transfiguration strikes the key-note which is henceforward to ring through the whole of His teaching and conversation. Moses and Elias talk with Him of His approaching Passion. This, as we have already said, was never mentioned by our Lord to His Apostles till the time of S. Peter's confession: now, on the contrary, it is continually on His lips, and even to the crowd He speaks about "taking up the Cross and following" Him, although He did not to them so fully explain the meaning of His words.

At whatever point of time the confession of S. Peter and the Transfiguration are to be placed, we must, at all events, be right in putting them before the last feast of Tabernacles, at which our Lord was present. This would give us, at a rough estimate, somewhat more than half a year between them and the Passion. This was a period of great activity, broken as it appears, from time to time by short seasons of retirement.* What part of the Holy Land was the chief scene of our Lord's teaching at this time? This question may perhaps disclose to us a remarkable feature in this last period. The two first Evangelists give us but very few events between the Transfiguration and the final passage of our Lord out of Galilee into Peræa, when He journeyed by that route to Jerusalem for the last time. S. Luke, almost immediately after his narrative of the Transfiguration, tells us that "it came to pass, when the days of His assumption were accomplishing, He steadfastly set His face to go to Jerusalem." This, however, is comparatively early in the third Gospel: it would almost seem as if S. Luke had hastened rapidly on till he came to this point. After this we find him giving us a long series of sayings and actions of our Lord, which must certainly have preceded His last journey—that which led to His Passion. This part of S. Luke's Gospel has always been more or less of a difficulty to critics; and several of the apparent discrepancies as to time and place between him and the other Synoptists, are to be found in this portion of his work. Moreover, S. John, who so continually presupposes and fills up S. Luke's narrative, gives us a still larger treasure of details which must belong to this period, dating, in his Gospel, from the feast of Tabernacles lately mentioned. This collection consists of discourses, disputes, and miracles, which all are placed by him at Jerusalem, or in the neighbourhood of that city. They make up, altogether, a very large portion of his whole Gospel. It is the custom with

* These are mentioned, *John* x. 39, xi. 54.

critics to place the greater part of the events mentioned by S. Luke at this time in Galilee; and as S. John states positively that our Lord was present at Jerusalem, both at the feast of Tabernacles and at the feast of the Dedication of that year, they suppose Him to have returned to Galilee in the intervals between those feasts. There are certainly traces in S. Luke of one or more journeys of our Lord during this period; and it seems certain that He revisited Galilee before His last journey through Peræa to Jerusalem. But we are inclined to think that the greater part of the time after the Transfiguration, and certainly after the feast of Tabernacles, was spent in public missionary progresses throughout Judea itself, much in the same way as had been His habit before in the more obscure and retired Galilee. We proceed to state a few of the principal reasons for this conclusion.

Not many years, certainly, after the time of which we are speaking, S. Peter, as the Apostle to whom it was committed to open the doors of the Church to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews, was able to address Cornelius and his assembled friends at Cæsarea in Judæa, in the following memorable words:—"You know the word which hath been published throughout all Judea: for it began from Galilee after the baptism which John preached, Jesus of Nazareth: how God anointed Him with the Holy Ghost and with power, Who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed by the devil, for God was with Him. And we are witnesses of all things that He did in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem," &c. (*Acts* x. 37—39.) Here the Apostle, certainly, seems to speak of our Lord's preaching as having extended to Judæa, and not to Galilee alone; and his words exclude the hypothesis by which he might be understood to allude to the early Judæan teaching, before the passage into Galilee. The word, then, was published throughout all Judæa in such a way as could not fail to strike the attention of the proselytes at Cæsarea. They knew what had been done by "Jesus of Nazareth." We look in vain for any account of this preaching in the two earlier Gospels. The reason would be more fitly discussed in an Essay on S. Matthew: we believe it to be connected with the plan of his work, which led him to omit, as he confessedly does, all mention of what passed in Judæa before the Passion. Nor would it have been consistent with the character of S. Mark's Gospel to supply the deficiency: he does not go far without S. Matthew's guidance, as it were, though he fills up his narrative with a great number of most valuable details. Nor, again, would the absence of any account of this Judæan teaching be any detriment to his Gospel. The more salient and general

characteristics of our Lord's ordinary teaching were necessarily the same at all places and times : the differences, so interesting to us, would not require to be brought forward. It was enough for an Evangelist to give an adequate specimen, whether taken from what passed in Galilee, or from what passed in Judæa. On the other hand, it is the most natural thing in the world that S. Luke should supply the omission if he could ; and that (according to the principle of which we have already spoken), he should prefer this way of setting forth much of our Lord's ordinary teaching, to the simple copying out of what his predecessors had related. There may also have been another reason, founded on his own acquaintance with those who had heard and seen our Lord during this period. It is quite uncertain, nor shall we ever be able to settle the question definitively, at what time of his life S. Luke wrote his Gospel. S. Paul's words about him, "whose praise is in the Gospel," would decide the point, at all events in favour of an early date, did it not appear certain that they cannot contain any reference to him as the author of a book. We are left therefore to conjecture ; but if we are to fix a time from considerations of probability, we could surely find none better suited for the composition of such a Gospel as that of S. Luke than the space of time included in the two years during which S. Paul was in prison at Cæsarea, before his voyage to Italy, when it is almost certain that S. Luke must have been at his side. That time would give the Evangelist an opportunity to collect the materials of his work, in great measure, on the spot ; and it was not too distant from the date of our Lord's preaching to make it possible that many eye-witnesses of the events to be related may have been found. We need hardly point out that this hypothesis would account equally well for the materials contained in the earlier chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. Even if this conjecture as to the composition of S. Luke's Gospel be set aside, there is, at all events, a considerable amount of internal evidence of a very interesting kind which tends to support the opinion that the actions and teaching of our Lord, given in that large portion of this Gospel which lies between the ninth and nineteenth chapters, are to be placed in Judæa. In fact, it may almost be said that all the internal evidence is in this direction.*

* S. Luke gives few notes of place—not writing for persons who knew the country. But we can find many indirect confirmations of the view maintained above. 1. The visit to Martha and Mary, mentioned at the end of the tenth chapter, falls in very naturally in a course of teaching which would have brought our Lord to Bethany. (Compare *S. John* xi. 1, with

We have lingered somewhat too long over this question. It would, however, be interesting to be able to know for certain whether the change that came over our Blessed Lord's method of proceeding after the confession of S. Peter extended itself

S. Luke x. 58.) 2. The argument to be drawn from the parables of this part of S. Luke's Gospel is all in favour of Judæa. It was so much our Lord's custom to draw His images from things before the eyes of those to whom He spoke, that we may almost certainly argue from the local character of certain imagery that He was at the time in a part of the country where it would be familiar. The remarkable and distinctive parables of this part of S. Luke's Gospel are those of the Good Samaritan, the fig-tree in the vineyard, the lost sheep and the Pharisee and the Publican. The scenery of the first of these cannot be mistaken : it is that long descent from Jerusalem to Jericho which even to the present day recalls the circumstances of the parable in so forcible a manner. The fig-tree in the vineyard, like all images connected with the vine, is one far more at home in Judæa than in Galilee. The parable of the lost sheep could hardly have been delivered in the latter country : its proper scene is, no doubt, the mountain country of Judæa ; and we know from S. John that our Lord dwelt upon imagery of the same class in speaking to the Jews at Jerusalem. The Pharisee and the Publican go up into the Temple to pray. 3. There are other local indications besides those in the parables. The passage about the Galileans whom Pilate had slain is one of these : it would seem as if the people who brought our Lord the news meant to warn Him against the Governor. When He speaks of the tower that fell in Siloam, He seems to be alluding to a fact well known to His audience : in Galilee the allusion would not have been so much in place. 4. Another argument might be drawn from the more continued presence and opposition of the Pharisees and Lawyers in this part of the Gospel. In Galilee they only usually meet our Lord when He returns to Capharnaum : and it is said, in explanation, that they came from Jerusalem and other places. Here they are on all sides of Him. 5. We may also use this hypothesis to explain some of the apparent difficulties as to the Harmony of this part of S. Luke. Some of these relate to the mission of the seventy disciples. If our Lord began at this time a course of preaching in what was almost a hitherto unbroken field of labour, it was only to be expected that He should employ means like those which He had already used in Galilee, and also meet with remarks, offers, and objections of which He had disposed elsewhere. The mission of the seventy is thus easily understood. They were sent "two and two before His face into every city and place where He was Himself to come." There would hardly be room for such a preparation in Galilee, which our Lord had already traversed in every direction ; nor is it likely that *Peræa* would occupy so large a share of His attention at such a time. Their appointment, too, had been preceded by that of others who were sent as messengers before Him ; and these, as we know, applied to a Samaritan town. "His face was as though He would go to Jerusalem." The mission of the seventy being in so many respects analogous to that of the Apostles a short time before, it is perfectly natural that our Lord should have addressed to them a charge very much the same in substance with that which the Apostles received, and which S. Matthew has preserved. In the same way it is natural to expect that on their return to our Lord, His rejoicing in spirit should be expressed in words already used on a like occasion. (*Luke* x. 21 ; *Matt.* x. 25.) Nor is it at all wonderful that our Lord, on appearing in this manner in a country that He had not traversed before in the same way, should meet again with the same offers to follow Him, not from the highest

to a shifting of the scene of His preaching, which brought Him directly and continually under the notice of the ecclesiastical authorities in Judæa, from whom He had before seemed to fly. Nothing could give us a clearer notion of the contrast between the former divisions into which the Public Life may be distributed, and this its latest stage, than to represent Him to ourselves as leaving Galilee and Decapolis behind Him, and carrying the message of the Kingdom of God from city to city in Judæa itself. It is certain, at all events, that from this time forth there is no more flight from persecution as a systematic line of action, although He withdraws Himself for a while to Ephraim after the raising of Lazarus. It is certain that He no longer abstained from appearing at the great feasts at Jerusalem, as He seems to have done for a year and a half after the miracle at the pool on the Sabbath-day; and that,

motives, and with the same excuses from others whom He called, or who felt themselves called, to follow Him in the closest manner. This is a matter of common every-day experience when the same truths, or the same invitations and exhortations, are addressed successively to different sets of people similarly educated. The probability is that our Lord had to say, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests," or "Let the dead bury their dead," in hundreds of cases, rather than in two only. The Evangelists (*Matt.* viii. 19; *Luke* ix. 57) may have grouped together the particular instances which they chose for narration, without meaning that each one of the series occurred exactly as they have placed it; but only the shallowest criticism can see any discrepancy amounting to a contradiction between them because one begins with an incident in Galilee and another with an incident in Judæa. The same kind of answer may be given to difficulties raised with regard to many other facts stated by S. Luke in this part of his Gospel which are parallel to what has been related by S. Matthew or S. Mark under different circumstances of time, and, as we should say, of place also; such as the teaching of the Lord's Prayer (*Luke* xi. 2; comp. *Matt.* vi. 9), the charge about Beelzebub (*Luke* xi. 15; *Matt.* ix. 34, &c.), the asking for a sign (*Luke* xi. 16, 29; *Matt.* xii. 39); many other instances might be given. We think, in short, that if any one acquainted with the ordinary Harmonies of the Gospels will take these parts of S. Luke and of S. John, and run through them with this idea in his mind—that, with the exception of certain journeys mentioned, which seem to have been in Galilee, and some few incidents which seem to belong to the time when our Lord was in Peræa, the greater part of the months after the Feast of Tabernacles and before the last Passover was spent in missionary labours in Judæa,—he will find as he goes on a number of incidental confirmations of the view we are maintaining, and perhaps find also that it will here and there throw considerable light upon the meaning of parts of the sacred text itself. In the same way, we think that the text may be well illustrated from time to time—especially, for instance, in parts of the 17th and 18th chapters—by the supposition that S. Luke wrote the Gospel under the circumstances that we have mentioned, and so would naturally hear of and insert some sayings of our Lord which might have a particular bearing on the case of the Christians in Palestine, already under circumstances of great difficulty, and so soon to be visited by the great scourge of the Jewish war, and the destruction of Jerusalem.

instead of avoiding dispute and conflict with His enemies, He attacked them openly and denounced them to others. Again, the mission of the seventy disciples implies a movement of a great and popular character. The words of the charge delivered to them seem to imply that they were to stay some time, at least, in each of the towns they visited; nor can we suppose that each pair would be despatched only to a single place. But even so, we should have between thirty and forty cities or towns evangelised at once, and each one of them was afterwards to be visited by our Lord Himself. The preaching of the seventy, and our Lord's subsequent passage from place to place where the minds of the people had thus been prepared for His coming, must certainly have taken up a considerable time, and have aroused public attention in an extraordinary degree. S. Luke speaks as if He were usually attended by very large crowds. He is a writer who avoids every kind of exaggeration, yet he tells us of "the myriads of the people being gathered together so that they trod down one another." (xii. 1.) The same vast crowd seems to have attended our Lord in His last journey to Jerusalem, and to have formed an immense procession on Palm Sunday, when "the whole multitude of the disciples began with joy to praise God for all the mighty works that they had seen." S. Luke does not refer to the great miracle of the raising of Lazarus, which is assigned by S. John as the motive of those who came forth from Jerusalem to meet the procession which escorted our Lord. The more we consider what we are told of this part of our Lord's life, the more natural will it seem to us that the multitude should have entertained such high expectations, and that their enthusiasm should have broken out in the irresistible triumph of that crowning entry into Jerusalem. Our Lord had been going about the country for many months with thousands in His train, and proclaiming the advent of the kingdom of God. He had only just before delivered the parable of the pounds (*Luke* xix.), "because they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately be manifested." Just as this triumphal entry on Palm Sunday, and the cleansing of the Temple which followed, were a fitting introduction to our Lord's authoritative and majestic teaching in the same place on the subsequent days—when He refused to give any account of His authority, silenced His opponents one after another, and seemed to have taken undisturbed possession of the very "chair of Moses," in which the Scribes and Pharisees were wont to sit—so there is no reason for thinking that our Lord's demeanour and bearing during the six months which preceded Palm

Sunday, and the general tone of His teaching during that time, were at all inconsistent with what was so soon to follow. This may serve to explain, also, the necessity which He felt of repeating over and over again His warnings to His Apostles about His approaching Passion, at a time when everything seemed to betoken conquest and triumph, rather than disaster. It may also make it seem less strange to us that they should have been so unable to understand His meaning. We get a glimpse of their ordinary thoughts at this time in the petition of the mother of the sons of Zebedee—in the disputes for precedence, which can be first traced soon after the pre-eminence allotted to S. Peter upon his confession, and his association with our Lord in the payment of the didrachma—and in those beautiful lessons of our Lord, when He “took a young child, and set him in the midst of them.”

In estimating the general character of our Lord's teaching at this time, so far as it had any distinctive features, we must say a few words on a difference that might strike an attentive reader, between those specimens of it preserved by S. Matthew, and those which are found in the Gospel of S. Luke. S. Matthew, from his eighteenth to his twentieth chapters, gives us a chain of teaching of our Lord, addressed in great part to the Apostles, which Salmeron, we think, has characterized as containing a kind of code of the Gospel—the fundamental and organic laws of the new kingdom. Thus, we have the principle of humility as the foundation of all perfection; the duty of fraternal correction and mutual forgiveness; the re-institution of the indissolubility of the bond of marriage, and the solemn prohibition of divorce; the counsels of virginity and Apostolical poverty, followed by the case of the rich young man—

colui
Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto—

and by the magnificent promises made, in answer to S. Peter's question, to all those who have left all to follow our Lord; and, as a sequel to these, the doctrine that the last shall be first, and the first last, explained by the significant parable of the labourers in the vineyard. We have only to contrast this teaching with that of the Sermon on the Mount, to catch the difference between these two periods. At the same time the bulk of this doctrine is addressed to those who are seeking perfection, and the disciples are no longer a part of a promiscuous audience. If we turn to S. Luke, we shall find that he seems to dwell on what we may venture to call, in a certain sense, the more popular and less esoteric teaching of our Lord at this time. The reason, perhaps, is to be found in the fact

that he has omitted much of this before, when he was dealing with the time from which the earlier Evangelists had taken it; and he now supplies the omission, taking his instances, not from the Galilæan period of teaching, but from that which we supposed to have been spent in Judæa. We think it might also be shown that S. Luke, in this part of his Gospel, draws chiefly on materials furnished him by witnesses who did not belong to the band of the Apostles. The difference between the two Evangelists may thus be explained by the two-fold character of the teaching of this time. On the one hand, it was the first general and public preaching by our Lord in that part of the country, and it would, therefore, naturally set forth the same truths and precepts which had proved the substance of the earliest preaching in Galilee. On the other hand, it had a character of its own, belonging to that period of our Lord's general ministry to which it belonged. The three years were drawing to their close—Gethsemane and Calvary were not far distant. The shadow of the Cross was already falling on the path which seemed to be leading to the most glorious of outward triumphs, and the Sacred Heart was already mourning over Jerusalem, whose children it had so often longed in vain "to gather together." The Synagogue had not known its day of visitation, and the body that was to inherit its forfeited privileges was made ready. The faith of the Apostles was formed; they had been tried and practised in virtue, and made fit to be the first stones of the edifice of the Church, whose main outlines had been already drawn. The malignity, also, of our Lord's enemies was fast reaching its height, as one display of Divine power after another forced upon them the alternative of faith or blasphemy. Our Lord seemed more and more to assume to Himself the office of the Messiah; and, as the movement of the people rose and swelled around Him, it became more and more necessary for the crafty politicians in the Sanhedrim to deal with it at once, "lest the Romans should come and take away their place and nation." All these circumstances could not but lend their colour even to the general teaching of our Lord, which, as it is given us by S. Luke, is filled with notes of warning and prophecies of approaching trial that are not to be found in the earlier teaching in Galilee, notwithstanding the similarity that prevails in other respects.

To complete our account of this last and most wonderful half-year of our Lord's ministry, it would be necessary to draw largely upon the Gospel of S. John. After the beginning of the seventh chapter, everything belongs to this time—which, indeed, ought not to be considered as distinct in our

point of view from the Holy Week and the Passion itself. We have endeavoured to discriminate between our Lord's mode of acting at different stages of His ministry, and have made such differences as can be discovered the grounds on which to mark off those stages one from the other. When we come to the Holy Week and the Passion, and compare with them the last six months of the ministry, we are not able to point to any such principle of distinction. But our readers will easily forgive us if we hold our hand without touching further on a subject that would require a volume for itself. S. John has given us, as he is wont, a succession of disputes with the Jews, and of miracles, at Jerusalem and at Bethany, in which our Lord's method of dealing with His ecclesiastical adversaries can be closely studied. He gives us an insight, as it were, into the feelings of His loving and familiar friends, such as the Apostles had now become, in the conversation among them when they tried to restrain Him from returning into the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, from fear of the Jews:—"Let us also go, that we may die with Him." He shows us how He dealt with Martha and Mary about the illness and raising of Lazarus, and the perfection of faith that He required before He wrought the miracle. He fixes accurately for us the connection between that greatest of the miracles, and the resolution of the Chief Priests to put our Lord to death. And in that long and divine discourse after the institution of the Blessed Eucharist, he has seemed to open to us the very tenderest feelings of the Sacred Heart as one alone could do who had "leaned upon Jesus' bosom" on that night when, having loved His own who were in the world, He loved them to the end. The other Evangelists have given us at great length the series of parables and the other teaching delivered in the Temple during the Holy Week, the final denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees, and the closing prophecy on the Mount of Olives. The *teaching* of the discourse at the Last Supper—if we may venture to separate it from the overflowing love and tender care to console the Apostles under their coming grief, which are the prominent features in that discourse—belongs to the same order as the counsels of perfection and the accompanying doctrines addressed to the same Apostles in the later part of S. Matthew's Gospel. The precept of mutual love and unity, taken together with the Blessed Eucharist itself, then just instituted, as the bond of unity, and with the prayer to the Eternal Father in the seventeenth chapter of S. John—in which the Church is so pointedly distinguished from the world, and the desire of our Lord's heart is poured out, "that they may be one, as We also are

one"—belongs, as it were, to the same strain the first notes of which were sounded in the promise, "Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build My Church." The bitter hostility and unprincipled malice with which our Lord is met in these last days by His adversaries, is but the ripe development of the feelings that guided their first captious attack upon Him as a breaker of the Sabbath, intensified by continual provocation and warning, as well as by a sense of impending danger, needing only the bold statecraft of Caiaphas to work themselves out in an act of the blackest guilt, involving the profanation of everything that was most sacred in the national institutions. And so, on the other hand, when our Lord puts Himself face to face with them in the Temple, the very seat and centre of their power, He acts on the same principles of conduct that He adopted from the moment that He had drawn forth from His chief Apostle the confession that was to be the condition of the foundation of His Church.

A complete account of the main divisions of the Gospel History, and of the characteristic features of each, would necessarily include some consideration of that short but most wonderful period which passed between the Resurrection and the Day of Pentecost. Indeed, the whole history of the beginnings of the Christian Church, as sketched by S. Luke in the Acts, is inseparably connected with that of the Life of our Lord, and may be termed, in a most true and significant sense, a part of it. Perhaps it is easier to draw a line of division at the Passion, and consider the Forty Days as a part of the new order of things that has continued ever since the Resurrection, than to unite them with the Public Life of our Lord before He suffered on the Cross. This must be our excuse for not proceeding further at present with our remarks upon the Harmony of the Gospels. We shall have fully attained our object if we have vindicated the usefulness of this branch of study from the contemptuous and contemptible outcry that has been raised against it, by showing that it furnishes us with results concerning our Lord's method of dealing with the world which can hardly be gained in any other way, and which may be made to place in a new and striking light some of the deepest truths that form the heritage of the Church.

ART. VIII.—REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

1st—7th Reports of the Inspector appointed under the provisions of the Act 5 & 6 Wm. IV., c. 38, to Visit the Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain.

1st and 2nd Reports of the Inspector appointed to Visit the Reformatory Schools of Ireland, under the 21 & 22 Vict., c. 103.

REFORMATORY schools are now old enough amongst us to admit of our measuring their results, and yet so young that friendly criticism may perhaps usefully modify their future. We propose, therefore, briefly to consider them in both these aspects—what they have done, and what they may do; their statistics and their capabilities.

In this work of reformatories, as in many other social improvements, we English are behindhand. Reformatory schools existed and yielded great results abroad—in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Italy—before they were established in England. In France there are, perhaps, peculiar reasons, incidental to the form of government, for greater results being at least *ascertained*, if not *attained*, from reformatory schools than can be looked for in this country. That which free and independent Englishmen feel to be *over* government, may be better adapted than our own system for the supervision of youths and girls discharged from reformatory schools. Not that there is anything in the nature of our laws—or, perhaps, in the character of our people—to prevent the management of our reformatory schools being as perfect as in any continental institutions; but the French laws admit of a system of external supervision, of correspondence between the authorities of one part of the country and another, of a tracking of each wanderer, of a record of individual conduct, and a collection and a classification of total results, which are not possible under our social regulations. The persons discharged from reformatory schools in France are, throughout all their changes of residence, more effectually under the observation of the police than they could be in England. Add to this that in France the greater uniformity of religious belief leads, in this affair of supervision, to greater efficiency of voluntary action than is attainable among ourselves. The bulk of the people being of one religion, the zealous amongst them are able to combine in a regularly organized system for the purpose, not only of watching, but of helping and encouraging

those upon whom religious influences have been recently brought to bear, and in whom religious habits had begun to be established by the discipline of the reformatory. The whole religious public is, in a manner, interested in the welfare of these unfortunates, and by constant and rapid inter-communication is enabled to pursue so effectually the objects of their solicitude, that only peculiar violence and obstinacy of disposition can escape their gentle toils, or break loose once more beyond all reach of moral and religious control.

This effect of greater unity of religious belief may, however, be regarded only as matter of opinion. The greater urgency and universality of legal supervision in France is a fact, and, whether desirable or not, cannot be adopted here, because it is not conformable with the general spirit of our laws and government. We prefer greater individual freedom; we think it is more advantageous on the whole; and we must therefore be content to submit to the impossibility of equal supervision as one of the inconveniences which it necessarily involves. Let any one refer to the regulations of the system of *patronage* established in France *under the sanction of the law*, as given in p. 61 of the 2nd Report of the Irish inspector, and he will be satisfied that it would be idle to attempt to obtain the sanction of the legislature for the introduction of the French system of surveillance into this country. We by no means imply that official patronage under the sanction of the law is preferable to voluntary agency when the latter is practicable; we only advert to the fact that there exists an efficient official system of patronage in France; that a similar system in this kingdom we *cannot* have; and that we *do not* attain, or even aim at, an equally comprehensive system by voluntary agency.

In considering the ascertained results or statistics of reformatory schools in this kingdom, we can at once congratulate ourselves upon an obvious and great diminution in the number of juvenile criminals; of which diminution reformatory schools are clearly the cause, for it is concurrent with an increase in the number of other offenders. On this subject the following tables are conclusive. Let any one compare the first and last total in each table, and he cannot but be surprised at the smaller number of juvenile commitments contrasted with the larger number of adult commitments.

These tables (extracted from p. 5 of the last Report on English and Scotch Reformatory Schools) show the number of juvenile and adult commitments for the five years ending September 30th, 1863, for England, and June 30th, 1863, for Scotland.

Offenders under 16 Years of Age.

| Years. | Boys. | | Girls. | | Total. |
|------------|-------|-----|--------|-----|--------|
| 1859 | 7,582 | ... | 1,331 | ... | 8,913 |
| 1860 | 6,765 | ... | 1,264 | ... | 8,029 |
| 1861 | 7,373 | ... | 1,428 | ... | 8,801 |
| 1862 | 7,080 | ... | 1,269 | ... | 8,349 |
| 1863 | 7,208 | ... | 1,251 | ... | 8,459 |

Offenders above 16 Years of Age.

| Years. | Boys. | | Girls. | | Total. |
|------------|--------|-----|--------|-----|---------|
| 1859 | 68,275 | ... | 29,884 | ... | 98,159 |
| 1860 | 63,713 | ... | 28,866 | ... | 92,585 |
| 1861 | 72,947 | ... | 30,396 | ... | 103,343 |
| 1862 | 85,031 | ... | 32,096 | ... | 117,126 |
| 1863 | 87,832 | ... | 33,236 | ... | 121,068 |

For Scotland (of both sexes).

| Years. | | Adults. | | Juveniles. |
|------------|--|---------|-----|------------|
| 1859 | | 18,383 | ... | 1,230 |
| 1860 | | 18,218 | ... | 1,062 |
| 1861 | | 17,366 | ... | 1,212 |
| 1862 | | 18,581 | ... | 1,120 |
| 1863 | | 21,377 | ... | 1,075 |

The admissions to reformatory schools yield concurrent testimony. They were 988 in 1858, 1,285 in 1859, 1,466 in 1860, 1,545 in 1861, 1,388 in 1862, and 1,209 in 1863; so that the maximum seems to have been passed; and, notwithstanding the increase in population, the admissions last year were less numerous than in 1859. This is the more remarkable when we observe that the commitments of offenders above 16 years of age have, during the same period, increased from 98,159 in 1859 to 121,068 in 1863. Nothing could in a more marked and certain manner demonstrate the immediate effects of reformatory schools.

No similar returns are furnished in the only two Irish Reports yet published—probably because the Reformatory system has not existed long enough in Ireland to admit of the comparison; and for the same reason our ensuing remarks will relate chiefly to the English reports. We should be glad, however, to see corresponding statistics in the forthcoming Irish Reports; and would suggest the practical importance of all the statistical returns from England, Ireland, and Scotland, commencing at the same period of the year, and adopting the same forms; so that they may fit into and form parts of one coherent whole, and every part be capable of exact comparison with each corresponding part.

We draw particular attention to this diminishing number of

juvenile commitments, because it is of itself conclusive as to the beneficial results of reformatory schools. Various questions may, indeed, be raised as to sundry details of the reformatory school system; but if the total result of reformatory schools for juvenile criminals has been to lessen the number of juvenile criminals committed, and that during a period of five successive years, the case of the reformatory schools is proved, and they have done good work for the nation. Whether they have done all that they are capable of doing—whether they may, like other human works, be susceptible of improvement—is another question; they have at least become an institution amongst us of tried and proved good, which it is the duty of every member of the community to support, and, if possible, render more practically efficient. We may now adopt as an axiom that reformatory schools are as necessary for juvenile criminals as prisons are necessary for older offenders; and the only question remains how to make them as perfect as possible.

One of the ascertained advantages of our reformatory schools is the breaking up of young gangs, mutually teachers and learners and competitors in the art and mystery of crime. At first, most of the boys committed to a reformatory from any district were well known to each other, had been old companions, and their further companionship was not calculated, in itself, to promote their reformation. Now they are usually strangers to each other,—a fact which, while it proves that the gangs outside are broken up or seriously broken in upon, implies also the probability of less union amongst them for mischief within the reformatory.

Another lesson of experience is embodied in the following extract from the first Report of the Rev. S. Turner :—

In the case of large cities the aggregation of a number of young criminals from the same neighbourhood in school acts most injuriously—renewing old associations, keeping up the depraved tone and the vicious feelings and habits which it is the object of reformatory treatment to suppress, and impeding most seriously the growth of better impulses and motives. I am quite satisfied from my past experience that, in reference to such large masses of population as are collected in London, Liverpool, Manchester, &c., it is far wiser to make such arrangements with the managers of various distant reformatories as will secure the dispersion of a large proportion of the young offenders to be dealt with, than to attempt to deal with them when concentrated in one large local institution. (P. 6.)

We beg to draw the earnest attention of those charitable Catholic gentlemen in Liverpool and Lancashire who are engaged in establishing the Catholic reformatory ship

Clarence to this observation. Their object seems to be to collect all the boys committed to a reformatory school from Liverpool in one ship in the Mersey, there to train them as seamen. It seems obvious that the very circumstance of all the reformatory boys from Liverpool being collected together in one ship will make the maintenance of discipline there much more difficult, than if the boys had come from different parts of the kingdom, had been previously strangers to each other, and had not been familiar with the same haunts and associates. And this, in our humble judgment, more favourable state of things might be attained by an interchange of boys between the Liverpool ship reformatory and other inland Catholic reformatories.

The Liverpool Committee, moreover, remark :—

Hitherto a fatal mistake has been made by sending so large a number of Liverpool boys to agricultural reformatories. How few townsmen ever, either through choice or necessity, betake themselves to agricultural labour. The class of boys committed to reformatories have been accustomed to the streets of Liverpool from their childhood ; they have had their respective avocations, either begging, stealing, or trading ; though young, theirs has been a life of continual excitement ; and Liverpool, with its busy streets, quays, docks, ships, and river, is indelibly stamped upon their minds. Send them to a farm reformatory, and they will never take to it, but, on the contrary, continually long for the town, and both by day and night dream of it. The solitude of country life makes them all the more restless and discontented, so that many prefer the hard labour of the gaol to the dull and monotonous life of a farm labourer. In the history of reformatories, how many Liverpool lads have finally settled down to this kind of work ? They themselves shrewdly answer the question : "It is too slow, it does not pay." A street lad will upon a "*good day*" earn more money selling papers, shoe-blackening, or stealing cotton, than he could as a farm labourer in a week. Reformatories, therefore, not only in their localization but in their industrial training, must have in view the special circumstances of the class of subjects (or rather of *each individual*) with which they have to deal. What may admirably succeed for a rural population, or a manufacturing district, has proved a total failure when applied to a maritime and commercial town like Liverpool. Experience has further shown that farm and industrial schools have in no case proved so successful as a ship reformatory. The boys thus trained are not only readily disposed of, but statistics show that a very small percentage return to gaol.

It does not follow that *all* Liverpool boys will be inclined to become seamen rather than farm labourers or artificers. Whilst therefore we admire most sincerely the zeal of our Liverpool friends, we beg respectfully to suggest to them whether it may not be desirable to arrange for the transfer to some inland institution of those Liverpool boys who may be better fitted for land than sea, and for the reception in the

Clarence reformatory ship of those inland bred boys who may have so strong a yearning for the sea as to make it probable that they will succeed better in that mode of life than in any other; for some such there will doubtless be, even in the agricultural and manufacturing districts. Indeed, a system of correspondence and co-operation between the managers of our reformatory schools, will in many ways effectually promote the success of all of them, and is one of the things which we should at once endeavour to accomplish. It may be useful as to internal arrangements, but it is essential for the satisfactory disposal of boys and girls after they leave reformatories. We Catholics in this country are not much accustomed to organization. But let us try whether, in this matter, we cannot manage to *work well together*.

It appears to us that Government has inaugurated an admirable principle in the mode in which it assists reformatory schools, and one which is capable of further application. The building with its material equipment is left to unaided zeal and energy, until it has been certified and obtained the certificate of the inspector, and then Government allows 6s. *for every inmate maintained therein*. The public money, therefore, is paid *just in proportion to the extent of reformatory education*. There is no religious distinction; and Government has nothing to do with title or trusts of land or building. It is content with the fact, that a suitable building exists; satisfies itself by inspection that the school is properly conducted; and then pays, in proportion to the number of scholars in actual attendance, a sum nearly, if not quite, sufficient for the current expense of their maintenance and instruction. Does not this avoid many difficulties in the application of Government aid to religious and general education? And if so, might it not be a good model for imitation in Ireland? If the Government confined itself to inspection, and to the payment of such a sum per week for every child in actual attendance as would suffice to maintain a moderately attended school, might not this be the best as well as the easiest solution of the much-vexed question of state aid to education in Ireland?

The first certificate under the Act, to a reformatory school in England, was granted in August, 1854. The previous English practice had been merely to *punish* criminals, young and old alike; and, if possible, to *drive* and *force* them into virtue. This system had not answered: the young in prison perfected their education in the arts of vice, and became hardened for its practice. They came out more skilled and more determined in vice than when they entered, and the State was thus at great cost to make them thoroughly bad. The reformatory

school system is that of *leading* rather than driving. It endeavours not only to frighten from what is wrong, by punishment, but still more to incline young criminals by mild and kind influences to choose and follow what is right. We admit the use and necessity of punishment, but criminals, and the young especially, should taste kindness when they are good as well as punishment when they are bad ; and previously in England they had known punishment only. The reformatory school supplemented the punishment by a sustained course of treatment, of which the young neglected criminal had no previous experience. He found, for the first time in his life, that there were persons in the world who felt for him and were kind to him ; that whilst he still suffered if he did wrong, he was noticed and encouraged if he did right, and, eventually, even rewarded if he persevered. The feelings of the young, however evil, yearn naturally towards those who are friendly to them ; a chord is touched in them which exists in every human being, but which in most of *them* had never been touched before. They respond to the kind efforts which are made to lead them aright ; then firmness is combined with kindness ; and they are kept and sustained in a course of good conduct until it becomes a habit. This, at least, is the rule ; from which, of course, there are exceptions. All do not yield to kindness, and some are hypocrites, so that even in the reformatory school all are not sincerely and really well conducted ; and when they come out again into the world, still more numerous are the instances of those who do not persevere in good. Does it therefore follow that the good effects of the reformatory school are utterly wasted even upon the worst of them ? And is even a large proportion of relapses any reason against reformatory schools ? We think not. Gentlemen continue to send their sons to school, and endeavour to give them the best religious education, although they do not all maintain in the world the good habits to which they were accustomed in the school. And the same motive which makes us persevere in sending our own children to good religious schools, should lead us to persevere in sending all those children who have fallen into crime to reformatory schools. It by no means follows that the good instruction is utterly thrown away because, in many instances, it does not preserve from relapse. We know not how many men after discharge from a reformatory may, even if they run a long career in vice, be led to sincere repentance by the thought of those good lessons which they there learned. We only do our duty by endeavouring to instil into the mind proper feelings as effectually as we can ; we

only sow—but this we are bound to do—leaving the increase to God in His own good time.

The reformatory schools of England and Scotland are fortunate in having, from their first recognition by the State, been subject to the inspection of the Rev. Sydney Turner. He was previously the manager of the Redhill Reformatory School, and the aptitude which he there displayed for the work in which he was engaged, doubtless led to his being selected as the Government Inspector under the Reformatory School Acts. He is very competent, very painstaking; punctual in all his arrangements; courteous to the managers; kind, but observant, in respect to the inmates; and we believe his intentions to be equally fair and liberal towards both Protestants and Catholics. It is not an easy office for a Protestant clergyman to discharge, to have to inspect both Protestant and Catholic schools, and to report on their condition and results. He has chosen, moreover, to increase the necessary difficulties of his position by introducing into his reports comparisons between Protestant schools and Catholic schools *as such*. He might have compared various classes of schools together—*e. g.*, schools in agricultural districts with schools in or near commercial towns; or ship schools with land schools, &c.—but he has chosen to compare only Protestant schools and Catholic schools, and the Catholic schools suffer in the comparison he makes. There are (though this fact is not noticed by Mr. Turner) some Catholic reformatory schools which might, even according to his standard, advantageously compare with some Protestant reformatory schools; but taking the whole of the Catholic reformatory schools as a class, and comparing them with the whole of the Protestant reformatory schools as a class, the latter appear, in the Rev. Sydney Turner's report, to be superior to the former. If a Catholic priest, appointed by Government to inspect and report upon Protestant and Catholic reformatory schools, but not necessarily to compare the two, had chosen to introduce such a comparison into his report, and had made it appear that the Catholic schools excelled the Protestant schools in certain particulars, would he have had credit given him for impartiality? Would the Protestant newspapers, or the Protestant public, or either House of Parliament, have been content? The Catholic inspector might have averred that the facts were true as he classified and stated them; but even if his accuracy were not impugned, would he not at once have been asked whether he would have thus classified and stated them if the result they yielded had not happened to be agreeable to himself? Would a Catholic clerical inspector of Pro-

testant and Catholic reformatory schools, who ventured to step beyond the necessary path of duty in order to volunteer a comparison between these respective classes, to the prejudice of the Protestant schools, have given satisfaction to Lord Shaftesbury and the *Record* newspaper, or even to the average Protestant of England, Ireland, and Scotland? And what would they who ejected from his office a worthy man like the late Mr. Turnbull—who never uttered so much as one official word against anything Protestant—have said and done to a Catholic inspector who thus used his office to compliment his religion? We know very well that a Catholic inspector who under such circumstances should have introduced such a comparison into his reports, would not have been permitted to remain in office. But, though conscious that public prejudice would prevent any Catholic, still more any Catholic priest, from being allowed to do what the Rev. Sydney Turner has done, it is right, and we will endeavour, to deal with Mr. Turner's remarks on this delicate subject quite apart from any such consideration, and entirely on their own merits. We believe that he did not enter into the comparison for the purpose either of complimenting his own religion, or of disparaging a religion which was not his own; and that, if the result had been as apparently unfavourable as it is apparently favourable to his own Church, he would have given it the same publicity; and we proceed, therefore, to deal dispassionately with the facts as they stand recorded. Notwithstanding, however, all the admissions which we are desirous of making in favour of Mr. Turner, there are one or two circumstances which, to our minds, disqualify him for judging quite so evenly on all matters relating to reformatory schools, as he doubtless conceives himself able to do. He has himself been a manager of a reformatory school: in this, of course, some peculiarity of management prevailed to which he was more or less habituated, and there certainly were peculiarly favourable conditions which can be shared by few others, and least of all by Catholic reformatory schools in this kingdom. It is, therefore, not so easy for him to realize, or make due allowance for, circumstances and difficulties which were not experienced by himself. He came from the most amply endowed reformatory school in England—the Philanthropic Society's farm school for the reformation of criminal boys at Redhill. We have before us the last report of this institution, the financial part of which might fill some poor managers of a Catholic reformatory school with no little envious longing. Amongst the list of legacies is one of £10,000, another of £3,000, another of £2,000, three exceeding £1,000 each, eleven of £1,000 each, not to mention

other considerable sums, and a rich array of donations and annual subscriptions; so that in this institution the want of money can never have interfered with the realization of any desirable object, and under such circumstances it is fair to assume that, whenever a choice had to be made between different modes of procedure, that which was deemed most efficient was preferred, without regard to expense. How different the position of our Catholic reformatory schools! And is a gentleman who has been trained in such a school altogether qualified to recognize our difficulties and to make allowance for our shortcomings? Moreover, various peculiarities of regulation and of system prevail at Redhill, which may be good or otherwise, or may be elsewhere practicable or impracticable, but which any one who has been accustomed to Redhill, and who acquired his reputation from his management at Redhill, may consider to be not only good under certain circumstances, but superior to all others, and applicable everywhere.

At Redhill—

To be eligible for admission the boy must be under fifteen years of age, of sound bodily health, and capable of receiving mental instruction and industrial training. Again, the school being essentially a school of industry, and the inmates chiefly employed in farm and garden labour, any constitutional infirmity, loss of limb or eyesight, necessarily disqualifies an applicant for admission.

What, then, becomes of the boys committed to a reformatory between fifteen and sixteen years of age (the most difficult subjects for a reformatory), or of a weak, lame, or half blind boy? It is obvious that Redhill is in a position to *select* its inmates. Our Catholic reformatories must undertake the duty of receiving and endeavouring to reform *all* as best they may, and they cannot deprive any of the chance of reformation because they happen to be difficult subjects.

In the health of the inmates, considering the mode in which they are selected, Redhill ought to be conspicuous. Now Mr. Turner goes out of his way to compare the healthiness of Protestant and Catholic reformatories. Let us, then, in this one respect compare two farm reformatories—Protestant Redhill and Catholic Market Weighton; the former selecting the strong lads, and the latter taking both the strong and the weak as they happen to come. We dislike entering into such comparisons, but Mr. Turner forces it upon us. On December 31st, 1863, there were at Redhill 259 boys, and at Market Weighton 221 boys; the former, however, being distributed into several houses or families—which is said to be a more advantageous system in various respects,

and may probably be more healthy, though certainly not more economical—and the latter being all located in one house. At Redhill three boys died during 1863, and two at Market Weighton (see 7th Report, pp. 83, 84). At Redhill the deaths from 1854 to 1863 have been ten; at Market Weighton two (see p. 95 of the 7th Report). Yet at page 11 of his 6th Report Mr. Turner writes:—

The superior healthfulness of the English Protestant schools is remarkable, and is to be ascribed to the cheerful, active tone of the schools, rather than to any difference either in the class the inmates are taken from, or in their dietary and treatment; these being now, with such diversity as national habits require, much the same for all.

Will it be supposed possible that, notwithstanding this sweeping assertion, the appendix to that same Report shows (at p. 86) that not a single death had occurred that year at Market Weighton Catholic reformatory? Some institutions may in any year be healthy though Catholic, and some others be unhealthy though Protestant; and we venture to suggest that it is not fair or reasonable to lump reformatories together in one class—either healthy or unhealthy—because they happen to be of one religion.

The above regulations at Redhill aptly illustrate the inaccuracy of Mr. Turner's remark, that there is no difference in the class the inmates are taken from, it being obvious from the Redhill rules that the boys there are *selected*.

We might, by the way, easily refer to other inaccuracies of Mr. Turner, but it is not a very grateful office, and we will only mention two which we have just come across.

In the first page of his last or 7th Report, stating "the number of reformatories in Great Britain on 31st December, 1863," he says there are in England thirty-four Protestant and *two* Catholic reformatories for boys. Any one turning to the list of them at page 17 of that same Report will find that there were, in fact, thirty-three Protestant and *three* Catholic reformatories for boys, the latter being Mount S. Bernard's, Brook Green, and Market Weighton.

Again, at page 11 of the 7th Report, Mr. Turner says, speaking of Castle Howard reformatory, "*the steady rejection of all first convictions* keeps the number of the inmates much below," &c.; whilst, turning to page 84 of the same Report, we find that of the thirty-two admitted into that reformatory in 1863, ten were first convictions; and in the previous year just half the admissions were first convictions.

The Rev. S. Turner not being, as we have remarked, called upon in the necessary discharge of his duty to institute any comparison between Protestant and Catholic schools, as such,

chooses, in the exercise of his discretion, to do so. Any comparison made under such circumstances should, surely, rest upon *facts* officially recorded before him, and not upon any *assumption*, however apparently safe. He makes a comparison between the proportion of re-convictions from Protestant and Catholic reformatories respectively. Of course, it will be presumed that, in order to do this, he simply takes the numbers returned as discharged and as re-convicted and states the proportions. Nothing of the sort! He does not notice these proportions at all. We will therefore do it ourselves; and for that purpose, we will extract from Appendix 6 to the Seventh Report (p. 101) the following abstract; ourselves adding the last column, in which we state the per-centage proportion of re-convictions to discharges.

| England. Boys. | Discharged from 1st January, 1860, to 31st December, 1862. | Results to 31st December, 1862. | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|------------------------|----------|--|
| | | Total. | Since dead. | Doing well. | Doubtful. | Convicted of crime. | Unknown. | Per-centage of re-convictions to discharges. |
| Protestants. | To employment or service | 316 | 3 | 225 | 31 | 35 | 22 | 11·07 |
| | To friends | 486 | 10 | 296 | 46 | 72 | 62 | 14·81 |
| | Emigrated | 227 | 2 | 173 | 10 | 15 | 27 | 6·6 |
| | To sea | 235 | 7 | 165 | 13 | 26 | 24 | 11·06 |
| | Enlisted | 67 | 3 | 47 | 5 | 2 | 10 | 2·98 |
| | Specially discharged | 47 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 23 | 10 | 48·93 |
| | Absconded | 45 | | 7 | 6 | 8 | 24 | 17·77 |
| | Total | 1423 | 33 | 916 | 114 | 181 | 179 | 12·71 |
| Catholics. | To employment or service | 73 | | 31 | 4 | 5 | 33 | 6·84 |
| | To friends | 188 | 2 | 27 | 13 | 17 | 129 | 9·06 |
| | Emigrated | 7 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 14·28 |
| | To sea | 14 | | 9 | 1 | | 4 | |
| | Enlisted | 7 | | 2 | 3 | | 2 | |
| | Specially discharged | 7 | | 2 | | 2 | 3 | 28·55 |
| | Absconded | 11 | | 1 | | 1 | 9 | 9·09 |
| | Total | 307 | 2 | 73 | 23 | 26 | 183 | 8·46 |

These figures show that the proportion of re-convictions to discharges is of Protestant boys 12·71, of Catholic boys 8·46; or, omitting the fractions, that of every 100 Protestant boys, 12 are re-convicted; and that of every 100 Catholic boys, 8 are re-convicted.

Of course, Mr. Turner notices this proportion, apparently so favourable to the Catholic reformatories. *No, he does not notice it at all!* He passes it over in silence, and rests his statement unfavourable to the Catholic reformatories on an

assumption; not upon anything apparent on the face of the returns themselves, but upon a *belief* which he himself chooses to form. His whole statement on this subject is as follows:—

I believe that one-half of the “unknown” cases may be safely added to the number “convicted of crime.” If this be done, the returns show 270 re-convicted on the 1,390 Protestant boys discharged and still alive, or about 20 per cent. For the Catholic boys we have, in like manner, 307 discharged, and of these, 2 dead, 73 known to be doing well, 23 of doubtful or indifferent character, 26 convicted, and 183, or nearly three-fifths of the whole, unknown; giving, on the same calculations as above, above 38 per cent. of re-convictions. A considerable proportion of this unfavourable result must be laid to the account of Mount S. Bernard’s Reformatory under its former management; the numbers discharged from this being considerably more than from both the other two Catholic reformatories together, and the proportion of *unknown* belonging to it being 140 out of the 183. Taking the discharges and results of Brook Green and Market Weighton alone, we have out of 165 who left these schools in the three years and are still alive, 73 known to be doing well, 23 of doubtful character, 26 convicted, and 43 unknown; or dividing this last item as before, per-centage of re-conviction of above 28 per cent., a result which certainly calls for the attention of those interested in Catholic reformatories, arising, as I believe it mainly does, from a want of more independent vigorous tone in the discipline, and of more care and exertion in the arrangements for discharge.

Mr. Turner, in his 5th Report, p. 13, remarks, “It is scarcely fair to judge of the management and training of any one reformatory relatively to the rest, *simply from the proportion of its inmates that have been re-convicted after discharge.*” And if not fair towards one, it cannot be more fair towards any class of reformatories to judge them by this test only. Yet this is just what Mr. Turner has here done.

He adds:—

The returns for the girls’ schools in England, similarly analysed, show for Protestant schools 163 doing well, and 26 convicted, out of 274 discharged and still alive; or, adding half of the number unknown (54), a per centage of re-conviction, or relapse of above 19 per cent.; and for Catholic schools, 62 doing well, and 15 convicted, out of 106; or, allowing for the 9 unknown, about 18 per cent. of re-conviction.

We would observe, first, that, even according to his own assumption that half the “unknown” are re-convicted, the Catholic girls’ reformatories have slightly the advantage of the Protestant girls’ reformatories in the proportion of re-convictions, though the internal discipline in the former is certainly much of the same kind as that which prevails in the Catholic boys’ reformatories; showing that the difference, if any, in the real proportion of re-convictions must arise more from the care taken in providing for, and looking after, the Catholic

girls on discharge, than in any want of due discipline in the Catholic boys' reformatories. We trust that Catholic ladies will ever exert themselves so to provide the means of honest labour for the Catholic girls on their discharge from reformatories, as to retain for the Catholic girls' reformatories the place of distinction which, even in Mr. Turner's report, they now occupy. We very much doubt, however, the accuracy of the assumption that half the "unknown" are re-convicted. Is there any reasonable probability that half of the 252 boys "unknown," or as many as 126 boys, have been re-convicted to prison without the prison authorities discovering that they had been previously convicted? Yet Mr. Turner "believes" what few governors of gaols will admit can be correct; and if his grounds of belief be probably or even possibly unsound, a conclusion resting upon such a basis ought not, we submit, to appear in any official report.

It may be said that the returns of re-convictions are from the managers of reformatory schools, and not from the governors of prisons. But Mr. Turner has returns from the prisons also, which he refers to "as confirming the honesty and trustworthiness of the reports made by the managers of the schools;" and he remarks that "very much more favourable conclusions might be drawn from the returns received from prisons of the number of prisoners in them who were ascertained to have been under reformatory discipline;" but he prefers to *guess* that half the "unknown" have been re-convicted, rather than wholly to depend upon the returns either of the managers of reformatories or the governors of prisons, and ventures to say, "I have no doubt that these returns from the prisons give an imperfect view of the results of reformatories from the number of young offenders committed to them who are likely to escape recognition." With all possible deference to Mr. Turner, and giving him the utmost credit for sincerity and fairness of intention, we decline to throw overboard the official returns made to him by the managers and the governors, and to substitute for them an assumption which must strike every man practically acquainted with prisons as highly improbable, and which rests upon nothing but his "I believe," and "I have no doubt." Statistical conclusions are not infallible, even when based upon facts; but what sort of statistics should we arrive at if in official reports they were allowed to rest upon belief and the absence of doubt? And if a Catholic priest employed by Government to report on Protestant and Catholic schools had passed silently over facts telling in favour of the former, and had introduced into his report a belief favourable to the latter, but at variance

with the returns made to him, what sort of weight would his report have had with either Protestants or Catholics?

We might pass by the mode in which Mr. Turner accounts for a result which we have shown to be not only supposititious, but probably erroneous; but we have no wish to blink any part of the question. If any remarkable difference exist in the "independence, vigour, tone, or discipline" of the Protestant and the Catholic schools, it should be noticed in Mr. Turner's detailed reports on each reformatory school. We turn, therefore, to these in order to ascertain both what it is that Mr. Turner exactly means, and how far these separate reports consist with his general remark. Singularly enough we find him praising Catholic reformatories singly, whilst he blames them in the aggregate; and still more singularly we find him, in the case of some Protestant reformatories, blaming where re-convictions are few, and praising where re-convictions are numerous. For example, it appears, by Mr. Turner's 7th Report, p. 98, that the Glamorgan Protestant reformatory for boys discharged up to December 31st, 1863, 36 boys, of whom are returned re-convicted 3, unknown 17, making therefore (if we adopt Mr. Turner's principle of considering half the unknown to be re-convicted) $11\frac{1}{2}$, or about 33 per cent. of re-convictions. Yet of this reformatory Mr. Turner reports, "its results, as tested by the reformation and after-conduct of the boys received into and discharged from it, have been encouraging." So that 33 per cent. of re-convictions is "encouraging" in the case of this Protestant reformatory, while the 28 per cent. in Catholic reformatories deserves a mark of reprobation! Probably Mr. Turner may think, if he do not say, that as only 3 are returned as actually re-convicted, it is hard upon the Glamorgan reformatory to debit it with half of the 17 "unknown" as re-convicted. It is hard, and this illustrates the injustice of dealing in such a manner with the Catholic reformatories. It seems, indeed, probable that, in making a deservedly favourable report on the Glamorgan reformatory, he forgot his own principle of considering half the "unknown" as re-convicted. On the other hand, in his 6th Report, p. 97, he says of the Protestant Northampton reformatory for boys at Tiffeld Towcester, "My inspection of this reformatory was not at all satisfactory;" but on turning to p. 100 of the same report, we find that out of the 16 boys who had been discharged from this reformatory up to December 31st, 1862, 13 were "doing well," none had been re-convicted, and only one "unknown," presenting, therefore, an instance, according to these returns, of one of the most successful reformatories in existence.

Redhill, with all its advantages, returns for the three years

preceding December 31st, 1863, 39 re-convictions, and 16 "unknown," equivalent, according to Mr. Turner, to 47 re-convictions, out of 236 discharged, or 20 per cent. Brook Green Catholic reformatory during the same period returns 9 re-convicted, and 16 "unknown," equivalent, on the same mode of calculation, to 17 re-convictions, out of 85 discharged ; or exactly the same 20 per cent. as Redhill.

But more than enough of this. We trust that most of our readers will with us have come to the conclusion, that the principle Mr. Turner has adopted of considering half the "unknown" as re-convicted is unsafe, and that the practice he has chosen to adopt of characterizing schools by classes, and praising or blaming whole classes on the average, is unfair towards particular institutions ; some of those in a class which incur his blame being, in fact, superior to some of those in a class to which he awards praise.

In so far as he attributes re-convictions from Catholic reformatories to the want of "more care and exertion in the arrangements for discharge," we are sorry to be obliged to agree. This is partly owing to the greater comparative poverty of the Catholic body, and other circumstances over which they have no control, and partly to a want of zealous and persevering co-operation on the part of Catholics in their various spheres, to obtain situations for the boys discharged from the Catholic reformatories in England and Scotland. On this subject the remarks of Mr. Turner, in various reports, are so apt and appropriate that, at the risk of appearing tedious, we may quote them. In his first Report, p. 13, he writes :—

The expenses attendant on the disposal of inmates on their discharge will become greater as the number entitled to their discharge increases ; and the managers of reformatories will find themselves called on to provide considerable funds to defray these, if they wish to make the work they have done permanent and complete. There is no doubt that a large proportion of juvenile crime is the result rather of the offenders' circumstances than of their dispositions. Their relations, their homes, their early associations, the haunts and connections they have been made familiar with, produce the greater part of the depravity and vice which the reformatory has to cure or eradicate ; and if, after two or three years' training, the child, still young and impressible, is put back among the same people, and under the same corrupting influences which produced its perversion at first, it can scarcely be expected to escape from depravation again. . . . Often, and particularly as regards young offenders from large towns, permanent separation from their old haunts and companions until the age of manhood is indispensable, and in such cases emigration offers the best method of provision. . . . *Emigration, however, involves heavy charges, and however economically carried on, must considerably swell the expenditure of the reformatory which resorts to it.*

Again, in his 2nd Report, p. 20, he says:—

Undoubtedly, to send a boy back to his bad relatives, and place him among the same depraving influences as have already corrupted him, must be to risk, if not to insure, the undoing of whatever good has been done, and to waste the money spent on the process.

And in his 4th Report, p. 15, he says:—

It will be seen from the tables, that the majority of relapses into crime have taken place amongst those who, on their discharge, have been returned to their relatives and friends.

It seems a great pity that Mr. Turner, when he commented on the number of re-convictions from Catholic reformatories, did not bear in mind these, his own remarks. If he had, it must have occurred to his mind that the re-convictions were more probably owing to so many of those discharged from Catholic reformatories being, from pecuniary inability to dispose of them otherwise, sent back to their former friends, than to any defect in the discipline of the institutions; and he would, in that case, have been disposed rather to impress upon the Government on the one hand, and the Catholic laity on the other, the necessity of further endeavours to provide suitable situations for juveniles on their discharge from reformatories, than have indulged in any unfavourable and, as we believe, undeserved remarks on the internal discipline and the discretion of the managers.

Mr. Turner, in his 6th Report, says, and truly:—

Many of the failures may be traced to the want of care and supervision on discharge. The lad or young woman who passes at once from the restraint of the school to the licence of free life, and comes again, without protection or oversight, under the influence of a disorderly home and depraved associates, must be expected, in a majority of cases, to fall back into the loose habits and the idleness which have mainly caused their former depravation.

And again, in his 7th Report:—

It is unnecessary to dwell on the importance of making sufficient provision for the protection and employment of the inmates of reformatories when discharged. *On this the ultimate success of each school mainly depends*, and a liberal expenditure for this purpose may be said to be the truest economy.

The words we have italicised are as true as they are inconsistent with his remark before quoted, in which he attributed the re-convictions after discharge from Catholic reformatories to imperfect discipline within them. Good treatment in the reformatory too frequently fails of immediate result unless the inmate be well placed on discharge; this, it is true, involves cost, but it is, in the end, the best economy. Suppose, however, you have not the money, what then? There are many

positions in life in which a man knows that with more means he could economise more, and is obliged to forego that which is cheapest in the end, because he cannot afford it. To some extent, Catholics are in this position with respect to the boys discharged from their reformatory schools. They have made great efforts, and have succeeded in establishing reformatory schools—not, perhaps, with the greatest economy possible in every instance, nor yet, perhaps, all unincumbered with debt, but still to an extent which is very creditable to them; so that it is not too much to say that there exist in England, at least, institutions adequate for the reception of all Catholic boys and girls who may be committed to reformatories for some years to come; at any rate, until the present population of the country shall have very greatly increased: that is to say, in all probability, during the present generation. The thing now wanted by Catholics is, not more reformatories, but *suitable places for the boys and girls when they are discharged.*

The better to appreciate this fact, let us for a moment consider how the boys for the three years ending December 31st, 1863, were disposed of. There were thus discharged 1,423 Protestant and 307 Catholic boys. Of the former, 316 obtained "employment or service," no doubt specially provided for them through the exertions of friends throughout the country; 486 went back amongst their friends; 227 emigrated,—at, of course, a considerable cost per head; 235 went to sea; 67 enlisted; 47 were specially discharged; and 45 absconded and were not recovered. Of the 307 Catholic boys, 73 obtained "employment or service;" 188, or nearly half, went back to their friends—we fear it may be said, to their bad parents and bad associates, from contact with whom it was so desirable to keep them; only 7 emigrated; only 14 enlisted; 7 were specially discharged; and 11 absconded and were not recovered.

It is fair to remark that the *proportion, i. e.*, rather less than one-fourth of the whole, sent to employment, is about the same with Catholics as with Protestants; but the main difference is that large numbers of Protestant boys emigrated, were sent to sea, and enlisted, whilst very few of the Catholic boys were thus disposed of, but the bulk of them went back to their old haunts and their old associates. Out of the 1,423 Protestant boys discharged, 227 emigrated; out of the 307 Catholic boys discharged, only 7 emigrated. Is not this the real key to any apparent large per-centage of re-convictions amongst the Catholic boys? Putting religion out of the question, if 100 boys discharged from any reformatory were sent back amongst their friends, and another 100 discharged from the same re-

formatory emigrated, which lot would be likely to yield the greater proportion of re-convictions?

To this question the last Report of the Redhill Protestant Reformatory furnishes a conclusive reply. It states:—

The comparative value of emigration and home disposal for boys of the class sent here, appears from the following results:—

Of 126 boys from London and its immediate neighbourhood discharged in the above three years, one half emigrated, the other half returned to home employment. Of the emigrants, $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. have been re-convicted; of the home disposals, 25 per cent.; of 17 boys from Brighton, discharged in the same period, one-fourth emigrated, three-fourths returned to home employment. Of the emigrants, none have been re-convicted; of the home disposals, 50 per cent. Of 37 from Kent, discharged in the same period, one-fourth emigrated, three-fourths returned to home employment; of the emigrants none have been re-convicted; of the home disposals 30 per cent. Such different results, yielded by materials drawn from the same localities and submitted to the same training here, are an unanswerable proof of the necessity for emigration, to give a permanent character to our work; especially remembering that the emigrant class, as a whole, were of more decidedly criminal character than the others when admitted here, and emigration was regarded as the only means of complete separation from their former vicious associations.

After this, is not any comparison between Protestant reformatories, which can afford to send a large proportion of their discharged boys out as emigrants, and Catholic reformatories, which can afford to send out very few, obviously unfair *as a test of the internal discipline of the respective institutions*? Is it not obvious that the re-convictions from Catholic reformatories are mainly due, not to the character of the internal discipline, but to the pecuniary inability of Catholics to avail themselves largely of emigration? Emigration is costly. In the accounts appended to the last Report from Redhill appears the following on the payment side:—

| Emigration. | | | | | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------|----|----|
| 27 passages | ... | ... | ... | ... | 263 | 17 | 0 |
| Clothing and outfit | ... | ... | ... | ... | 114 | 4 | 1 |
| Travelling | ... | ... | ... | ... | 25 | 16 | 11 |
| Colonial charges | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15 | 11 | 0 |
| Boxes and books | ... | ... | ... | ... | 19 | 9 | 5 |
| Sundries | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 8 | 2 |
| | | | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | | | £443 6 7 | | |

which, divided amongst the 27 emigrants, gives £18 each. If Catholics cannot afford to spend so much per head on any large proportion of their discharged reformatory boys, they ought to provide for the emigration of a certain number at a

less cost (which may, perhaps, to some extent be possible); or they ought to arrange for a much larger number of them being sent, some into the army, others to sea, and the rest supplied with honest employment or put out to apprenticeship at home, at a distance from their old associates, where a kind observant eye might be upon them, and a kind encouraging word be occasionally spoken to them. To accomplish this desirable object, two things are necessary: (1) ready and zealous co-operation on the part of individuals in every town and throughout the country; (2) a good organization such as would render individual co-operation as effective as possible. It would not be necessary for every one to subscribe largely; but, surely, there are many who might take a little trouble to inquire for and procure a situation for a boy, and look after him a little, and act the part of a guardian or trustee towards him. There might be a committee, with secretary and treasurer, which should meet at stated periods, and to which should be sent from each Catholic reformatory lists of all the inmates about to be discharged, with particulars of their previous residence and family circumstances, their individual character, what each was capable of doing, and when to be discharged. Of these a complete record should be kept by the central committee, in books provided for the purpose; and a complete list should be sent to all their correspondents throughout the country, local committees being formed in towns for the facility of intercommunication. The business of the local committees, and of the members generally, would be to examine these lists, and find suitable situations for the boys about to be discharged, corresponding and making all their arrangements with and through the central committee, in whose books the place and person to which every boy was sent would be entered. Afterwards, each boy should be looked after occasionally by the member or local committee through whom he had obtained his situation, and quarterly, or, at least, half-yearly reports should be sent in a stated form to the central committee respecting each boy within their cognisance; the purport of all which reports should be entered briefly in the books of the central committee; so that, on turning to the name of each boy, all that had been reported respecting him might at once meet the eye. These reports might be continued for three years after each discharge.

The number of boys discharged last year from the three English Catholic reformatories was 191; but, as 116 of these were from Mount S. Bernard's, whence so large a number of discharges cannot be expected in each future year, we may safely calculate that about 150 English Catholic boys discharged

from reformatories will have in future to be provided for each year. From the Scotch Catholic reformatory 50 boys were discharged in 1863, and this may be regarded as about the annual number to be provided for.

This is the problem before us. Of these, if army, navy, and emigration absorb, say, one-third, cannot we provide situations for, and exercise some supervision over, the remainder? It appears to us to be a plain duty of the Catholic body; and it is to be hoped that, when the facts are laid before them, all who have means and opportunity will feel it to be incumbent upon them to take their part in the work. It is due to the youths themselves to give them a fair start in the world, without which what we have previously done for them in the reformatory will to a great degree be thrown away. When discharged they are mostly well disposed; and if a decent, honest, career were open to them, they would gladly avail themselves of it; but we have no right to expect heroic virtue from them, nor even to look for that steadfastness and fortitude in the face of temptations which we can hardly reckon upon with confidence in persons more confirmed in good habits—temptations, the strength of which, in their peculiar case, it is difficult for us to appreciate. It is due to the managers of the Catholic schools, mostly members of religious communities, who have done their part, and now call upon us not only to crown their work, but to protect them and our common religion from the aspersions which may be cast upon both if the Catholic reformatories do not appear to produce reformation of life. Believing as we do, that our holy religion can produce effects in the souls of sinful men such as no other religion can—and that the religious men who in our reformatories devote themselves to this laborious work are instruments in the hand of God such as no other Christian body possesses—we feel that it would be a disgrace to us English Catholics if, for want of a slight and not very troublesome co-operation on our part, we failed to make these truths apparent and conspicuous to our fellow countrymen. This duty presses urgently upon us at this moment; and we ought at once to undertake and fulfil it with zeal, with method, and with perseverance.

There exist differences of opinion as to the period of detention in a reformatory, as to commitment after a first conviction, and on some other matters. If three years will effect the reformation of a juvenile criminal, it is obvious that three years are better than five, in an economical point of view, both to the Government, who save two-fifths of the maintenance, and to the managers who are thus enabled to do two-thirds more work. This, in our present circumstances, a most

important consideration, seems to throw the burden of proof on those who contend for the longer period of detention. On this subject, it strikes us, that one useful regulation might be introduced. Each juvenile criminal costs the State £15. 12s. a year for maintenance; if, therefore, one who is committed to a reformatory for five years be discharged at the end of four, Government saves a year's maintenance. Might it not, therefore, be good policy in the Government to offer to pay the managers of a reformatory for every juvenile discharged before the expiration of his original sentence, half of what his maintenance money would have amounted to for the unexpired period, to be applied by them either towards his emigration or his apprenticeship, or in providing him with necessary tools, or otherwise for his individual benefit?

On the question of long or short detention, it may be useful to bring together the opinions expressed at different times by the inspectors. From the passage quoted above from Mr. Turner's 1st Report it is obvious that he then considered "permanent separation from old haunts and companions *until the age of manhood* indispensable;" and that, "if after two or three years' better training, the child, still young and impressible, is put back amongst the same people, &c., it can scarcely be expected to escape from depravation again;" a remark which those managers of reformatories who could not afford to send out their discharged subjects as emigrants, or to provide situations for them at a distance from their relatives and friends, might well have quoted in defence of their detaining the youths as long as possible in the reformatory. In his 2nd Report, p. 21, he says:—

To allow a boy's gaining the age and industrial ability, and the power of self-support and independent action, which are requisite for his emigrating advantageously, I strongly advocate long sentences of detention. The Secretary of State having the power of discharging the offender at any period of his detention, it is very desirable that, in general, no sentence should be less than for three years, or in case of very young offenders, four.

In his 3rd Report, p. 16, he says:—

One of the principles recognized by the Reformatory Acts, and which may be safely relied on for the repression and prevention of juvenile crime, is, the placing the young offender, after he has suffered a fair penalty for his offence, under a *long* term of corrective discipline and restraint.

In his 4th Report, p. 12, one of the rules which he recommends is "that every boy convicted for the second (or at least for the third) time should be committed to a reformatory for four, or at least not less three years."

Again, at page 15, after the remark above quoted, that the

majority of relapses into crime have taken place amongst those who on their discharge have been returned to their relatives and friends, he adds :—

This might have been expected, for such a mode of discharge practically means in most cases the placing the child under the same influences as had before led to its depraved condition. The most effectual method of avoiding this result is undoubtedly the free employment of the powers given to managers by the Reformatory Act, 20 & 21 Vic. cap. 55, to place the boy or girl out on licence (under, that is, a ticket of leave) for a year or more before finally discharging them. This has been done very successfully in several reformatories, especially Castle Howard and Hardwicke. It enables the managers to maintain a control over those whom they place out for a considerable period after they have passed from the actual restraint of the school, and to accustom them to the habits, duties, and temptations of free life, before entirely launching them amidst its trials. It is undoubtedly better, far better, for the boy or girl to be thus gradually restored to freedom, and accustomed to self-government in partial liberty, than to be detained for the full term of their sentence under the exact and necessary discipline of the school. This is, in fact, the intention and purpose of such long sentences of detention as the Reformatory Acts allow of.

Mr. Turner, however, is certainly mistaken in saying that “the intention and purpose” of such long sentences as the Reformatory Acts allow, was to enable juveniles to be sent out on licence before the expiration of their sentence; for, in the Reformatory Act of 1854, which fixed the period of detention at not less than two, or more than five years, there was no such licensing power, which was not given till the subsequent Act of 1857; and, moreover, this licensing power is only to be “for any term not exceeding thirty days.” It would, we conceive, be much nearer the truth to say that by successive renewals of licence for thirty days at a time (if that be legal at all), a shortening of the sentence “for a year or more” would be accomplished, never contemplated by any Act of Parliament. He proceeds :—

To keep a lad of average age in a reformatory for five, or even four years, should hardly ever be necessary. If he has not improved sufficiently to be placed out, and put in the way of supporting himself by his own labours, in at the most three years, it is a sign there is a want of life and vigour in the school; that there is more routine management and mere discipline than of personal and moral influence on the part of the superintendent and teachers.

Sir Walter Crofton, who issued the first Report on the Irish Reformatories, says also, at page 7,—

I am glad to find that advantage has been taken in some instances, of the power given by the 18th sec. of 21 & 22 Vic. cap. 103 (Irish Act), to place juveniles on licence with employers after half the term of their sentence has

expired. I hope this power will be very freely used, as there can be no question that very many juveniles committed to the Reformatory Schools will be fit to be conditionally liberated at the end of three years, and some at less than that term.

Mr. Murray, the present Inspector of Irish Reformatories, in the second Report on them (p. 72), says :—

I sincerely trust that all managers will, when it can be safely done, adopt the plan now carried out at S. Kevin's Reformatory School, and liberate on licence, under the 18th section of the Act, every young offender over 16 years of age who has been three years in the Reformatory. I believe this power of licensing to be invaluable in its effects, and I adopt in its entirety the following passage from the 4th Report on English Reformatories.

Here he quotes the above extract from page 15 of that Report.

And at p. 76 of the same Report, in his special report on S. Kevin's Reformatory, he says that—

Notwithstanding that a debt of over £4,000 weighs upon this establishment, a sum of £269 was expended by the manager during the year in outfits and passage-money of emigrants. He informs me that it is his intention to request from the Chief Secretary the discharge at as early a period as it can be safely done, of all boys over 16 years of age, who have been three years in the Reformatory. This course of proceeding will require a considerable outlay for emigration, and I regret very much that the manager has not as yet been able to secure the aid of a Patronage Society.

In Ireland one of the causes of rejection of young offenders by reformatories is stated (p. 41) to be "the shortness of the sentences," and at p. 48 he adds :—

Few managers of Reformatory Schools in Ireland (none in England) will receive a young offender sentenced to only two years' detention. No manager in either country will receive a young offender under sentence of detention for only twelve months.

Mr. Murray overlooks the state of the law, that no manager *can* under the Act receive an offender sentenced to a reformatory for less than two years. He proceeds :—

All the difficulties arising out of these refusals could be avoided, and safely so, if those who sentence would, as a rule, give the full period named in the Act—five years. This sentence of five years is important in every way : it is important in its effect upon careless parents, in its effect upon the neighbours of the parents, in its effect upon the companions of the young offender ; and it is of the vastest importance to the manager of the school, as under the 18th section of the Act he is enabled to say to the child upon reception, "You are to remain here for five years ; but if you give me satisfaction by your conduct, I am empowered at the end of two years and a half to allow you to reside, under a licence, with any person of whom I may approve ;

therefore it depends entirely upon yourself how long after two years and a half you remain an inmate of this school." When short sentences are given, the manager is deprived of this power; he cannot expect that in a few months any young offender will be worthy of—in fact, he dare not trust him with a licence. Thus the great element of hope is lost—the opportunity of leading the young offender on, step by step, through all the grades of the school, keeping the great prize, conditional liberty, as the final school reward before him, must be abandoned—and only those who know the warped nature of criminal children, can appreciate the want of power springing from this loss.

We confess that this reasoning of the Irish Inspector impresses us favourably, whilst it is not inconsistent with the remarks of the English Inspector. Only a general rule, however, can be suggested, as the best course to be adopted must depend upon the peculiarities of each juvenile, and much therefore must be left to the discretion of the managers.

Mr. Turner is very strongly opposed to boys being sent to a reformatory after a first conviction, though he is of a different opinion as to girls, who, he thinks, "may in the majority of cases be safely and judiciously placed in reformatories on their first conviction." The Irish Inspector seems less averse to recourse being had to reformatories on a first conviction, and quotes with approval the remark of Lord Brougham, that "there is nothing more certain than that first offences may, by proper treatment of the offenders, be also made last offences."

This, however, is a question of discretion in individual cases, to be exercised by committing magistrates, and we believe that it would often be a merciful act to send a child to a reformatory even on a first conviction. Indeed, so far as we can judge, it is the duty of every magistrate before whom a child may be for the first time convicted of crime, to ascertain whether its parents and its home are such as to reform or still further to deprave the child; and if he learn that they are not likely to exercise any beneficial influence, then, even on this first conviction, to send the young offender to a reformatory. The same reasons which make it so necessary that a boy or girl, when discharged from a reformatory, should not return to a bad home, make it equally necessary that the child who has once offended should be preserved from the further contamination of that bad home which led to its first conviction; perhaps even more necessary, because greater age and longer good training would enable the boy or girl leaving a reformatory to resist evil influences better than the other for the first time convicted.

In one remark of the English Inspector we entirely agree, viz., that reformatories ought to be aided by grants from the counties or boroughs whence the juvenile criminals are com-

mitted. The Government allowance was reduced from 7*s.* to 6*s.* a week, in the expectation that this at least would be supplied by the local authorities; it is so in most of the counties and many of the boroughs of England, and we infer, in Ireland also, since in that country the want of such local contribution operates as a reason for declining to receive an inmate; and if all the English, Irish, and Scotch reformatories would concur in adopting this very reasonable rule, it would compel all county magistrates and all town councils to do their duty in this respect. The locality which furnishes the criminal should, surely, make up his full maintenance money, instead of leaving it to be cked out by private charity. We think it would be well if the Inspectors in both England and Ireland would take the trouble of ascertaining (which they easily might from the clerks of the peace and town clerks), which counties and boroughs do, and which do not, contribute towards the maintenance of their juvenile criminals in reformatories, and include this information in their reports. The very exposure in an official document might lead to a remedy of the neglect. It is incumbent on the State to aid in every possible way the struggling efforts of the managers of reformatories. By the voluntary outlay of several hundred thousand pounds, reformatory schools have been built and furnished; and under voluntary supervision a large reduction has been effected in the number of young offenders committed to prison. Government has never itself done so much in the same direction as thus has been accomplished by voluntary labours. But this diminution of numbers involves a large diminution of expense and of injury to the localities which have furnished the juvenile criminals; and both the State and those localities ought to give effectual aid to the reformatory volunteers, who have proved themselves the most effectual correctors of evil yet discovered in this country. The Government, alarmed at the sums drawn annually by reformatory schools, and forgetful that these sums represent a greater amount of good effected than any other money spent by Government in dealing with crime, have shown a disposition to let changes be in the direction rather of lessening than of increasing the reformatory allowances; whilst it appears to us that a wise discretion would lead Ministers to act for the future on just the opposite principle, recognising the economy as well as the efficiency of reformatories, and to say frankly to the managers, "Only do the work well, and it shall not be spoilt for want of money." To pay well for work well done is really the wisest economy in a Government, and especially when the work is peculiarly difficult to get done at all, to say nothing of its being well done. We

doubt the prudence of Government in reducing the 1s. a week, and still more the prudence of further reducing the allowance to 4s. a week for offenders over 16 years of age after the third year of detention; and we believe that a little aid towards the emigration, the travelling expenses, the apprenticeship, or other disposal of juveniles *on their discharge* from reformatories would be very well spent money, and in the end a saving to the public. That is the moment when the efforts of reformatory managers most need aid and supplement; and these we trust both the Government and the public will give them in a substantial form.

In his 4th Report, p. 9, Mr. Turner remarks:—"The demands made upon the public purse for the maintenance of reformatories have been hitherto singularly moderate in comparison with the amount of their positive advantage to the community." And then he proceeds to express an apprehension that "the expenditure connected with them will probably be differently viewed, when it is found to be annually enlarging" by so large a number of committals on first conviction. Such committals, however, on first convictions, have continued, and Mr. Turner has continued to protest against them; but instead of the total number of annual committals and the annual cost increasing, both have diminished; so that, perhaps, Mr. Turner may at length see and admit the needlessness of his apprehension.

Great effects have, at different periods and in various parts of the world, been produced on the criminal classes by individual action, *i. e.*, by extraordinary individuals, who seem to have had a special vocation for this peculiar labour of charity, and they have accomplished wonderful results in modes as diverse and peculiar as there were individuals engaged: each earnest, self-denying person having influenced those around him in the manner natural to him, and which he contrived to render effective. So that the lesson we derive from these remarkable examples is, that there is no stereotyped external mode of reforming the criminal classes; though, perhaps, in every successful instance the criminal heart has been reached by fellow feeling, by sympathy, by a consciousness that there was another human being who felt for even the most degraded of them; and there has thus been induced a disposition to soften, to yield, and to be led. This also is observable in the case of almost all those who, by some inward impulse, have been moved to address themselves to, and accomplish eventually great results amongst, the criminal classes—that a great part of their lives has been spent in gradually and laboriously, amid great difficulties and in spite of numberless

repulses, building up and establishing, and gaining support for the system by means of which they attained those results, but that only during the latter years of their lives were they enabled to make their influence reach any large numbers of the criminal classes around them.

Here, however, under the Reformatory Acts, the material system is ready made; the power of restraint and the means of maintenance are provided by the law. The soul intent upon the salvation of the outcasts of society is beyond the power of Government to provide: it can only say, as it *does* say, that the man animated by such a soul shall have due material aid provided for the accomplishment of his mission, so that the better half of his life need not be spent in preparing a reformatory school and obtaining the means of supporting it, leaving only his declining years for the reaping of his harvest. A man with such a vocation has here the tools and machinery to work with ready to his hand. The Reformatory Acts form, indeed, an admirable branch of legislation; their principle is sound: they give authority, and they give food and clothing; and, with these material aids, they commit young criminals to the care of those who have feeling enough for them voluntarily to undertake the work of their reformation.

Foreign Periodical Literature.

DR. DÖLLINGER AND THE MUNICH CONGRESS.

(Continued from page 217.)

Civiltà Cattolica, March 19, 1864.

6.—*The Cause of the alleged Decadence in Theological Science is proved not to be referable to the Inquisition.*

SINCE it has been demonstrated that the asserted decline of sacred studies in Italy and Spain throughout the seventeenth century, and almost to the middle of the eighteenth—at least, in the measure stated by Dr. Döllinger—is altogether untrue, the Inquisition and the Roman censorship are, by implication, exonerated from the charge brought against them of having caused such decline. The *corpus delicti* failing, there is no room for the process. However, as there is a certain degree of truth in the assertion, it might suffice for the present object to point out that it was not sacred science alone, but secular science also, which, during this period, failed to maintain the same high degree of excellence. If no Fracastoris or Machiavellis, no Ariostos, no Tassos, no Michael Angelos, or Raphaels flourished at that time, the blame has probably never been laid at the doors of the Inquisition: why, then, should it be made responsible for there being no Baroniuses or Bellarmines?

But we may go further; and, since Spain and Italy are specially referred to, let us see whether the Inquisition and the censorship can really have been the origin of the alleged decadence of theological science in those countries. Who would not conclude, from Dr. Döllinger's remarks, that both those institutions took their rise in the century which was the first to experience their disastrous influence? Such, however, was not the case. The censorship of books began with the early times of the Church: the Council of Trent did but renew and reinforce it, prescribing the registration of prohibited books under the title of *Index librorum prohibitorum*. The Inquisition had existed from the close of the thirteenth century, and its most flourishing and active period, as well as that of the Index, may be said to have been the latter half of the sixteenth century—the very time when Philip II. was on the throne of Spain. But Dr. Döllinger himself has told us that this was the golden age of the sacred sciences in Spain and Italy, at which time France had little to show in that department; and in Germany theological studies were at a still lower ebb. We are not aware what regard was paid to the Index in these two latter countries, but certainly the Inquisition was there unknown. We should therefore be entitled to draw exactly the opposite conclusion, and to infer that the censorship and the Inquisition were favourable to the prosperity of the sacred sciences. At any rate, we

shall by-and-by find Dr. Döllinger proposing something analogous to these institutions, as an instrument to aid in the fabrication of the great new German theology.

Nor let any one take alarm at the recollection of the folio of 992 pages published by the Inquisitor General, Antonio de Sotomayor. The Index of prohibited books was decreed by the Council of Trent; and, supposing that an Index there was to be, it mattered little whether it were in a folio, a quarto, or an octavo. Indeed, when we remember the deluge of heretical books published in the century of the Protestant Reformation, we can hardly be surprised at the voluminous character of a work intended to keep them out of a country which was resolved to have nothing to do with heresy. What might the number of the pages of the Index be now-a-days, if every book which deserved condemnation were registered there? But it is objected that you hereby withdraw from the examination of the learned an immense mass of works, which, along with some errors, contain many excellent things which would be serviceable to the interests of science; while even the errors themselves might incidentally promote its advance? Is not this to fetter the human intellect, to clip its wings, condemning whole generations to the darkness in which unhappy Spain languished for the whole of the seventeenth century, and the first half of the eighteenth? When, however, we recollect that, according to Dr. Döllinger, Spain lies still in the same hopeless obscurity, although the Inquisition has disappeared for the last three quarters of a century, we might see in this, again, good reason to infer that for this deep darkness, supposing it to exist, some other cause must be assigned. For what sort of a cause can that be which, while it is in active operation, as in the sixteenth century, produces no effect, and when it ceases to operate, and even to exist, as in the nineteenth, has so potent an influence?

Letting this pass, however, let us return to the consternation inspired in the Professor's mind by a state of things which he depicts under the image of the bird in an exhausted receiver. If he would have opened any volume of the great Spanish theologians of the century to which he refers, or of the preceding century, which was similarly circumstanced as respects the Inquisition—Suarez, for instance, Ruyz de Montoya, or Arriaga—he would have found their pages abounding with numerous and copious refutations of the errors contained in books whose titles figure on the Index, and, in particular, in Sotomayor's folio. To criticize a work, a man must have read it; and so it appears that the Inquisition and the Index had not the dreaded result of preventing the reading of these books, in order to the promotion of the interests of the Catholic religion and of science. It is manifest, in fact, that the Church's object in instituting the censorship and the Index, was to keep hurtful books from the eyes of those to whose faith and morals they might be detrimental; but as for such persons as desired, and had the capacity to avail themselves of them, in the interests of science and the defence of religion, so far from prohibiting the reading of them, she positively recommended and encouraged it. Hence the facility, still greater in these modern times, of obtaining such permission, for which no academic degree is needed: it suffices that there be a reasonable presumption that the individual in question be secured from any risk by the soundness of his Catholic prin-

ciples, and by competent mental training. No apprehension, then, need be entertained that submission to the Church's prescriptions and proscriptions must entail any intellectual and scientific asphyxia such as he opines takes place when the aliment which prohibited books would supply is withdrawn. We should say there was quite enough without them to keep the most powerful mental lungs in play; but if the Professor and his friends absolutely need this additional supply, we can assure them that they may easily obtain such full permission to read these works as shall make the Index a dead letter as respects themselves. But if such be, as it has ever been, the practical rule of the Church, what becomes of the foregoing argument? What pernicious influence can the Inquisition and the censorship have exercised on the progress of philosophical and theological science, and how can they have flung over Spain a darkness which a century of freedom has not availed to dispel? Believe this who will!

But we may go a step still further, and from the Professor's own assertions gather that he recognizes as one of the Church's needs—at least as regards theological science—an institution no way differing in character from the two which he so severely censures. This may furnish an additional proof that Dr. Dollinger is not quite so strong in dialectics as all allow him to be in history, and as it may be presumed, from his predilection for that study, he is also in biblical exegesis.

Alluding, at the commencement of his discourse, to the errors which theological science had contracted in Origen from his connection with the Alexandrian philosophy, he utters these remarkable words:—"Well might theology, from its very beginnings, know by experience that it bears its treasure in earthen vessels, and that it needs a perpetual superintendence and correction by means of the universal conscience of the faith of the Church;" or, rather, what the German idiom enables him to call, by a strangely compounded term, the universal *Faithconscience* of the Church—*das allgemeine Glaubenswusstsein der Kirche*. "It needs this correcting supervision," he adds, "in order to guard it from that pride to which all human science is prone." And so, after all, it appears that theology does need supervision and correction. Some doubt, it is true, may be felt as to what the superintending authority is meant to be, considering the strange formula employed. Anyhow, it is clear that it cannot be theology itself, or the theologians. For, besides the absurdity of a self-superintendence, we must remember that the Professor calls theology the scientific conscience of the Church, but not the "faithconscience." It appears certain, then—as far as the vague style of thought and expression of this author allows us to be certain of his meaning—that this office is acknowledged by him to appertain to the authority of the Church residing in its Supreme Head and the Episcopate, and by them exercised in an external and authentic manner. For it is plain that, unless this universal conscience of faith is personified in living, visible, speaking, and acting men—and who can these be save the Pastors of the Church?—this superintendence and correction, however high-sounding in words, would remain a mere abstract formula, without meaning or effect.

But, on the other hand (as was observed in the foregoing number), Dr. Dollinger attributes to theology an enormous importance in the Church;

going so far as to say that its heads must bow to their opinion, and recognize it as having legitimate claims on the submission of all. If he had not exaggerated the matter so greatly—if he had not called that “importance” by the name of *Gewalt*, or “power”—if he had been contented with using the word *Ansehen*, which implies consideration, deference, regard—if he had assigned to it even authority in the less rigorous sense of the term—we should have had nothing to object, but the reverse; because, in point of fact, the opinions of theologians, especially where doctrine is concerned, are esteemed of the greatest weight in the deliberations of the Church: witness the proceedings of the Council of Trent, where the matters to be submitted to the deliberations of the Fathers were previously discussed, matured, and prepared by theologians, and where the most noted of their number were listened to for hours, debating the most controverted points at the public sittings. On one occasion, an appointed Session was actually postponed to give time for the arrival of Peter Canisius, in order not to lose the advantage which his science and experience would afford with respect to the state of things in Germany. An œcumenical council waits for a simple theologian! What higher deference could be manifested for theology?

Now this is in accordance with the constant practice of the Church, whether the condemnation of books or the censuring of doctrine be the matter for consideration. We do not see, therefore, what cause the Professor has to feel irritated at the existence of this censorship. Has not he himself averred that theology needs the supervision and correction of the Church? Is he not himself of opinion that, in the exercise of this office, deference ought to be paid to the opinion of theologians? Why, then, take it so ill, when the supreme authority in the Church, after hearing and weighing the grave opinions of theologians, either registers in the Index, say, the works of Gioberti, or reproves certain doctrines, say, of Günther or Frohschammer? Formerly, the Sovereign Pontiff on such occasions used to consult the faculties of theology in the most celebrated universities; now that Catholic universities either do not exist, or, as Dr. Döllinger himself allows, are not very strong in the department of theology, the Pope interrogates the Consultors of this or that Roman Congregation, who, as the Professor himself well knows, are always competent, sometimes very eminent, theologians. Perhaps, if people generally were aware what grave and prolonged studies precede any similar act of the Holy See, even those whom its sentences affect might speak of it with a little more respect.

The writings (called *Voti*) in which the judgments of these theologians on the book or opinions discussed are drawn out, are sometimes regular treatises both in fulness and depth; such as in Germany would probably receive from the public journals some such laudatory epithet as that of *Epochmachende* (epoch-forming), but which at Rome are consigned to the obscurity of the archives; their modest authors, for the most part cloistered religious, receiving no compensation beyond the merit of having served God and His Church.

Dr. Döllinger, perchance, might prefer other men and other methods for bringing to bear the universal conscience of faith on the supervision and correction of theology: who knows but that amongst such methods, congresses of

learned Catholics, like that held at Munich, might not be in his contemplation, at any rate provisionally, until the grand new theology announced shall have been fabricated in Germany! But let him and his friends have a care lest these leanings and predilections be not among the products of the earthen vessels (*irdenen Gefässen*) in which he himself tells us theology bears its treasure; let them see if there enter not therein a little of that arrogance (*Selbstüberhebung*) to which, he has with much truth affirmed, all human science is prone; let them see well if their disposition to bow to the Church's authority be not hampered with the condition that the authority of the Church should bow to them in their capacity of theologians. At any rate, we may be allowed to hold that—since it is a question of the interests, not of science, but of revealed truths—those methods and men are most suitable which are judged to be so by the Pastors of the Church, to whom alone the deposit and guardianship of those same revealed truths were committed by Christ.

PROPOSED RECONCILIATION OF ONTOLOGISM AND PSYCHOLOGISM.

Revue Catholique de Louvain, September, 1864.

THE learned Barnabite, P. Charles Vercellone, of whose dissertation, read before the Academia at Rome, we gave an analysis from the pages of this periodical in our April number, is pursuing his laudable work of conciliation between the Ontologists and the Psychologists; we will not say between Augustinians and Thomasists, still less between the Angel of the School and the great Bishop of Hippo, whose systems, whatever may have been their diversity of method, were, as has been well shown by the Abbé Gratry in his "*Connaissance de Dieu*," in no way opposed. P. Vercellone has followed up his discourse by a substantial though brief publication of twenty-four pages, styled the "*Avvertenza*," in which he discusses the conditions of a treaty of alliance between the two schools. He thinks that if the philosophers who dispute in S. Thomas's name would place themselves at the true point of view, they would find no difficulty in cordially accepting the Augustinian ideology. P. Vercellone believes the dissonance to be rather apparent than real, and that a better agreement as to the meaning of the terms employed would make this manifest. He considers that if the partisans of the Ontologic theory were better understood, it could never be asserted that they lie under the censure of the tribunal of the Holy Office. At the same time he is foremost to aver that he is not speaking of all Ontologists that have ever been. There is an Ontologism which is repugnant to the Church's teaching, as there is also a Psychologism equally opposed to it. Let abstractions be made of all exaggerations and aberrations, and let the disputants, animated by the same love of truth and peace, put together in a common stock, and dispassionately compare, whatever of rational and sound has been taught by the leaders of science—this is the first condition of concord. We have no space for more than this brief notice of the "*Avvertenza*," as given in the *Revue Catholique*; but we consider the subject one of momentous interest, and shall be glad to recur to it when our foreign *collaborateurs* furnish us with the opportunity.

Notices of Books.

The Life of the Lord Jesus Christ : a Complete Critical Examination of the Origin, Contents, and Connection of the Gospels. Translated from the German of S. P. LANGE, D.D. Edited, with additional notes, by the Rev. MARCUS DODS, A.M. 6 vols. Edinburgh : Clark. 1864.

Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ : being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1859. By C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D. (now Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol). 3rd edition. London : Parker & Bourn. 1862.

The Life of our Lord upon the Earth, in its Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Relations. By the Rev. J. ANDREWS. London : Strahan & Co. 1863.

The Gospel History : a Compendium of Critical Investigations in support of the Historical Character of the Four Gospels. By Dr. J. H. A. EBRARD. Translated by S. MARTIN, B.A. Revised and edited by A. D. BRUCE, Edinburgh : Clark. 1863.

A Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels. By KARL WIESELER. Translated by the Rev. E. VENABLES, M.A. Cambridge : Deighton & Bell. 1864.

IF we take into account books written in foreign languages, as well as in our own, it cannot be denied that the literature of the Gospel History is becoming multitudinous enough to frighten even the most enterprising student. Such a person may, however, take heart. It is by no means true, that every fresh volume on such a subject contains anything fresh that is valuable as a contribution to the general stock of knowledge, or that, in order to be well acquainted with the chief questions on the Gospel History, and the various methods that have been proposed for their solution, it is necessary to wade through everything that has been written upon them. The critics of our time share with some of the schoolmen and of the commentators on Holy Scripture the credit of having produced large works, often of but little originality, which, nevertheless, have their value as bringing within our reach what former authors, not so accessible, have thought and said. All that the student requires is that he should be able to continue his own investigations, without having to go over again ground that has been sufficiently worked out by his predecessors ; that he should enjoy the fruit of their labours, and start from their results. We hear a great deal too much, sometimes, of the processes of argument by which a conclusion has been reached. These processes are often interesting in themselves, but not always so ; and not to all readers. Still less do we require to be told what may be called the "by-talk" of controversy—passages in which the author writes as if his readers knew exactly

what everybody else has said on the point under discussion, and could follow him in the remarks that suppose such knowledge. The field of modern criticism, especially in Germany, is rather overgrown with vegetation of this kind. Let the student take in hand a few of the principal authors, such as those included in the list at the head of this notice, and he may be pretty sure that he will find in them most of the material that is necessary for the formation of his own judgment, and that he need not fear the danger of wasting his time by working out for himself some problem that has already been discussed a thousand times over, from want of adequate knowledge of the literature of his subject.

We owe a considerable debt of gratitude to the translators who have placed within the reach of English readers works so deservedly celebrated as those of Lange, Ebrard, and Wieseler. The last has long been known to students as a most painstaking and judicious investigator of the chronological difficulties with which the history contained in the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles is beset; and if his conclusions cannot always be accepted, his book will always retain a necessary place in a library of biblical criticism. It is, in fact, only natural that there should be a good proportion of failures in a succession of attempts to settle for certain a number of dates, as to which we have only probable arguments to guide us to a conclusion. Ebrard's work is more polemical, and the names of Strauss and his followers turn up to disturb the reader at every page. The English translator has done wisely in cutting down some of this exuberant combativeness—for, in this country, we do not care so much to trace out all the individual vagaries of "negative criticism." Lange's work is one of greater pretensions, and is, perhaps, nearly as perfect in its way as could be expected under the circumstances of its author. Dr. Lange's plan is comprehensive, and aims at exhibiting the unity of the Gospel History, without forgetting the distinctive characteristics and the completeness, in their own sphere, of the four several Gospels. This idea is certainly the right one, according to which a Life of Christ should be written. The bulk of the work is devoted to a synoptical and harmonized Life of our Lord: it is not till we have got some way into the fifth volume that we come to Dr. Lange's remarks upon the four Gospels separately. So extensive a work cannot of course be discussed with any fulness in a short notice. We must content ourselves with saying that Catholic students will find Dr. Lange a very useful companion. His work would bear compression—a remark that applies to many German writers of his school besides himself. He is occasionally vague and cloudy, and his grasp of doctrine is not very certain—to say no more on that head. He is always judicious and candid, and has spared no pains in the acquisition of materials for his great task. We have put forth, in another part of our present number, what we believe to be the grand divisions into which the Life of Christ, as it is to be composed out of the Four Gospels, ought naturally to be broken up. Dr. Lange will go along with us, as, indeed, will most critics, as to the earlier divisions; but it can hardly be expected that a Protestant writer should catch the great and critical importance of such an event as the confession of S. Peter, or understand fully the dealings and disposition of our Lord with regard to His Church. Dr. Lange's account of the several Gospels, which form the third (and last) of the

books into which the work is divided, is interesting and able, but not, we think—especially in the case of S. John—the most satisfactory part of the volumes before us.

Dr. Ellicott has earned a very high position among English writers on the New Testament, by his admirable editions of several of the Epistles of S. Paul. We hope most sincerely that he will complete the series, and not leave the most important Epistles of all in hands so dangerous as those of Mr. Jowett, or so slippery as those of Dr. Stanley. We think that in the volume which Dr. Ellicott has devoted to the Life of our Lord, he has undertaken a task for which he is less fitted than for that of a critical commentator. His Hulsean Lectures will always be valuable, as bringing together in a short space the results of a wide field of reading, and putting us in possession of the judgment of sound and conscientious learning on a great number of authors with their respective views. But Dr. Ellicott seems to us to have followed a wrong clue in his Harmony, and consequently to have made several mistakes in his arrangement of details. There is also a defect in the book which arises from its form. The Hulsean Lectures, limited in number as they are, give hardly enough room for a fair handling of the subject undertaken by Dr. Ellicott; at all events, if that subject was to be dealt with at all within the prescribed limits, it could only be done by the exercise of a greater power of lucid statement and perspicacious condensation than seems to be possessed by the present writer. The Lectures are also to some extent injured by the necessity of giving to them the form and the air of Sermons.

Mr. Andrews's comparatively small volume will be found a great treasure by the student—we had almost said *would* be found, if it had but the ordinary feature of a table of contents! It is strange that this should be omitted in a volume that gives a list of authors cited, a general index, a chronological index (which seems to be intended to supply the defect of which we complain), and a list of Scripture citations. Mr. Andrews, besides being concise and clear in his statements, is usually judicious in the selection he makes from among the views open to choice, and gives in a short compass the most noteworthy arguments by which they have been supported. He has produced a really valuable manual.

Commentaire sur l'Evangile selon S. Matthieu. Par A. GRATRY, Prêtre de l'Oratoire de l'Immaculée Conception. Première partie. Paris: Douniol et Lecoffre. 1863.

THE name of the author of this volume is so well known, even out of France, that we need hardly do more than chronicle the appearance of a new production from his pen. It should, however, be said, that any one who may hope to find what is commonly understood by a "Commentary" on St. Matthew in the little work before us, will be disappointed. There is no attempt at a critical explanation of the text: M. Gratry simply takes paragraph after paragraph, and makes his own reflections upon each. These are not precisely theological or ascetical, moral or controversial; they are simply the thoughts that rise to the mind of an earnest and fervent priest, who, with

many of the great questions of the day before his eyes, contemplates in succession the scenes put before him by the Evangelist. There is often, therefore, no connection between passages that lie side by side in the pages of this volume ; often, also, the main features of the portion of the Gospel which is under consideration are neglected for some subordinate point on which the mind of the writer happens to fasten. Books of this kind are chiefly valued by the devoted admirers of their authors ; but in the present case, the general reader will find here and there many striking thoughts. It is a pity, however, that it should have been called a Commentary.

La Femme Forte : Conférences destinées aux Femmes du Monde. Par MGR. LANDRIOT, Evêque de la Rochelle et Saintes. Deuxième édition. Paris : Palmé. Poitiers : Oudin. 1863.

THESE discourses form a detached portion of a series of Instructions delivered by the Bishop of Rochelle, every month, to the ladies belonging to a charitable society in his metropolitan city. Intended for women living in the world, we think them admirably fitted for an object, the practical treatment of which is attended with its own peculiar difficulties. When the pastor of souls addresses sinners, his line is simple, and as it were marked out for him. Religious, again, by profession, and secular persons who by their own free choice aim at the highest perfection, furnish an equally clear case. But in addressing the ordinary good and devout Christian, who desires to save his soul and advance in holiness by the fulfilment of the duties of his state, without, as may be presumed in the case of the mass, having any peculiar attraction towards the Evangelical counsels, there are two shoals to be shunned : to require too much, or to ask too little has each its danger. If the ordinary good Christian is accustomed to hear no other exhortations but such as call upon him to break off evil courses and cleanse his conscience from the guilt of mortal sin, he will derive little benefit from addresses which apparently are not of immediate personal concern. On the other hand, there will be danger of the hearer resting in a state of supposed security, and feeling no necessity to aim at anything beyond the avoidance of sin. Such a hearer will be disposed to regard a book or a sermon specially designed for aspirants to religious perfection, as in no way regarding the ordinary secular, the married man or woman, the busy father or mother of a family ; and so the Christian world becomes divided as respects aims, as it is, of course, in a sense, as respects classes. We have religious aims, and we have secular aims. Mgr. Landriot, however, does not conceive the necessity of any such secularity in the secular. He does not lower the tone of the Gospel requirements because he is addressing wives and mothers, not nuns ; at the same time he is never rigid or austere, and has, moreover, a touch of gentle courtesy—we had almost said politeness—in his exhortations to his exclusively female audience, which tempers and recommends the straightforward frankness of the lessons he inculcates. This is peculiarly observable when he has to notice some feminine foible. He touches the subject with a tender though firm hand.

As the title imports, the "valiant" or strong woman of the Proverbs is his text. At no period, perhaps, was it more necessary to recur to this Scripture type of all that is excellent and decorous in woman. Our modern habits and systems of education, our exaggerated and false refinements, our minute and luxurious appliances for relieving the easy classes of the pains and inconveniences incident to human life, all tend to the rearing of feeble plants. Their evil effect, in this respect at least, tells, for obvious reasons, peculiarly upon women. While composed of the same elements, the characters of men and women typically differ. We may take strength as the masculine type, comprehending under that term all those virtues and qualities analogous to the ideas contained in it, which go to make up what we call the *manly* character; and we may take beauty as the feminine type, including under that term all the sweet, gentle, and lovely virtues which we sum up under the parallel generic term, *womanly*. Not that a partition of qualities, as it were, can be made between the two sexes. Many women are strong and courageous, and many men are extremely weak. There are women who are hard and heartless, and there are men whose hearts overflow with more than womanly tenderness and pity. Each character, no doubt, requires, and as a matter of fact contains, the distinguishing qualities of the other, as its complement; but the leading type is different. Strength in man is adorned with beauty; beauty in woman is rendered excellent by strength.

We have only to notice the ways of little boys and girls to recognize this diversity of type in the characteristic foible of each. A boy is proud of what he can *do*; and so, when he is empty-headed or otherwise deficient, we have the little bully and boaster, who parades his strength or skill, like the "pugilistic brother" of the unhappy De Quincey, and loves to domineer. Girls seek love and admiration—admiration, be it observed, chiefly subordinate to love—and care for what they personally *seem*. Hence, under unfavourable circumstances of disposition or training, we have the passion for dress, affectation, and all the little early essays in coquetry which we remark in our miniature women. It is true that girls sometimes affect bold and masculine airs; but when this does not proceed from mere imitation or high animal spirits, it is to be referred to the desire (though a mistaken one as respects the means adopted) for personal admiration and attention.

But if the elements of strength are not cultivated sufficiently in the present generation, it is not to be supposed that it can be without serious detriment even to the more peculiar feminine qualities. The character loses instead of gaining in sweetness, by the absence of force. Just as strength without the union of the loving qualities becomes a mere brute energy, so the soft and the sweet, when not grafted on strength, becomes, according to circumstances, mere mawkish sentimentality, or superficial and empty prettiness. In either case the character lacks genuineness and reality—in the latter it positively lacks *heart*—and we fear that the second phenomenon is no uncommon result of modern fashionable training, and its mimicry in the inferior grades of society. Sentimentality is rather at a discount now-a-days, but levity is largely in vogue.

We therefore consider Mgr. Landriot peculiarly happy in his choice of a

theme. The manner of execution is equally felicitous ; and where all is so excellent, we hardly know what portion to select for particular commendation. We would draw attention, however, to the importance he attaches to the labour of the hands and to household duties. He lays full stress on the literal meaning of the praises given to "the strong woman" for her industry and accomplishment in the use of her needle, and for her diligence in the superintendence and ordering of her household.

Yet we must not imagine that the excellent bishop despises or would forbid intellectual studies, or a moderate attention to what are called female accomplishments. In every branch of female duty we meet with the most useful hints in detail, as well as general advice, grounded on the highest Christian principles, whether the matter concern the sphere of external action, personal behaviour, mental culture, self government, or the performance of religious exercises. We recommend especially the ninth *entretien*, on the subject of fortitude, and would draw particular attention to some searching observations on a fault not uncommon, we conceive, amongst women, and which the French call *susceptibilité*, a word scarcely adequately rendered by our term "sensitiveness." This little work has been so favourably received in France, that the first edition was exhausted in a month.

Annales Monastici, Vol. I. ; *Annales de Margan*, A.D. 1066-1232 ; *Annales de Theokesberia*, A.D. 1066-1263 ; *Annales de Burton*, A.D. 1004-1263. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant-Tutor of Trinity College, Registry of the University, and Perpetual Curate of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. London : Longman. 1864.

MR. LUARD is one of the most active of the editors whom it has been the good fortune of the Master of the Rolls to secure for the publication of the "Chronicles and Memorials," and he is, moreover, one of those whose contributions to that series have done much to preserve the interest of the public in it. He is now busy with the shorter chronicles, hitherto accessible only in the very careless publication of Fulman and Gale ; but to these he has added the Tewkesbury chronicle, now for the first time printed, and, we are sorry to say, from an imperfect manuscript ; but that is not the fault of Mr. Luard, for there is but one manuscript known to be in existence. It is also deserving of notice, that Mr. Luard means to include in his collection the Dunstable Annals, now exceedingly scarce as one of the books of Hearne.

It was necessary, at all times, for the reader of Fulman or Gale to keep both his eyes open ; for the mistakes were many, and, occasionally, not easily detected. It is to the credit of Mr. Luard that his books can be read with one eye closed ; for the few errors that remain are very palpable. Perhaps we ought to say that they are as few as they could well be ; for Mr. Luard takes great pains, and if at times he seems to fall asleep over his work, it is probably more from exhaustion than from lack of earnestness or industry, as he had to contend with a manuscript carelessly executed. We are, therefore, by no means disposed to find fault with the Annals of Tewkesbury, even if

we do discover some mistakes : as at p. 54, where it is said that Henry II. died on the second of June (*obiit ii. Junii*). Henry II. died in July, and was buried on the day which was afterwards kept as the Translation of S. Thomas. In a previous part of this volume, in the Annals of Margan, p. 20, the day of the king's death is correctly recorded (*ii. non. Julii*), July 6th, and he was buried the next day. Another accident of a like nature may be seen in p. 50. The Antipope, Guido of Crema, is there called *Widonum Cirenensem*, instead of *Crenensem*, though he is correctly described six lines lower down as *Wido de Crema*. So again at p. 62, the Legate Gualo, who crowned Henry III., is called *W[idone]*—Mr. Luard himself supplying the letters absent from the MS.—while four lines lower down he is rightly named *Gwala*.

As the manuscript was carelessly executed, in the judgment of Mr. Luard, we are a little disappointed at finding that these errors are not corrected. Thus the text (p. 69) has *Henricus de Soldford*, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester in the year 1227. It would have been easy for Mr. Luard either to correct the text, or to say in a note that the name of the venerable archdeacon was not Soldford, but Sanford or Sandford. The Worcester annals may have misled him, for the archdeacon is there called Saltford.

Lewellin, Prince of North Wales, *incendit atque prædavit* certain lands : *incedit* is clearly wrong, for the word must be either *incessit* or *incendit*. No doubt the latter is the true reading—"burnt and plundered." *Commotio Episcoporum* (p. 91) is probably *convocatio* of the bishops ; and (p. 160) *ad feodam primam* should be *feodam firmam*—"fee farm." Again (p. 159), *Per totam Anglicam exactum fuerat soccagium*. It is probable that the copyist of the manuscript ought to have written *scutagium*, as it is given in the preceding page.

In pp. 109 and 140, we have two legal words, as we think, incorrectly printed. The first occurs in the passage, *jurati duodecim homines de Vilneto*, as if *Vilneto* were the name of a place ; whereas the true reading is *visneto*—"the neighbourhood." The jury was to be composed of neighbours. The other is the phrase, *placitum de Videnam*. It does not appear what the plea of *Videnam* was, though it is not difficult to see that it arose out of some violence offered by William de Beauchamp to the Church of Worcester, for which the King's judges were not in a hurry to give satisfaction to the bishop, who carried the cause to Lyons before the Pope himself, and there obtained that justice which the King's judges delayed to give. *Videnam* is in all probability a mistake of the copyist for *Withernam*.

In the year 1249 a thief was caught, *in flagranti*, within the manor of the abbot of Tewkesbury ; but when the abbot proceeded to try him in his court, the bailiff of the Earl of Gloucester claimed the right of jurisdiction against the abbot, and demanded the surrender of the thief. "In those days," writes Mr. Luard (Pref., xxii.), "the thief was the very last person whose interests were thought of." Now this comes of being clever ; for men of ordinary sense would have felt that the "interests" of the thief were very seriously involved in the question as to who should be his judge. He was to be hanged for the theft, no doubt ; but, most assuredly, it would have been no

comfort, nor of the least benefit, to him, to be tried by a judge who had no jurisdiction in the matter. Differing from Mr. Luard on this point, we venture to say that the "interests" of the thief were not only "thought of," but very carefully maintained; for he was afterwards hanged by the officers of the abbot, who only had the right to hang him, and not by the bailiff of the Earl of Gloucester, who, if he had tried the thief and executed him, would have been really guilty of murder, because he had no right to meddle with the thief at all.

Another slip of a like kind is to be found in the same preface, p. xvii. "Mention is made of a penance imposed on a certain person for a great crime—*ut omni die Veneris carnibus vesceretur*: the real point of the penance, *et aliis diebus abstineret*, which is given in the Worcester annals, is omitted by the Tewkesbury." The passage in the annals to which Mr. Luard refers is as follows:—*Cuidam propter immane scelus est injunctum a Magistro [Petro] de Curbullo, Archiepiscopo Senonis, ut omni die Veneris carnibus vesceretur*. In the Worcester annals the story is recorded in these words:—*Cuidam propter immane et inauditum scelus, quod perpetraverat, injunctum est a M. Petro de Corboil, Archiepiscopo Senonensi, ut omnibus diebus Veneris tota vita sua carnibus vesceretur et aliis diebus abstineret*. Mr. Luard saw that the Worcester account was the truer of the two, because it contained the "real point of the penance;" but he saw nothing more in it than a very keen but serious jest. Now it requires something more than a sense of humour to edit these old chronicles: a little moral theology is necessary; and a man who possessed that science, even in a slight degree, would have been struck at the commission of a mortal sin being enjoined as a penance for another sin of a like gravity. Eating flesh on Friday is not the kind of penance that an archbishop would impose upon a notorious and robust sinner. Mr. Luard saw that the Tewkesbury story was deficient in the "real point;" but he did not suspect that the Worcester chronicler might also have made a slight mistake. The copyists of both these annals have evidently missed "the real point" of the story. The penance of this great and apparently healthy sinner, we believe, was this: he was to eat nothing, or, at least, to fast every Friday, and on every other day to abstain from flesh. *Ut omnibus diebus Veneris, nihil vesceretur*—or, if this be too hard, *jejunaret, et aliis diebus carnibus abstineret*. Until an undoubted example be found of eating flesh on a Friday, as a penance, be furnished us, we shall persist in maintaining that, not the Tewkesbury annals only, but the Worcester annals also, are in this place corrupt, and require emendation. Mr. Luard may fairly plead in his own defence that Wharton, while editing the Worcester annals, saw no difficulty in the story, as it is there recorded, and that more ought not to be expected of him than was expected of Wharton. Be that as it may, the story is, we believe, not to be taken as it is told by the annalists. Either it was a jest, or it is incorrectly recorded.

At p. xxx. of his Preface, Mr. Luard has used words which came upon us by surprise, from a man of his experience in ancient chronicles, and so generally fair in his views. The words are these: "account of the *supposed* crucifixion of the boy Hugh, afterwards canonized, by the Jews at Lincoln

in 1255 ;" and in a note he speaks of the "unhappy condition of the Jews." Their condition, of course, was not enviable ; but there are testimonies extant to their very great prosperity in England. They were frequently better treated than the English, and had the means to make their influence felt and their power respected. But they were insolent in their prosperity, and frequently provoked popular tumults by the extravagance of their extortions. Mr. Luard seems to think the history of S. Hugh at least doubtful ; and of course if a fact so well authenticated as the murder of the child by the Jews of Lincoln is thus questioned, Mr. Luard can give but little credence to the other stories of Hebrew malignity with which the mediæval annals abound. It would be easier to disprove the fact of the great Charter of John than to refute the stories of Jewish cruelty practised upon Christians, out of hatred to the faith. Mr. Hart, in his Introduction to the Cartulary of Gloucester, is clearly not disposed to reject these stories ; and he has collected a great number, though he thinks that the evidence for many of them "would not bear a strict scrutiny." Even as late as the year 1840, a Capuchin friar was murdered in Damascus. Mr. Patterson, who was in Damascus in 1850, says of him ("Tour in Egypt, Palestine, &c.," p. 296) :—"He was a skilful physician, and was inveigled into a Jew's house on the pretext of seeing a sick man, and then bled to death. It appears that the Jews here used the blood of Christians, or others, to put in their unleavened bread for the Passover. This almost seems incredible ; but it came out in the *procès verbal* of the case, that Father Thomas's was so used. Three of the Jews were condemned to death, but were allowed to escape." Mr. Patterson adds a note to this effect :—"A friend who was at Damascus again last year (1851) tells me he saw and perused the whole evidence on the trial, in the hands of the English Consul. He asked that gentleman his opinion on the subject, and received the significant answer, that his predecessor had lost his position for having an opinion on it. But he mentioned that Bishop Alexander and his chaplain . . . laid down the evidence with a silence more expressive than words. Another person assures me that the prosecution was dropped by Mehemet Ali, at the instigation of several European Jews, one an English baronet." We repeat that there is as good proof of the cruelty of the Jews to the Christians whom they got into their hands in England, during the Middle Ages, as there is for the great Charter of King John ; and to affect to disbelieve these stories is simply a silly concession to the liberal spirit of the age, which requires you to believe everything against the Church, and nothing against Jews, Turks, or heretics.

The Bishop of Worcester, in 1251, made an attempt to enforce certain rules of his own on the monastery of Tewkesbury, but in vain ; because the constitutions of the order were there strictly observed : the commissioners of the bishop found nothing reprehensible in the house : *ars arte deluditur, nihil inveniunt nisi ordinatum et honestum juxta ordinis observantium*. The bishop, in the opinion of the chronicler, had not been quite fair in his attempt upon the abbey, and in recording his failure, he says, *ars arte deluditur* : that is to say, the art of the bishop was frustrated by the art of the monks who kept their rule. Mr. Luard's commentary upon this (Pref., xxiv.)—"The art with which the Bishop of Worcester's scrutiny into

the condition of the convent was evaded—*ars arte deluditur*—seems to suggest that the monks had recourse to tricks, for the express purpose of escaping from the bishop's control. This, we think, is unfair, because the whole "art" of the convent consisted in the fact that it did then, and had done for many days before, duly observed the rule. The words of the annalist which seem to excite the suspicions of Mr. Luard are probably borrowed from the *Pange Lingua* of Good Friday :—

Multiformis proditoris,
Ars, ut artem falleret ;

and certainly in that hymn no man would venture to say that the "art" which deluded the devil was an artifice to be condemned.

However, Mr. Luard's labours, notwithstanding these little drawbacks—inevitable, perhaps, in his position—are most meritorious, and we regret much that it did not enter into his plan to give an index to each volume. That is a convenience which can hardly be exaggerated ; for a man generally knows in which volume to look for what he wants, but does not remember the chapter or the page. In such a case an index saves much time and a great deal of trouble ; but it is also a trouble to make it.

Lectures on some Subjects of Modern History and Biography. Delivered at the Catholic University of Ireland, 1860 to 1864. By J. B. ROBERTSON
Dublin : Kelly. 1864.

MR. ROBERTSON is so well known to all the readers of this Review, that few words of ours will be needed in order to commend to their notice this latest fruit of his industry and erudition. One of the lectures, indeed, that on Freemasonry, has already appeared in a separate form, and the universal favour with which it was received in Catholic circles is the best guarantee of the popularity of the series in which it now takes its proper place. It can hardly be said of the chief subjects of these Lectures, that they are new in themselves ; nor does the lecturer profess to have brought to their illustration much store of what are popularly called original materials. But by the manner in which he has treated them ; by the new points of view from which he has considered them ; by the principles of action which he develops ; by the standard of judgment which he applies ; and by the profoundly religious and philosophical spirit which he has infused into the discussion, he has produced a work which, for every class of reflecting readers, Protestant as well as Catholic, will possess the best charm of originality—the power of suggesting new thoughts, or of weakening or dispelling old prepossessions.

We may instance the admirable Lecture upon Spain, in which the author has contrived to combine with an interesting narrative of the leading facts in the modern history of that kingdom, a complete picture, from a thoroughly Catholic point of view, of its social, religious, and political institutions, so little understood by English readers. His Lectures on Chateaubriand, in like manner, are replete with information on society and letters in France since

the Restoration, much of which will be new, even to the best-informed student ; and the Lectures on Freemasonry supply an excellent digest of the traditional policy of the Church upon the important subject of public and private associations, and on the position which ecclesiastical authority holds in relation to their organization and their practical operation.

Mr. Robertson's book is, indeed, in every respect worthy of the reputation of the respected author.

The Catholic Religion considered in reference to National Morality. A Lecture. By the Very Rev. FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A. London : Burns & Lambert. 1864.

WE ought to apologize for not having noticed this Lecture in our last number. Its subject is so extensive and so interesting, that a volume might be advantageously devoted to its illustration ; but it could not be treated more effectively in a brief compass than in the admirable publication before us.

The spirit of nationalism is by many excellent men regarded as actually virtuous ; and few, at all events, are exempt from its influence. We profoundly deplore this circumstance ; but so long as it continues, it would be simply absurd to institute any direct comparison between the morality of Catholic and Protestant countries. Englishmen would account it a kind of crime to admit the moral superiority of France, and Frenchmen of England. Canon Oakeley enters on a distinct, though kindred, inquiry. He considers "not so much what the Catholic religion has actually effected in raising the moral tone of this or that country, as what it is capable of effecting in that way in all countries where its characteristic principles are generally carried into practice." He states various Catholic principles, and considers what would be their practical effect, in proportion as they should be heartily embraced : on the relation between rulers and subjects, or parents and children ; on the sanctity and purity of marriage ; on the treatment of the poor and of prisoners ; on the mode of carrying capital punishment into effect. No one, we think, can fairly question the cogency of his various arguments, and their bearing is very evident on the divine origin of our holy religion.

We will gratify our readers by quoting one exquisite passage. In speaking of English prisons, he is led to say that Pentonville Prison, which is situated in his parish, "is like a monastery, *minus* the religion," and possesses "the machinery and the framework of a religious house." But he adds :—

It is the body without the soul. It is like that scene which I have witnessed from the summit of a Swiss mountain before the sun broke forth and lighted it up. There was the beautiful alternation of hill and vale, of plain and wood : there were the lakes of greater and lesser magnitude, heaving, as it were, under the mass of superincumbent mist which oppressed them : there was the village at your feet, and the town beyond, and the field of golden corn, and the meadow and the vineyard, and the peasant's hut, and the farmer's homestead, and all the features of a rural scene of dizzy vastness and indescribable variety ; but for a time it was a chaos, not a world. All these countless objects were blended together in one indistinct indiscriminate mass. At length the glorious sun shot forth its earliest ray as it rose above the

horizon. Instantly the confusion was at an end. The clouds stole away from the glassy lakes over which they had brooded, like evil spirits ; hill and vale, field and vineyard, lowly cot and tall church tower at once stood forth each in its own character and its own place, and the chaos was converted into a world, the mystery cleared up into a revelation.

Sanctity in Home Life: being an Account of Francesca de Maistre and the Countess Medolago. (Taken from the Italian.) By EMILY BOWLES. London : Philp. 1864.

THE Italian account of the sweet and edifying lives of these two sisters was noticed in the first number of our new series ; and we gladly welcome this little book, which makes us familiar with them in our own tongue. The examples they give are peculiarly valuable, both for their opportuneness and their practical character, as instances of eminent holiness in secular life. They also afford a very pleasing insight into the interior of the families of good Italian Catholics ; a subject to which we have heretofore adverted. We admire therein a combination of simplicity in social habits with an attention to solid mental cultivation which would surprise many who have their own preconceived notions on the subject, and little opportunity of correcting them from personal experience. We cannot believe that such interiors as those of the family of Ferrucci and De Maistre are altogether exceptional ; they bear the stamp of specimens, though choice ones be it granted, of a class. But the ordinary English visitor finds—indeed seeks—no access to them. To the Catholic the character of the devotion exhibited will be supremely interesting. It is formed on the genuine Catholic type, the same in all ages and ever-varying circumstances, but which is apt to develope itself in less full proportions where there is much contact with Protestant ways and modes of thought, and to lack that abundant nourishment supplied in Catholic countries, of which, moreover, the daily need, in order to any remarkable growth in the religious life is so experimentally present to the minds, and so traditionally enshrined in the practice, of the inmates of these truly Christian homes.

Extracts from the Fathers, Historians, and Writers of the Church. Literally Translated. Dublin : Kelly. 1864.

IT will be inferred from the title, and it is expressly stated in the Preface, that this volume is intended almost exclusively for the use of students. A closely literal translation can never possess those characteristics which recommend a work to the general public ; but it was better calculated to secure the immediate object of the compiler. We are not sure that much has been sacrificed to attain this end. While believing frequent study of the Fathers and old ecclesiastical writers to be of great advantage to those whose office it is to teach in the Church, and to all, indeed, who have leisure and sufficient education to profit by it, and that these records constitute a spiritual treasury which cannot be over-valued, we also think that, for obvious reasons, they can never form a popular course of reading. That the present work has fulfilled its object, the publication of a second edition of a thousand copies gives satisfactory evidence.

The Little Flowers of S. Francis of Assisi. Translated from the Italian ; and edited by the Right Rev. H. E. MANNING, D.D. London : Burns & Lambert.

WE welcome with pleasure a translation of this interesting volume of mediæval hagiology. It possesses a charm, a *naïveté*, and a freshness of simple faith which we seem to miss in modern saints' lives, whatever superiority in other respects may be readily conceded to them. We seem to see in them a certain adaptation to modern modes of thought and life which on the score of prudence may be necessary, and yet must detract from the simplicity of the narrative. Often the very boldness with which the biographer will declare that he means to keep back none of those wonders which provoke the scoffs of an incredulous age, painfully reminds us that we have our lot in such an age, and point at the same time to the cause, in a great measure, of the characteristic difference to which we allude. Yet we must not be too hard upon our age in this respect. If scepticism abounds, we know that faith also is still abundant. Much must be attributed to the fact that a writer in the present day addresses a public, and that public contains the scoffer as well as the faithful. In earlier days there was no public, so to say ; the chronicler wrote as he would talk and narrate to one like-minded with himself, believing what he believed, and loving what he loved : hence a peculiar simplicity hardly possible under altered circumstances. It is refreshing, however, to return and take a draught at these pure unmingled sources, and recreate our minds, wearied at times by the exactions of modern criticism, with the charming artlessness, and what the editor aptly calls "the sublime triviality," of the records bequeathed to us by the "good old days."

The names of the translators are a sufficient guarantee for the fidelity with which the work has been executed ; and we may say of this, as was said by the same editor of a previous volume by one of the same hands, that it is "truly excellent for its pure, easy, and simple English, which reads off, not as a translation, but with the facility of an original."

S. Clare, S. Colette, and the Poor Clares. By a Religious of the Order of Poor Clares. Dublin : Fowler. 1864.

AS it is our intention shortly to have an article on the subject of this interesting volume, it is unnecessary to do more at present than to recommend it cordially to those to whom it has not already recommended itself. When the other necessary abilities exist, as in the present case, none can be better qualified to write the biography of the founders of religious orders than their affectionate sons and daughters. Not only have they more familiar acquaintance with the facts to be narrated, but from their connection with the community which ever largely inherits the spirit of its progenitor, they will be better able to interpret those facts, and will, moreover, be inspired by that special love which causes the tongue to speak out of the abundance of the heart,

Gilla Hugh; or, the Patriot Monk—a Lay of Cork in the Twelfth Century—and other Poems. By T. Condon. Cork: Mulcahy. 1864.

THIS little volume contains some pleasing poetry, which, though it never rises to the sublime, has nature in it and occasional grace. We must add that it is throughout animated by a truly Catholic spirit, and an ardent patriotic sentiment. While sympathising as much as the poet with Ireland's wrongs, we own, however, that we are sorry to see Saxon and Celt always pitted against each other, and the notion fanned that Ireland's grievance against England is still a question of *race*. Moreover, we believe that the Celtic element prevails much more largely amongst the English themselves than is usually supposed or admitted. Be this as it may, Ireland's grievances are *mainly*, we believe, to be referred to dominant Protestantism rather than to Saxon domination. But this is not the place for a disquisition of this character. We allude chiefly to expressions in the Introduction applicable to present times; not, of course, to the old patriotic struggle for freedom, or the sentiments it excites. The versification is sometimes a little slovenly, but the author disarms criticism by telling us that he wrote under the spur of necessity.

The Chromo-Lithographic Press, established at Rome by the munificence of Pius IX., has issued its first publication, four sheets in large folio, *Imagines Selectæ Deiparæ Virginis in Cæmeteriis Suburbanis Udo depictæ*, with about twenty pages of text from the pen of the Cavaliere G. B. de Rossi. The subject and the author are amply sufficient to recommend them to the Christian archæologist, and the work of the artists employed is in every way worthy of both. It is by no means an uncommon idea, even among Catholics who have visited Rome and *done* the Catacombs, that our Blessed Lady does not hold any prominent place in the decorations of those subterranean cemeteries. Protestant tourists often boldly publish that she is nowhere to be found there. The present publication will suffice to show, even to those who never leave their own homes, the falsehood of this statement and impression. De Rossi has here set before us a selection of four different representations of holy Mary, as she appears in that earliest monument of the Christian Church; and, in illustrating these, he has taken occasion to mention a score or two of others. Moreover, he has vindicated for them an antiquity and an importance far beyond what we were prepared to expect; and those who have ever either made personal acquaintance with him, or have studied his former writings, well know how far removed he is from anything like uncritical and enthusiastic exaggerations. Even such writers as Mr. Burgon ("Letters from Rome") cannot refrain from bearing testimony to his learning, moderation, and candour; they praise him, often by way of contrast with some Jesuit or other clerical exponent of the mysteries of the Catacombs, for all those qualities which are calculated to inspire us with confidence in his interpretations of any nice points of Christian archæology. But we fear his Protestant admirers will be led to lower their tone of admiration for him, and henceforward to discover some flaw in his powers of criticism, when they find him, as in these pages,

gravely maintaining, concerning a particular representation of the Madonna in the Catacombs, that it is of Apostolic, or quasi-Apostolic antiquity. It is a painting on the vaulted roof of an *arcosolium* in the cemetery of S. Priscilla, and it is reproduced in the work before us in its original size. The Blessed Virgin sits, her head partially covered by a short slight veil, holding the Divine Infant in her arms; opposite to her stands a man, holding in one hand a volume, and with the other pointing to a star which appears between the two figures. This star almost always accompanies our Blessed Lady in ancient paintings or sculptures, wherever she is represented either with the Magi offering their gifts, or by the manger's side with the ox and the ass; but with a single figure, as in the present instance, it is unusual. Archaeologists will probably differ in their interpretation of this figure; the most obvious conjecture would, of course, fix on S. Joseph; there seem to be solid reasons, however, for preferring (with De Rossi) the prophet Isaias, whose predictions concerning the Messiah abound with imagery borrowed from light, and who may be identified on an old Christian glass by the superscription of his name. But this question, interesting as it is, is not so important as the probable date of the painting itself; and here no abridgment or analysis of De Rossi's arguments can do justice to the moderation, yet irresistible force, with which he accumulates proofs of the conclusion we have already stated, viz., that the painting was executed, if not in Apostolic times and as it were under the very eyes of the Apostles themselves, yet certainly within the first 150 years of the Christian era. He first bids us carefully to study the art displayed in the design and execution of the painting; he compares it with the decorations of the famous Pagan tombs discovered on the Via Latina in 1858, and which are referred to the times of the Antoninuses; with the paintings in the Pontifical *cubiculum* in the cemetery of S. Callixtus, and with others more recently discovered in the cemetery of Pretextatus, to both of which a very high antiquity is conceded by all competent judges; and he justly argues that the more classical style of the painting now under examination *obliges* us to assign to it a still earlier date. Next, he shows that the catacomb in which it appears was one of the oldest. S. Priscilla, from whom it receives its name, having been the mother of Pudens and a contemporary of the Apostles (the impress of a seal, with the name *Pudens Felix*, is repeated several times on the mortar round the edge of a grave in this cemetery); nay, further still, it can be shown that the tombs of SS. Pudentiana and Praxedes, and therefore, probably, of their father S. Pudens himself, were in the immediate neighbourhood of the very chapel in which this Madonna is to be seen; moreover, the inscriptions which are found there bear manifest tokens of a higher antiquity than can be claimed by any others from the Catacombs: there is the complete triple nomenclature of pagan times, *e. g.*, Titus Flavius Felicissimus; the epitaphs are not even in the usual form, *in pace*, but simply the Apostolic salutation *Pax tecum*, *Pax tibi*; and finally, the greater number of them are not cut on stone or marble slabs, but written with red paint on the tiles which close the graves—a mode of inscription of which not a single example, we believe, has hitherto been found in any other part of the Catacombs. This is a mere outline of the arguments by which De Rossi establishes his conclusion respecting the age of this painting, and they are not even

exhibited in their full force in the present publication at all. For a more copious induction of facts, and a more complete elucidation both of the history and topography of the Catacombs, we must be content to wait till the author's larger work on *Roma Sotterranea* shall appear.

The most recent painting of the Madonna which De Rossi has here published is that with which our readers will be the most familiar. It is the one to which the late Father Marchi, S. J., never failed to introduce every visitor to the Catacomb of S. Agnes, and has been reproduced in various works; the holy Mother with her hands outstretched in prayer, the Divine Infant on her bosom, and the Christian monogram on either side of her and turned towards her. This last particular naturally directs our thoughts to the fourth century as the date of this work; and the absence of the *nimbus* and some other indications lead our author to fix the earlier half of the century in preference to the later. Between these two limits, then, of the first or second, and the fourth century, he would place the two others which are now published; he distinguishes them more doubtfully, as belonging respectively to the first and second half of the third century. In one, from the cemetery of Domitilla, the Blessed Virgin sits holding the Holy Child on her lap, whilst four Magi offer their gifts; the other, from the catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, represents the same scene, but with two Magi only. In both there is the same departure from the ancient tradition of the number of the wise men, and from the same cause, viz., the desire to give a proper balance and proportion to the two sides of the picture, the Virgin occupying the middle place. Indeed, in one of them, it is still possible to trace the original sketch of the artist, designing another arrangement with the three figures only; but the result did not promise to be satisfactory, and he did what thousands of his craft have continued to do ever since, sacrificed historic truth to the exigencies of his art.

We trust our readers will be induced to get this valuable work and to study it for themselves; the text may be procured either in French or in Italian, so that it is readily accessible to all. At the same time, we would take the opportunity of introducing to them another work by the same indefatigable author, which is also published both in French and in Italian. At least, such is the announcement of a prospectus now lying before us, which states that the French translation is published by Vives, in Paris. We have ourselves only seen the original Italian. It is a short monthly periodical, with illustrations, *Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, and is addressed not merely to *savans*, Fellows of Royal Societies, and the like, but rather to all educated men who care for the history of their religion and are capable of appreciating its evidences. De Rossi claims for the recent discoveries in the Roman Catacombs the very highest place among the scientific events of the day which have an important religious bearing, and we think that the justice of his plea must be admitted. Unfortunately, however, the vastness of the subject, the multiplied engagements of the author, and (not least) the political vicissitudes of the times, have hitherto prevented the publication of these discoveries in a complete and extended form. We are happy to know that the work is satisfactorily progressing; but meanwhile he has been persuaded by the suggestions of many friends, and by the convenience of the thing itself, to publish this

monthly periodical, which will keep us *au courant* with the most important additions that are being made from time to time to our knowledge of those precious memorials of primitive Christianity, and also supply much interesting information on other archæological matters. In these pages the reader is allowed to accompany, as it were, the author himself in his subterranean researches, to assist at his discoveries, to trace the happy but doubtful conjecture of a moment through all its gradual stages, until it reaches the moral certainty of a conclusion which can no longer be called in question; *e.g.*, the author gives us a portion of a lecture which he delivered on July 3, 1852, to the Roman Pontifical Academy of Archæology. In this lecture he maintained, in opposition to the usual nomenclature of the Catacombs, and entirely on the strength of certain topographical observations, that a particular cemetery, into which a very partial opening had been made in 1848, was that anciently called by the name of Pretextatus, and in which were buried S. Januarius, the eldest of the seven sons of S. Felicitas, Felicissimus and Agapitus, deacons of S. Sixtus, Pope Urban, Quirinus, and other famous martyrs. Five years passed away, and this opinion had been neither confirmed nor refuted; but in 1857, excavations undertaken for another purpose introduced our author into a crypt of this cemetery, of unusual size and richness of ornament, where one of the *loculi* bore an inscription on the mortar which had secured the grave-stone, invoking the assistance of "Januarius, Agatopus (for Agapitus), and Felicissimus, martyrs!" This, of course, was a strong confirmation of the conjecture which had been published so long before; but this was all which he could produce in the first number of his *Bollettino* in January, 1863. In the second number he could add that, as he was going to press (February 21), small fragments of an inscription on marble had been disinterred from the same place, of which only single letters had yet been found, but which, he did not hesitate to say, had been written by Pope Damasus and contained his name, as well as the name of S. Januarius. In March he published the twelve or fourteen letters which had been discovered, arranging them in the place he supposed them to have occupied in the inscription, which he conjecturally restored, and which consisted altogether of more than forty letters. In April he was able still further to add, that they had now recovered other portions; amongst the rest, a whole word, or rather the contraction of a word (*episcop.* for *episcopus*), exactly in accordance with his conjecture, though, at the time he made the conjecture, only half of one of the letters had yet come to light.

We need not pursue the subject further; enough has been said to satisfy those of our readers who have any acquaintance with the catacombs, both as to the kind and the degree of interest and importance which belong to this publication. Its intelligence, however, is by no means confined to the catacombs; the Basilica of San Clemente; the recent excavations at San Lorenzo, *fuori le mura*; the postscript of S. Pamphilus the Martyr at the end of one of his manuscript copies of the Bible, reproduced in the Codex Sinaiticus lately published by Tischendorf; the arch of Constantine; ancient scribblings on the wall (*graffiti*) of the palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine, &c., &c., are subjects of able and learned articles in the several numbers we have received. With reference to the *graffiti*, one singular circumstance mentioned by De

Rossi is worth repeating here. Most of our readers are probably acquainted with the *graffiti* from this place, published by P. Garrucci, in which one Alessamenus is ridiculed for worshipping as his God the figure of a man, but with the head of an ass, nailed to a cross. P. Garrucci had very reasonably conjectured that this was intended as a blasphemous caricature of the Christian worship; and recently other *graffiti* in the very same place have been discovered with the title *Episcopus*, apparently given in ridicule to some Christian youth; for that the room on whose walls these scribblings appear was used for educational purposes, is abundantly proved by the numerous inscriptions announcing that such or such a one *exit de pædagogio*. We seem, therefore, in deciphering these rude scrawls, to assist, as it were, at one of the minor scenes of that great struggle between Paganism and Christianity, whereof the sufferings of the early martyrs, the apologies of Justin Martyr, &c., were only another but more public and historical phase. History tells us that Caracalla when a boy saw one of his companions beaten because he professed the Christian faith. These *graffiti* seem to teach us that there were many others of the same tender age, *de domo Cæsaris*, who suffered more or less of persecution for the same cause. Other interesting details of the same struggle have been brought together by De Rossi, carefully gleaned from the patrician names which appear on some of the ancient grave-stones, sometimes as belonging to young virgins or widows who had dedicated themselves to the service of Christ under the discipline of a religious community. That such a community was to be found, early in the fifth century, in the immediate neighbourhood of *S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*, or, at least, that the members of such a community were always buried about that time in that cemetery, is one of the circumstances which may be said to be clearly proved by the recent discoveries. The proofs are too numerous and minute for abridgment, but the student will be interested in examining them as they appear in the *Bollettino*.

Another feature in this archæological publication is its convenience, as a supplement to the volume of Christian Inscriptions published by the same author. That volume, as our readers are already aware, contains only such inscriptions of the first six centuries as bear a distinct chronological note by the names of the chief magistrates, or in some other way. Additional specimens of these are not unfrequently discovered in the excavations still in progress on various sides of the city; and these De Rossi is careful to chronicle, and generally also to illustrate by notes, in the pages of his *Bollettino*. The chief value of these additions, perhaps, is to be found in the corroboration they *uniformly* give to the conclusions which De Rossi had already deduced, the canons of chronological distinction and distribution which he had established, from the larger collection of inscriptions in the work referred to—whether as to the style of writing, or of diction and sentiments, &c.—canons, the full importance of which will only be recognized when he shall have published the second volume of the collection of epitaphs bearing upon questions of Christian doctrine and practice.

In the earlier numbers of the *Bollettino* for the present year, there is a very interesting account of the recent discoveries in the Ambrosian Basilica of Milan, where there seems no room to doubt but that they have brought to

light the very sarcophagus in which the relics of the great S. Ambrose, as well as those of the martyrs, SS. Gervasius and Protasius, have rested for more than ten centuries. The history of the discovery is too long to be inserted here, and too interesting to be abridged. One circumstance, however, connected with it is too important to be omitted. The sarcophagus itself has not yet, we believe, been opened; but, from the two sepulchres below and on either side of it, where the bishop and the martyrs were originally deposited, and where they remained until their translation in the ninth century, many valuable relics have been gleaned. We will only mention one of them; viz., portions of an *ampulla* such as are found in the catacombs, and concerning which Dr. Biraghi, the librarian of the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana (to whose zeal we are indebted for the whole discovery, and for the account of it to his learning), assures us that it has been subjected to a chemical examination, and is shown to have contained blood. This, as De Rossi truly remarks, is the most notable instance which has yet come before us of this *ampulla* having been placed in the sepulchre of famous and historical martyrs, and it is of very special importance as throwing a flood of light on those words of S. Ambrose about these relics so often quoted in the controversy on this subject—*sanguine tumulus madet; apparent cruoris triumphales notæ; inviolatæ reliquiæ loco suo et ordine repertæ*. And it is certainly singular that this discovery should have been made at a moment when the validity of these *ampullæ*, as sure signs of martyrdom, has been so much called in question. The Sacred Congregation of Rites had only recently re-affirmed their former sentence on this matter; and this fact now comes most opportunely from Milan to add further weight to their decision, by giving an historical basis to an opinion which before had been thought by some rather to rest upon theory and conjecture. It will go far, we should think, towards *rehabilitating* in the minds of Christian archaeologists the pious belief of former ages upon this subject, wherever it may have been shaken.

Those who have read with interest Mgr. Manning's first "Letter to an Anglican Friend," will not fail to continue their studies into his "Second Letter," called "The Convocation and the Crown in Council" (Longman), wherein he applies his original proposition to the somewhat changed circumstances of the case. We hear with great pleasure that he intends still further to continue his argument in the shape of a letter addressed to Dr. Pusey, which will probably be published before this number is in our readers' hands.

The short "Introduction to the History of England" which was adopted by the Poor School Committee, has now swelled into a goodly volume of more than 800 pages under the title of "A History of England for Family Use, and the Upper Classes of Schools" (Burns & Lambert). The whole modern period has been entirely re-written, and the remaining portion has received such enlargements and corrections, that the work in its present form may be regarded as to all intents and purposes a new and original production. One important feature is the introduction of chapters on the condition, social, religious, political, &c., of England at different epochs of its history.

The difficulty of the task undertaken by the author, perhaps only they can adequately appreciate who have attempted an historical abridgment. But we have no hesitation in affirming that the result is as satisfactory as the motives which led to the undertaking were disinterested and meritorious. That great pains were expended in order to secure perfect accuracy of statement, we know ; and only a cursory glance over the pages is sufficient to show that to a high moral elevation of tone and a genuine Catholic spirit, there is conjoined a peculiar liveliness and lucidity of style such as must make the work interesting as well as instructive to the class of readers for which it is principally intended. We may add—and this we consider no ordinary merit—that the volume contains much that is suggestive to persons of deeper thoughtfulness and more extended knowledge. We feel that we are not exaggerating when we say that the Catholic body in this kingdom owes a large debt of gratitude to the author of this book.

Canon Griffin's "Catechetical Reading Book" (Burns & Lambert) is intended for the use of our day and, still more, of our Sunday-scholars, who have less time and less ability, perhaps, than younger children to learn anything by rote, and who, it may be presumed, may find an exercise of the *understanding* more fruitful of profit than that of the *memory*. It has been written with the view of combining simplicity and a facility of being broken up into questions with the interest of a connected narrative ; and we think the object has been satisfactorily attained. The book consists of two parts : the first historical, the second doctrinal. Where all is good, it is hard to select for commendation ; but we may instance the exposition of the Commandments, as admirable for clearness and fulness, considering the narrow compass to which it is necessarily restricted. We believe that this Reading Book will prove as useful to catechizers as to the catechized. Instruction to the young is always best when orally imparted ; and this little manual will be a great help to the teacher in acquiring, and a useful instrument in facilitating the exercise of, the art of communicating knowledge effectually.

"Explanation of the Sacrifice of the Mass." By a Priest. (London : Farrell. 1864.) A plain, clear exposition of the nature and necessity of Sacrifice ; of the identity of the Sacrifice of the Mass with that of Calvary ; its excellency and its fruits ; accompanied by a brief explanation of the different parts and ceremonies, and directions for the proper manner of assisting at it. That this book will be found useful to put into the hands of inquiring Protestants as well as of Catholics, we are able to declare from actual experience.

Every reader of Dr. Alford's "Queen's English" should make himself acquainted with the "Dean's English," by Mr. G. Washington Moon (Hatchard). We cannot say that the sort of personal sarcasm in which Mr. Moon indulges is exactly to our taste, though it may add a piquancy to the pungency of his criticisms ; but he has exposed certain literary trips on the part of his antagonist in an amusing and telling way, and put together a

smart little volume which is well worth the reading. We agree with him in thinking that Dr. Alford has done good service by the attention he has drawn to the slipshod style of composition so much in vogue; and we think that even practised writers may learn a lesson or two in the art of expressing themselves in their mother tongue clearly and correctly by a perusal, both of the Dean's "Stray Notes" and Mr. Moon's rejoinder.

The Month: a Magazine of Literature, Science, and Art. July—September, 1864 (Simpkin & Marshall). It would seem superfluous to announce—unless for the sake of a courteous and respectful greeting—the appearance of this new-comer in the field of literature, which numbers among its contributors his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, Very Rev. Dr. Russell, Rev. Fr. Coleridge, M. Rio, Mr. Aubrey de Vere, Lady G. Fullerton, and Miss Kavanagh; and among its illustrators, Mr. Herbert, R.A., and Mr. R. Doyle. Such names must be sufficient to command attention and insure success.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

BOTH of the two leading reviews of the last quarter deal at considerable length with a social question of immense importance,—the education given in our public schools. Whatever else her Majesty's Commissioners may have effected by their laborious inquiries and voluminous reports, they have certainly opened the eyes of the nation to the existence of a long catalogue of short-comings in the management of our leading institutions for the instruction and training of the youth of the higher classes. Upon this all parties are agreed; though the friends of the present system may think that there is much in things as they are to atone for acknowledged deficiencies, whilst its enemies are ready to go further than the Commissioners in their denunciation of abuses, and would urge the adoption of sweeping reform rather than remedial measures the aim of which is mere amendment of the faults of detail. It is always easier to point out defects than to suggest safe and suitable remedies. Impartiality and diligence, with only an ordinary amount of experience and sagacity, are equal to the task of detecting deficiencies and setting them in their true light before the public; but to provide prudent and sufficient remedies demands the exercise of qualities, both intellectual and moral, of a far higher and rarer type, in order to guard against temptations to rash innovation on the one hand, or excessive conservatism on the other. At present, the main struggle is between an exclusively classical education and the claims of modern knowledge. Outside the walls of our chief public schools, the tendency of things of late has undoubtedly been towards the palpably useful and an ever-increasing range of subjects. What those who have been submitted to the new style of training have to show as its result we do

not pretend to say. Some of the wisest heads are of opinion that width has been purchased at the cost of depth, and show at the expense of solidity. Scholarship, accuracy, real mental power, are supposed to be on the wane; shallowness, cram, pretentiousness, in the ascendant. To be up in a number of facts and results seems to them to be no uncommon phenomenon now-a-days; but they miss that faculty of grouping and adjusting knowledge when acquired, which used to be and is still developed by the old system. The "litter of ideas" heaped up may be greater than before, but they question whether the minds so furnished can be called educated at all. Perhaps the fault has lain in the method of instruction rather than in the increased number of matters selected as instruments of training. But it is not surprising that prudent men, knowing as they do what great names have for centuries adorned the old system, should cling to it with tenacity; and not all at once upon an outcry, more or less reasonable, transfer their allegiance to a new system, the early results of which are of decidedly questionable excellence. Some modifications, however, are sure to be introduced, and probably not before they were wanted. The most conservative, like the writer in the *Quarterly*, are not backward to admit that there is room for improvement; only they would not abandon long-tried principles out of eagerness to enlarge the present curriculum. That they will find it no easy matter to keep reform from a ruinous acceleration of speed, and that they have need of great caution in deciding how much to retain and how much to yield, is a lesson they ought to learn before the reins are taken out of their hands. For the minority who are in favour of change are rapidly recruiting their ranks, and nineteenth century ideas will not willingly suffer themselves to be beaten off the field by those of the sixteenth. Sooner or later they will triumph even over the most time-honoured institutions; but, whether interested or not in their ultimate success, before all things we dread anything like a sudden revolution. The judgment of the Royal Commission and the debate of May 6 in the House of Commons give ground for hoping that for the present at least there will be no "organic rashness;" but the tone of the *Edinburgh* and the exultant clamours of some other writers tend to show the confidence of the reforming party in the steady, if not rapid, advance of public opinion towards what is commonly called a system of greater practical utility—in other words, towards an abandonment of classical education in favour of modern languages and modern science.

Before passing to the two or three main topics which we have selected from our contemporaries for comment, we may mention that the *Edinburgh* has an able article on "English Horses," *à propos* of the controversy lately raging in the columns of the *Times*. The papers on the Post Office in the *Edinburgh* and *British Quarterly*, like the book of Mr. Lewins which they review, are an interesting and graceful tribute to the merits of Sir Rowland Hill. We may also chronicle the appearance of a very sensible article in the *British Quarterly* on "The Pentateuch and the Higher Criticism," and of one written in a kindred spirit in the *Christian Remembrancer* on "Textual Criticism of the New Testament." The latter contains a very elaborate account of the ingenious method of arrangement adopted by Dr. Tregelles in his Greek New Testament. Nothing can well exceed the painstaking and self-denial, in the midst of disappointments, delays, and hindrances, necessary for accumulating

and arranging the vast amount of materials employed by him in illustration of his pious study. His labours have cost him his health and eyesight, but these are sacrifices more than repaid to him by extraordinary success, and the calm joy which well-spent days and great works accomplished in a holy cause are sure to bring with them. His collations appear to be both numerous and exact, though some unfortunate idiosyncracies stand in the way of his realizing satisfactorily the ambitious project of constructing a new and improved text of Holy Scripture. In avoiding the Scylla of conjectural emendation, he appears to have fallen into the Charybdis of mechanical adherence to the most ancient evidence, which leaves no scope for the exercise of an intelligent judgment. Nor is he happy in his selection of a text of antiquity. He admits none but manuscripts written in *uncial* characters, forgetting that many of those which are written in the *cursive*, or running hand, are very ancient representatives of lost *uncial* manuscripts equal, and sometimes superior, in value to those which have come down to our times. The reviewer gives also some very interesting particulars concerning the old Syriac version of the Gospels discovered in fragments among several volumes of manuscripts brought in 1842 by Archdeacon Tattam from the convent of our Lady in the Nitrian desert, and edited with an English translation and preface by Dr. Cureton. Dr. Cureton maintains that the Gospel of S. Matthew in that work is in fact the original of the Evangelist. But the Copenhagen professor, Hermansen, in a Dissertation on the subject, has completely demolished a theory which was evidently in the highest degree improbable, and supported by a minimum of evidence. The value, however, of the version as a critical document and witness for the text of Scripture is beyond all dispute, though perhaps too much stress has been laid upon it by Dr. Tregelles and Dean Alford. The reviewer also reports favourably, after inspection of a specimen sheet, upon the very useful work of Mr. Hansell now issuing from the Oxford University Press—very useful, though sure to be superseded, for it was unfortunately undertaken before the great Codex Sinaiticus became available for the purposes of its editor. The deficiency is to be supplied by a careful collation; but no scholar will open the pages of Mr. Hansell's work without missing the column in which the Codex Sinaiticus ought to be.

We have, then, plentiful indications of a revival in this country of the long-neglected science of textual criticism. English scholars are at length beginning to emulate their industrious German brethren in a department which, if it be dry and toilsome in the process, is at least pious and dignified in its object. They will find difficulty in the attempt to rival the stupendous energy of Tischendorf, but we anticipate from their hands the sensible use of materials heaped up for them by others, and the presentation of the result of their labours in a form not quite so indigestible and discouraging to young students as that which some of the most valuable German works of the class have taken. We do not, as Catholics, participate in the almost feverish anxiety which some exhibit for the attainment of a perfect critical text; but we have nothing to fear from the labours of which we speak, and great cause to rejoice in the success of any efforts directed towards the further elucidation of Scripture, and calculated to furnish us, as textual criticism of late

has done, with additional means of meeting the wants and providing against the dangers which daily multiply around us.

Another article in the *Christian Remembrancer*, styled "The Church of S. Patrick," and purporting to be a review of Dr. Todd's recently published memoir of the saint, is from beginning to end in the worst, because the most insidious, style of anti-Catholic abuse. The author of "Silas Marner" tells us that at the end of fifteen years the men of Raveloe said just the same absurd and extravagant things about the inexplicable and uncommunicative Silas as when he first came among them: they did not say them quite so often, but they believed them much more strongly when they did say them. In some respects God's Church meets with similar treatment from too many of our countrymen. They have not the excuse for their reiterated calumnies of obstinate silence, or retiring self-isolation on her part; yet they cling to old absurdities about her with all the excitement of novelty and all the tenacity of habit. And in this we fancy they differ from the Raveloe men—that, though they say what they think about the Church nearly as often as ever, yet they have either ceased to believe their own accusations, and so incur the guilt of wilful calumny, or are left by frequent refutation without colour of reason for their inveterate persistency of belief. The reviewer says that it is "with a faltering hand" he ventured to put forth his reflections on the existing condition of the Church of S. Patrick. He has but little title to the indulgence which is accorded to timidity. His hand did not falter when he penned the sentence in which the present Establishment is styled the Church of S. Patrick, "that Church which the long-suffering Lord still vouchsafes to continue to" the Irish; though almost in the same breath he acknowledges the slightness of their likeness to each other. In the ancient days, he tells us, there were monasteries, and saints, and daily offices, and correct observances of the ritual of the Church [what ritual? and of what Church?]: all this is admitted, and other things might be added, if they did not savour too much of Rome; but now there is "fatal degeneracy" and the "unchastened zeal" of polemicists, and infamous traffic in souls, and the system of Calvin taught from the pulpits, and the system of the sacraments almost never—in fact, proofs enough on the very surface to all but the blind that the body calling itself the Irish Church is a political creation, and not the living house of the Most High. It is a curious phenomenon that a man should be found (alas! the phenomenon is of too frequent recurrence to be generally looked upon as curious) who is ready to allow the prevalence and unchecked career of heresy in a religious body, and yet dauntlessly maintains the right of that body to be styled the true Church, the guide of the soul, the Bride of the Lamb. Wonder and pity seize us as we read such sentences as the following:—"We look with very great distrust on the reports of conversions from the Roman schism in that country. Where, among all the clergy, some score could be found who believe in the Real Presence, and not a hundred who dare openly teach the regeneration of every infant in baptism; where an English Bishop must be cautioned against bowing at the Holy Name, one cannot help having very gloomy views of the teaching in which the converts are built up. We have seen, and others have seen, and noted, the rank heresy, the explicit Nestorianism, which, unrebuked, the most

eminent controvertists enforce." One would expect, after this, some strong denunciation of the Establishment; but (Oh! most impotent conclusion!) these evils are to be remedied by two very simple and impending changes. The Primate of Armagh has only to "employ his unbounded influence with the Orange faction, and induce these wolves of loyalty to lie down with the lambs of the Church;" and the new Archbishop of Dublin has only to "awaken a stronger feeling of Churchmanship among the Irish," and then, no doubt, all these things will be altered. Let a few of the Irish bishops gird up their loins and go about their dioceses confirming at the spirited rate attained by the English Bishop of Ripon—who, by the by, seems to be the writer's pattern successor of the Apostles—and many ecclesiastical questions will be solved. There are now 2,281 clergymen at work in Ireland—200 of them so hard at work that they have not a single Protestant in their parishes—therefore let the clergy of the Irish Church be multiplied, "at least nine to every two already possessed." Let brotherhoods and sisterhoods be organized—out of the flocks, we would suggest, of the 200 sinecurists; let "retreats" be given—in such parishes, we presume, amongst the rest; let a few other impossibilities be "humbly, but forcibly" urged upon the bishops until they take them up vigorously, and then all will be right. "We have suggested," says the reviewer, with much self-complacency, "the only real means we can devise for the speedy relief of the spiritual destitution."

Perhaps we ought not to be too hard upon one who so misreads the facts before his eyes when we find him tripping in matters of history. He has lately come across Dr. Todd's "Memoir of S. Patrick," and (we use his own words) "it is a sober fact that he hastened to cut open" the second part of that interesting volume. Irritated at not finding more *pabulum* for his credulity, he nevertheless pronounces everything he does find, excellent. His only cry is for more.

To change our metaphor—or rather *his* metaphor—he instantly discerns in Dr. Todd the Virgil and Beatrice all in one, who is to guide him, like another Dante, through the Paradise, Hell, and Purgatory of Irish ecclesiastical history. The first stage is Paradise, the primitive, un-Roman (!) Church of Ireland; the second is that *Inferno* created by the Popes in mediæval times; the third is that place of waiting for better and brighter things, the existing Irish Establishment. Our figure is a little stronger than he might be disposed to relish; but in sober earnest we say that it is scarcely an exaggeration. We can only afford space for a specimen or two of the pitfalls into which, sometimes under Dr. Todd's guidance, sometimes under his own, he has unluckily fallen so frequently in the course of his journey.

Thus he accepts without question the theory of Dr. Todd, that Ireland was never distributed into dioceses before the twelfth century. This theory is based upon a letter of S. Anselm to Murtagh O'Brien, King of Ireland, in which he writes, "It is also said that Bishops in your country are elected at random, and appointed without any fixed place of episcopal jurisdiction;"—a passage which cannot be accepted in evidence until it is shown that the story told to S. Anselm was founded in fact; that, if true, it extended to all the bishops of the island; that it cannot be explained by the existence of chorepiscopi during those ages in Ireland as in other countries, where, how-

ever, they had been discountenanced as early as the ninth century ; and that S. Anselm or his informers are bearing witness to a system prevalent, not only in his time, but during the whole of the six preceding centuries. Dr. Gargan, in an able pamphlet entitled "*The Ancient Church of Ireland*," has discussed this question at some length, and with great ability demolished the arguments of Dr. Todd—showing clearly what good grounds there are, amounting even in several cases to positive and direct evidence, for the belief, adopted before him by Dr. Lanigan, in the existence in Ireland during many ages, and even after S. Anselm's time, of numerous chorepiscopi, quite distinct in their functions, probably also in their orders, from bishops proper. If this be the case, there is an end also of the difficulty arising from S. Anselm's further charge of irregularity in the permission by the Irish Church of consecration by a single bishop. The 4th canon of the first Nicene Council, requiring the presence of three bishops at the consecration of a bishop, would not be violated by the ordination of chorepiscopi by a single bishop in accordance with the 10th canon of the Council of Antioch. Dr. Todd's next document, from S. Bernard, needed not the learning of Dr. Gargan to dispose of it ; for the passage he quotes is itself in plain contradiction to his position. Surely no special sagacity is requisite for the discovery that a "metropolitan," "bishops," and "churches having separate bishops,"—all mentioned within the space of half-a-dozen lines—cannot exist where diocesan jurisdiction is unknown. Yet Dr. Todd sees in this passage a confirmation of his theory, and his reviewer does not seem to be startled or disconcerted by the fact. What other evidence he has produced rests upon a misinterpretation of some expressions in the 5th canon of the Synod of Cealcythe* (A.D. 816), from which a little knowledge of Canon Law would have saved him.

Another instance of the reviewer's mistake in following Dr. Todd blindly is contained in the remark that "the labours of the second order of saints were directed to remedying that corruption of faith from which Ireland, *beyond any doubt*, suffered during the sixth and seventh centuries." And a little further on :—"What the saints of the second order had to contend with was the disorganization of discipline, the dissolution of morals connected with a partial apostacy from the faith, and return to Paganism. This conclusion—one of the novelties of the work, and of great importance—Dr. Todd draws from the conciliar legislation and canons ascribed to Gildas—some of which were found in manuscript in Rouen, and printed by Martene—which make no mention of Pelagianism, or any other heresy properly so called."

* Dr. Gargan says that "it is not ascertained where Cealcythe, or Ce-licyth, was situate. Kent, Lancashire, and some central part of England, have been suggested by different authors." We think there can be little doubt that it was really situated in Lancashire. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says the former council of that name (A.D. 705) was held in Mercia, in the presence of Offa, King of the Mercians. It was held in the diocese of Lichfield, which in those days included all Lancashire south of the Ribble. And there exists to this day a township called Culcheth, adjoining the township of Bedford-Leigh, about twelve miles west of Manchester, where Sprünner places it in his Atlas.

The very novelty of this accusation should have made the reviewer pause before he declared it to be, "beyond any doubt," well founded. But we suppose the "great importance" at all times of connecting the evils of the Irish Church with Roman influence outweighs the obligation of fairness in the use of evidence. In the fifth century Rome, according to Dr. Todd, had no authority over Ireland; in the sixth and seventh the proofs of Ireland's recognition of Papal supremacy are too strong to be overset: therefore the Irish Church must be made out to have fallen away from its first love. Seemingly the reviewer could not help seeing the weakness of Dr. Todd's reasoning upon S. Brigid's prophecy of apostacy, and the alleged testimony of the Abbess Hildegardis, who wrote in a distant country, and no earlier than the close of the twelfth century; so he quietly passes it over, and rests the whole weight of the conclusion upon evidence which Dr. Todd adduces only in confirmation of his views. We must refer our readers to the pages of Dr. Gargan (pp. 44-56) for the exposure of the falsehood of a story which had been repudiated already by Lanigan, Ussher, and Colgan. We only ask how it happened that S. Gildas, after commencing his theological education in Wales, went over to a country which had well nigh abandoned the faith for paganism, in order to consult "other doctors in philosophy and sacred literature"? And how came there, on this hypothesis, to be no break in the succession of saints who in such numbers illustrated the ancient Irish Church? Is the unsupported word of a mediæval Breton monk to be set against the absolute silence of all native records, and the positive evidence which exists to the contrary?

As sheep follow one another with unswerving fidelity, copying each the minutest movements of the leader, so there is no fence too high, no ditch too broad, for the critic, provided only Dr. Todd will take the leap before him. Dr. Todd insists on the ignorance of S. Patrick: "the rude Latinity of his letter to the subjects of Coroticus argues a defective education," echoes the reviewer. True, S. Patrick had said as much himself. Had he not acknowledged that he was "*indoctus rusticissimus*"? But then S. Patrick had also called himself a *fool*, and in other ways depressed himself and his own powers with the exaggeration of saintly humility, in order to magnify the power of God manifested in his work. Such language about themselves is not unusual with apostolic men, and ought not to be accepted literally. Nor is it easy to see upon what principle of discrimination some such expressions should be received with qualification, and others be pushed to the utmost limit of meaning which they can bear. And as for the style of the letter, what more natural, as the Bollandists remark, than that five-and-twenty years of missionary labour amongst a barbarous people who knew no Latin, should affect the style of a writer who confesses that the almost exclusive use of another tongue during so long a time made him less at home than he used to be with the elegances of Latin diction? Beneath the uncouthness of his Latinity there is displayed an abundant knowledge of Scripture, and an accuracy of thought on other subjects, which indicate the soundness of his early education.

Again, our reviewer says, with consummate coolness and an air of calm indifference:—"It is a matter wholly unimportant in itself whether S.

Patrick did or did not receive a commission from Rome, and consecration from Celestine, or any other pontiff. But his autobiography, or Confession, contains no allusion to such an incident." In both these particulars Dr. Todd is blindly followed. In the first place, one would have thought that a writer so adverse to the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy would recognize the importance of any question bearing historically upon the necessity of a mission from Rome so early as the fifth century. And that this unconcern is put on for a purpose is clear, from the fact that so much care is taken to insinuate the alternative which tells in favour of the writer's own views. Surely this is a disingenuous artifice. But, in the second place, the only argument selected by the critic from amongst those advanced by Dr. Todd has the misfortune to be purely negative. Why does he not mention what Dr. Todd considers the main support of his theory—the chronological difficulties against the Roman mission of S. Patrick? We cannot help imagining that for once the critic's eyes were open to the weakness and inconvenience of arguing in a vicious circle. It would have been more honest not to have slurred over the palpable defects of his instructor's argument.

We will not now take to pieces the strange catalogue of remarkable events which the reviewer draws out as representing the annals of the Irish Church down to our day, and covering a period of fourteen hundred years. A volume would be required for its detailed refutation. Amongst other points it is argued that Ireland was independent of Rome till towards the close of the twelfth century, because S. Malachi was the first Irish prelate canonized by the Holy See. Before that, "Ireland had produced no canonizable saints." At this rate, all the world was independent of Rome till the end of the tenth century, inasmuch as the first instance on record of a Roman canonization is that of Ulrich of Augsburg, in the reign of John XV., A.D. 993. Again, it is said that "Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., is worshipped as a saint only in Ireland and at Rome;" a fact "never to be forgotten." Had the writer taken the trouble to open a Missal he would have found out his mistake; and if he had inquired a little further he would have discovered that Benedict XIII., in A.D. 1728, prescribed the observance of his feast to the whole Church. That portion of the article which treats of the time of the Reformation, and attempts to prove the schismatical character of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, need not occupy us here. It is extravagant enough to be its own refutation; and we should be anticipating the essay on the Irish bishops of the Reformation period which, we understand from Dr. Gargan's pamphlet, is about to appear amongst a series of essays on Irish Ecclesiastical History, by the late Dr. Kelly, of Maynooth, under the editorship of Dr. M'Carthy.

Coming to a later period, we find the two following entries:—

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| Roman Catholic prelates, assembled in Dublin, agree to concede to the British Government the right of accepting or rejecting candidates for the Episcopate | 1799 |
| Pope concedes to British Parliament a veto on his Episcopal appointments | 1815 |

The former of these statements thus broadly made conveys a great deal more than the truth; the latter is simply and absolutely false. The resolutions of the ten Irish Catholic bishops may be seen at full length in Charles

Butler's "Memoirs" (vol. ii., chapter xxxix., p. 153). They approve of "such interference of Government, as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed;" they draw up a series of regulations which they deem necessary "to give this principle its operation without infringing the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church;" and, to show that their resolutions are merely provisional, they add that, "agreeably to the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, these regulations can have no effect without the sanction of the Holy See." And we learn from Dr. Husenbeth ("Life of Bishop Milner," p. 124) that Dr. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, who was one of the ten prelates who signed the document, frequently and solemnly repudiated, on behalf of himself and his Episcopal brethren, the construction subsequently put upon it, and asserted that the bishops had never contemplated the possibility of the advantage which was afterwards taken of their words. The Irish bishops, moreover, on September 14, 1806, declared that the veto was *inexpedient*; and from that time they and their agent, Dr. Milner, being now aware of the trap laid for them, were firm and constant in their opposition to it, although exhibiting great prudence and moderation in their language. As to the Rescript to which we presume the second statement refers, there is some inaccuracy in the date assigned in the table of events. It really bears date February 16, 1814, and was received in England on April 28 of the same year. But it was the work of Mgr. Quarantotti, Pro-Prefect of the Propaganda; had been drawn up and issued before the Pope's return to Rome from captivity; had never been submitted to his Holiness's approval, and, in fact, was so little to his taste that it was some time before he would admit Mgr. Quarantotti to his presence ("Life of Bishop Milner," p. 273). In the following year, when the Pope had retired to Genoa, a letter was addressed by Cardinal Litta in the name of the Holy Father to Dr. Poynter, conveying the decision of his Holiness on the appointment of bishops, by which all the plans hitherto proposed were rejected, although it was admitted that "his Holiness will feel no hesitation in allowing those to whom it appertains, to present to the king's ministers a list of candidates, in order that, if any of them should be obnoxious or suspected, the Government might immediately point him out, so that he might be expunged; care, however, being taken to leave a sufficient number for his Holiness to choose therefrom individuals, whom he might deem best qualified in the Lord for governing the vacant churches" (Charles Butler's "Memoirs," vol. iv., app., p. 484). This veto upon a list of candidates previous to its transmission to Rome is a very different thing from "a veto on the Pope's *Episcopal appointments*." Yet even this letter was not final, and cannot be called a concession to the British Parliament. For his Holiness himself declared to the deputies of the Irish hierarchy who presented their protest to him on the 5th November following, that "nothing had yet been done in the business; that the letter from Genoa, besides being merely *conditional*, was by no means *preceptive* upon the Catholics" ("Life of Bishop Milner," p. 310). We think our readers are by this time satisfied of the incompetence of the writer of the article in the *Christian Remembrancer* either to estimate the present position of ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland, or to trace with candour and accuracy the history of religion in that island.

The subject of "Christian Art" occupies a good deal of space both in the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*. Lady Eastlake's work could not but draw public attention to so interesting a topic. Very strong, however, is the contrast between the two articles in general merit, and, especially, in tone and spirit. Seldom are our questions treated in our periodicals with so much taste, or disfigured by so little narrow prejudice, as in the *Edinburgh* article. On one point, indeed, the writer has seen further than Lady Eastlake. With the paintings of Raphael, Rubens, Herrera, and Murillo, in his mind, and the remembrance that some of their finest works were inspired by doctrines rejected by non-Catholics, he enters an earnest and eloquent protest against the application of the standard of Anglican Protestantism to religious art. In this view he has our hearty concurrence; but we cannot pretend to agree with him in his inference that abstract religious truth has very little to do with the representation of Christian beauty. Let him apply the principle to poetry, as he may do with equal justice, and we think that if he came across a poem which enunciated nothing but what he deemed heresy, he would, at least supposing him not to be utterly indifferent to truth, be as emphatic in denying its merit as a religious poem as he now is in repudiating the connection between orthodoxy and religious painting. We are afraid that religion with him must be a mere affair of sentiment. If so, then he is logical when he recoils from all reference of Christian art to the objective truths of faith. There is another article in the same review on "De Rossi's Christian and Jewish Inscriptions," which abounds in information interesting to Catholics, and deserves all praise for its uncontroversial tone and the accuracy of its details concerning matters on which even learned men who are not Catholics generally fall into ludicrous blunders. It may be as well, however, to correct a slight mistake, and supply an omission, in the account given of M. Le Blant's translation of the celebrated inscription at Autun. The learned Benedictine, Dom Pitra, was not its actual discoverer, as may be proved by an appeal to his own account of the affair. It was, he tells us, on June 24, 1839, that Mgr. d'Héricourt, Bishop of Autun, accompanied by a learned man named Decouvoux, whilst going on a visit to the cemetery of S. Peter *a Via Strata* in that city lighted on six of the fragments of stone on which the inscription was written. The seventh was afterwards found by Dom Pitra himself (*Spicil. Solesm.* t. i., p. 554, n. 2). The Benedictine father was the first, however, to decipher the fragments and conjecturally fill up the *lacunæ*. Since that time the inscription has been critically and theologically discussed, emended, and commented on by the most eminent scholars of Europe. Our readers will remember the interesting article of Cardinal Wiseman's, in the *DUBLIN REVIEW* of November, 1840, upon Fr. Secchi's restoration. M. Le Blant's reading, adopted from M. François Lenormant, and published in 1856, is that given by the *Edinburgh* reviewer. He does not seem to be aware of the still later rendering by Fr. Raphael Garrucci, who accompanies his dissertation with a photograph obtained through the courtesy of Mgr. Devaucourt, Vicar General of Autun. It is in the last five lines that the ingenuity of critics has been most taxed. According to Fr. Garrucci, they contain an exquisite prayer full of piety and devotion. Translated, as restored, they run thus:—Ο' Ιχθυσ (Saviour), I have made ready my hands, I

desire thee, O Lord Saviour! That I may receive with devout mind, O Mother, I pray to thee, thou light of the departed. O father Aschandeus, most dear to my soul, together with my excellent mother and my brethren, in the supper of the "Ιχθϋς remember Pectarius." It is interesting to know that, after all the manipulations of critics of every variety of creed, this mutilated inscription still bears irrefragable witness to the primitive character of more than one doctrine retained to this day by the Catholic Church alone. The dogmatic value of the five acrostic lines which form the first part has risen rather than decreased under the searching investigations of the learned; and the last six lines, in spite of the arguments for their more recent date put forward by Canon Wordsworth and M. Rossignol, Member of the Institute of France, are now pretty generally acknowledged by Catholics and Protestants alike to belong, like the first part, to the second or third century.

Another important article in the *Edinburgh* bears the title of "The Three Pastorals," those, viz., of the two Anglican Archbishops and our own Metropolitan, on the Judgment of the Privy Council in the case of "Essays and Reviews." The liberal party are evidently hugging themselves with joy over their successes. There is no attempt to conceal their sense of triumph and gratification, no disposition to suppress contempt for the impotent displeasure and feeble efforts of the opposite party, or rather, coalition of parties. They feel themselves free and unfettered; and tough and elastic is the spring with which they rise and shake themselves to realize their strength and march on to further victories. Their cry is the shout of Brasidas, "The day is ours: I see the shaking of the spears." We cannot be surprised that in the intoxication of delight some foolish bravado should also be indulged in. They know and rejoice in the thought, that the power of the Church of England to maintain and enforce dogma is proved to be a lifeless scarecrow: can we wonder that they should for the moment dream that Rome is no stronger, and that the very citadel of dogma in the world will soon fall before the blast of their noisy trumpets? Really it is quite amusing to hear them talk of the *Home and Foreign Review*, a defunct periodical, and of one German Professor, as a danger to the Catholic Church parallel in all respects to that which the Establishment has been too weak to avert. That we should feel the outer wave of that storm of rationalism which has passed over other communions is not surprising; that within the Church there should be danger not to be despised to many individual souls, from the fascination of false theories of liberty, intellectual or political, we are the last persons to deny. But there are no signs of weakness at the centre: the voice of Rome is peremptory and clear; and never, perhaps, was the phalanx of the Church's teachers more compact, intrepid, and ready to repel all attacks upon the faith once delivered and still maintained in all its integrity, than it is at the present moment. We cannot persuade ourselves that, in circumstances more favourable to sobriety of thought than the hour of victory, the *Edinburgh* reviewer or any one else would dream for an instant of comparing the situation of parties in the Catholic Church and the Anglican Establishment for any other purpose than that of a striking contrast.

The *Quarterly's* article on "Christian Art," after a short and very imper-

fect account of Lady Eastlake's two volumes, passes into a dreary discussion of the controversial bearing of early Christian monuments. An idea may be formed of the spirit and good sense of the writer, from the fact that he sneers at the common interpretation of mural paintings which represent "a woman, standing with uplifted arms, with a male figure in gestures of profound respect on each side, whose hands, one or both, support her elbow." This woman he takes for a deceased Christian matron of the higher class, whose "delicatezza," shunning the inconvenience of prayer in such a posture without support, either she herself, or her friends, were anxious to commemorate for the instruction or warning of posterity! This is the explanation to which the reviewer betakes himself, in order to exclude the application of the figure to the intercession of our Lady. Had he looked into Father Garrucci's work on the glasses adorned with figures in gold, found in the cemeteries of the primitive Christians of Rome, he would have seen figures in a similar position, all but supporting the woman's arms, with the names *Maria, Petrus, Paulus* inscribed above and around. Such are the ridiculous extravagances into which men fall, in their eagerness to lay hold of every conceivable handle against the Church and her doctrines.

APPENDIX TO ARTICLE V.

THE controversy on University education for English Catholics is so practically momentous under any view, that our readers will be grateful for every fresh light thrown on it ; and we will therefore make no apology for introducing a few extracts from the admirable "Essay on Education," by the Rev. Patrick Murray, D.D., which appeared in the second volume of the *Irish Annual Miscellany* (Bellew : Dublin). The question indeed directly treated by Dr. Murray—that of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland—differs in some important respects from that which at this moment causes so much anxiety to English Catholics ; but it is no less evident that there are various fundamental principles which apply equally to both. Among the most important of these is the necessity of indissolubly uniting religious with secular instruction.

I freely admit [says Dr. Murray] that a case may be supposed where this union of secular and religious instruction from the same chair, or, rather, this direction of the secular by the religious is not at all so necessary, and the proposed end is sufficiently attained without it. For example, suppose a Catholic country where not only the faith is strong as well as universal, but where the desolating indifferentism and monstrous speculations of latter days not only have no place, but are in little danger of being introduced ; where consequently the minds of youth are safe from the influence of an heretical, or infidel, or sceptical, or sensual and mundane literature, and safe from the contamination of those endless, baseless, shapeless, but not less seductive theories which are for ever flashing in our eyes and impregnating the whole atmosphere of thought about us ; and where there is a permanent, silent, all-pervading influence of Catholic ideas. In such a country—if such exists now in Europe—I admit that the whole body of science might, without any probable risk, be communicated as drily and as much devoid of religious sentiment, as the modes and figures of syllogism or the five common rules of arithmetic.—(Pp. 232, 233.)

Again, as to the training and preparation which are requisite in order that a Catholic may read English literature without most serious danger :—

Nothing can be more notorious than the decidedly anti-Catholic spirit of English literature in all its departments. It has grown up since the Reformation in an anti-Catholic soil and an anti-Catholic atmosphere, and from an anti-Catholic stem. It is essentially anti-Catholic, tending, wherever it comes in contact with them, to sully, to infect, and utterly to corrupt Catholic feelings and principles. *Sound knowledge, a sound head, strong faith, and great grace combined together* will preserve untainted the minds of those whom the necessities of their position may lead into dangerous pastures. But it were idle to set about proving to Catholic readers the immense influence for evil which such a literature would naturally exercise over the large mass who, without adequate preparation from nature or grace, plunge into it in the pursuit of amusement or knowledge, or of both. The natural action of Protestant ideas on the Catholic mind is not to turn it from the creed of Pius to that of the Thirty-nine Articles, but to unsettle and send it adrift ; to wear or pluck out its principles without putting others in their place ; to relax and deaden the whole spiritual man. Moreover, a very large proportion of our ablest and most attractive books is directly and undi-

guisedly of an infidel character, or of that low rationalistic form of Protestantism to which I have already alluded, and whose adherents have, of late years, if not increased in numbers, at least assumed a more defined, imposing, and influential attitude.—(Pp. 234, 235.)

Lastly, on the kind and degree of religious knowledge which should be imparted to those laymen who receive the higher education. It should be that knowledge

which implies a clear and full insight into the spiritual nature and authority and destiny of the Church ; which implies a perception intimate and sound not only of isolated dogmas, but of the leading principles of Catholic doctrines, and of the spirit that pervades them and combines them into one perfect whole ; so that one adequately appreciates their truth and grandeur, and connection with each other, and adaptation to the spiritual wants of man, and, still more, sees in their clear light the utter absurdity of all that contradicts them, and the utter deformity of all that caricatures them.—(P. 241.)

In the present day it is more than ever necessary that those who cultivate secular learning should have acquired a stock of sacred learning sufficient to counteract the tendency to judge the supernatural by the natural, the ways of God by the ways of man, the wisdom that is from above by the wisdom that is of this world. Such learning is, alas ! rare indeed among those who require it most.—(P. 243.)

Dr. Murray expresses these truths far more vigorously than we could hope to express them, and we heartily recommend what we have quoted to the careful attention of our readers.

We are disposed to reprint here an excellent letter, lately addressed to the *Times* by Lord Arundell of Wardour : and this for two reasons ; partly as illustrating such views on the relation between Church and State as have been advocated in our fifth article, and partly as showing by example how efficient a defence of Catholic doctrine may often be put forth by a Catholic layman who has been well grounded therein :—

THE POPE AND THE QUEEN.

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir,—Your article in *The Times* of this morning conveys the idea that you are not aware of the grounds upon which the Catholic body drink the toast of “Pius IX.” before the toast of “The Queen.” Having occasionally presided at Catholic meetings when this has been done, I may assert that it is only upon the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal, and the superiority of the one order over the other.

So far from contemplating any conflict of jurisdiction as between one Sovereign Prince (a foreign Prince) and another (our own Sovereign), it presupposes that each has his own sphere, but that the sphere of one is superior to that of the other. Undoubtedly there sometimes will be a conflict of jurisdiction as between the spiritual and the temporal, principally on the debatable ground surrounding education and the family, and when it occurs it is likely, I hope, that Catholics will be found to side with God rather than

man, and obey the dictates of conscience rather than the mandates of the State. The sentiment is as old as Christianity, and as inveterate as martyrdom. It is not exclusively maintained by Catholics, but by Protestants, whenever their persuasions attain the strength of principles and convictions. It was conspicuously asserted by the Non-jurors, and, indeed, the traditional toast of "Church and State" as plainly involves it as the Catholic custom of drinking the Pope's health before the Queen's. Your theory would expunge the idea of martyrdom altogether, and (however intended) is tacitly a reproach to the conduct of the early Christians themselves. On the other hand, however my sentiments may be characterized by my countrymen, I shall continue to regard myself as a good citizen on the ground that I am upholding the only principle which vindicates the dignity of the individual and prevents his absorption into the State, as in the Pagan times; and that I am adhering to the only power which has been able to rescue the individual from the omnipotence of the State, and which alone at this moment opposes itself to the centralization of governments and kingdoms, which is the tendency of modern times, and which is the natural consequence of that "Statolatric" which is again becoming the passion of mankind.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

Brown's Hotel, Dover Street, Aug. 31.

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